

THE INDIAN JOURNAL OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

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EDITORIAL

THE governance of a developing society as that in India is a complex job. The personnel in administration should set their sights high; the apparatus of administration must be flexible. At the same time, both the personnel and the system are obliged to work under several compulsions, not all of them of their choice. It is this area of perennial interest that Shri Haldipur writes about. Gandhiji warned us about the danger if the administrative sights were lowered. He was afraid that the bureaucrats and the politicians, holding enormous power between them, might slip and endanger the very basis of democracy. What is now missing in administration, according to Shri Haldipur, is not so much the efficiency of the bureaucracy in day-to-day tasks but the essence of what Gandhiji said about having a coherent value system in tune with our ethos. As the challenges of administration increase, there is no other way, says Shri Haldipur, than for the administrative personnel to accept Gandhiji's talisman as their guiding light; they should move forward and move fast enough to cope with the tasks that await the bureaucracy.

Shri Joshi, writing from his experience as a civil servant, views the question of administrative relationships in a realistic manner and points out how and where the administration has slipped from the ideal set by Gandhiji. He seems to hold both the bureaucrats and the politicians responsible for the existing state of administration. He refers to the various areas of political and administrative interaction necessitating mutual interest. And a civil servant is not only pitted against the politician's demands; he has to evolve a workable equation, understanding and support between the Minister concerned and himself in the interest of public good and better administration.

While publishing Shri P. A. Menon's article (January-March, 1975 issue), we had requested the former civil servants, technocrats and public men to write for the IJPA in the field of the practice of public administration in the light of their experience and perception. Shri Joshi's article is of this type—a personal interpretation of his experience in administration.

Shri Dubhashi gives a lucid exposition of some of the aspects of the process of decision-making in administration. Decisions are not made expeditiously, and where there are so made, they have often tended to be hurried decisions—these are the frequent complaints. Quick decision-making may not be possible unless goals and objectives are identified, priorities established and

a the possible conclusions investigated. Shri Dubhashi has also analysed the
 reasons why decisions are not made as quickly as desirable. Among them he
 mentions out-moded rules and procedures in departmental manuals; another
 I is the lack of delegation. But he has no doubt that the process of decision-
 I making can be streamlined by the adoption of timely changes both in the
 mechanism and in the style of administration. The need is to combine a
 sense of timing with quality and rationality, both necessary for adequate
 decision-making.

I Why is administration often found to be unresponsive to public
 requirements and demands, especially where the backward tribal people are
 concerned? Dr. Sharma in his article "Environmental Context and the
 Personnel System—Its Implications for Tribal Areas" identifies several weak-
 nesses in the recruitment of administrative personnel which render them unsuit-
 able for facing several of the new challenges to administration. In any
 case, a uniform personnel system, largely designed with reference to the needs
 of the more advanced areas, fails to serve the needs of the backward areas.
 Functional specialisation may be useful at the national level but the principle
 of regional particularisation should be accepted for the tribal areas. This will
 lead to a simpler structure of administration which, in turn, will lead to a
 better understanding between the administrative personnel in charge of tribal
 areas and the community whom they are supposed to serve. Dr. Sharma
 is very particular that persons with sympathy and understanding should
 be specially drawn into the administrative system, when necessary to be
 posted to administer backward areas. An important irritant in the tribal
 scene in the country today, according to Dr. Sharma, is the incompatibility
 of the administrative system and the local socio-economic milieu.

What goes behind policy making and policy analysis? What is the process involved? This is not easily amenable to analysis but Dr. Halachmi, in his article "Using Simulations for Better Policy Analysis" pays special attention to this nebulous sector and tries to analyse the process. He rightly says that there is need for better policy making which, in turn, can result only from an improvement in the analytical framework that provides the proper definition of the problem that is being dealt with and a comparison of it with alternative courses of action. According to him, both policy analysis and policy making happen at the top level where the officers concerned may not always be alert which, in turn, prevents them from sensing many problems early enough. Here, says Dr. Halachmi, institutional arrangements are needed to help individual policy makers and the simulation technique is one such useful and efficient tool. Dr. Halachmi visualises the use of feedback in order to refine simulation, if necessary. However, policy analysis, according to him, is not a single activity that begins and ends at given moments. It is an unceasing process that begins with the comprehension of a problem, continues during

the various phases of policy making and implementation, and fades away only when analysis moves to subsequent issues.

In their article on scientific research and accountability, Shri Bhaneja and Shri Gibbons bring into focus the attitudes of the three key constituents concerned with scientific research in India during the period 1952-70. They are: the political executives (Ministers), scientists and civil servants. The writers' conclusion is that in the period under analysis there was a distinct gap between the civil servants and scientists representing two diverging view points on institutional responsibility. The political leadership favoured the scientist but, at the same time, did not wish the scientist to be fully autonomous because of the massive public investment required in science and the uncertainty of long-term results of research. Recent changes, both in the set-up and attitudes have, however, brought about a closer identity of all the three elements. The programmes of the National Laboratories have, for instance, become increasingly applied and mission-oriented. The recommendations of the Administrative Reforms Commission have also changed the attitude of the civil service towards scientific research and led them to accept modern techniques in planning and budgeting resources for research and for those who conduct it.

Shri Kolhatkar takes us further on and critically analyses the role in scientific research of the universities, the Government research establishments and the industrial research units in the country. Much more thought for organising scientific research was, in fact, given before Independence than generally supposed. The Metereological Department, the Geological Survey, the Botanical Survey, the Zoological Survey, the IARI, the ICMR, etc., all bear testimony to the earnestness with which research was planned in the early years of this century. But, of course, the expansion in the research field since Independence has been phenomenal. However, the organisation of research and assessment of the role and responsibility of research institutions show up many weaknesses, thus taking away much of the value of research supposed to be coming out of these research establishments. Whether it is the relative role of generalists and specialists or whether it is collaborative research and isolated research, the real aim, as the Prime Minister has said, should be to have a "system by which we are able to get the best out of our personnel and to ensure that the entire administration, and specially the level at which the administration comes in direct touch with the people, are imbued with a sense of service and understanding".

In his short essay on "Problems Involved in Developing Indicators of Administrative Performance", Shri Sivalingam points out that while quantitative indicators can be easily developed to measure economic development, it is not that easy to have a set of indicators to measure administrative

performance. There can, of course, be no comprehensive indicator, but it is possible that some partial or proxy indicators may lend themselves to easy measurement and be of use in certain services.

We bring to the notice of the readers that the theme of the Special Number, 1976, will be "State Administration in India". Suggestions regarding the coverage of the different aspects of the principal theme will be welcome.

Lastly, we take this opportunity to wish our contributors, subscribers and readers all the best in the new year.

—Editor

The authors submitting articles for consideration are requested to provide complete bibliographic information for the works cited by them. This would greatly help our readers wishing to consult the cited works.

—Editor

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BUREAUCRACY'S RESPONSE TO NEW CHALLENGES*

R. N. Haldipur

ANY organisation, big or small, has rules of procedure and a machinery to implement the prescribed objectives. This goes by the name bureaucracy. A bureaucratic organisation has certain well-defined characteristics, such as the assignment of specific duties and responsibilities to every member of the organisation, distribution of adequate authority for the effective performance of duties, the fashioning of the administrative structure on a hierarchical basis and the formulation of rules and procedures for the transaction of business. Such a bureaucracy, in a wider sense, could be a force of conservatism or one which would usher in modernisation since it is an instrument of a political system. Bureaucracy cuts across all politico-administrative systems.

We, in India, are still in a transitional society, moving from traditionality to modernism. We had "a long tradition of authoritarianism and institutionism". The caste, class and the feudal heritage still dominate our social fabric. In the words of Nirad Chaudhuri¹, "An extraordinary thing about all the civilisations of India is that they have been superstructures imposed on a primitive, peasant, labour, and artisan community which itself has hardly changed since the end of the neolithic age in

*Paper contributed to the seminar on "Public Services and Social Responsibility", organised by the Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla, from October 6 to 11, 1973.

¹ Nirad Chaudhuri, *The Intellectual in India*, New Delhi, Vir Publishing House, 1967, pp. 27-28.

Western Asia. This basic community has supported successive cultures by supplying food, land revenue, goods, and services; it has also been partially influenced by the cultures; but it has never made any positive contribution to any culture, nor been the active enemy of any." While one may not fully agree with this judgement on our past heritage, the fact that time stood still till the advent of the freedom movement is very evident from the recorded history where wars were earlier fought to exhibit personal prowess and later for accumulation of wealth and power, leaving the large mass of population insulated to remain as bystanders at the fringe of history. Not that there were no bright patches of enlightened rule encouraging culture, arts and good administration.

During the freedom struggle, a clarion call was given to oust the colonial ruler. The mutiny of 1857 showed up the crack in the British armour for the first time, but it took a long time after that to articulate the 'protest' in a meaningful way and to make people realise that the system imposed on them did not meet their basic needs. This was brought home to the intelligentsia, which in some cases reacted violently and in others sought intervention through the very liberal thought which was inherited from the 'home country'. While such efforts on the part of many great leaders remained as isolated events, they gave a sense of direction to the freedom movement. Such protests, however, became a continuous struggle under Gandhiji's leadership. His charismatic role not only tried to 'disorient politically' the erstwhile collaborators of the colonial power from among the educated elite and the businessmen, but stretched its magic charm through meaningful symbols to transform society and reconstruct the rural areas. The 'Dandi March' is a classic example, using salt which is a ubiquitous symbol, to fire the imagination of the masses. In his inimitable style, he addressed himself to every segment of the population — tried to persuade the masses, to ridicule the rich, to cajole and influence them. He wanted every one to be in this struggle. He thought of a total revolution to transform the quality of life and the basic attitudes of people who had been groaning under the colonial rule and a caste-ridden society. If this silent revolution had continued to spread its spell after Independence, probably both bureaucracy and the political system would have had a different complexion altogether. His thought and the emphasis that he laid on the value system where ends do not justify means but both are an integral part of the process of growth of a society were of such relevance to a developing country like ours that this would have enabled us to seek and achieve an identity of our own, lending dignity to our people and developing the vast human resource within our country.

The crux of his philosophy could be summarised thus:

- (1) Addressing the power elite, he said, "I will give you a talisman. Whenever you are in doubt, or when the self becomes too much

with you, apply the following test. Recall the face of the poorest and the weakest man whom you may have seen, and ask yourself, if the step you contemplate is going to be of any use to him. Will he gain anything by it? Will it restore him a control over his own life and destiny? In other words, will it lead to Swaraj for the hungry and spiritually starving millions? Then you will find your doubts and your self melting away."

He was afraid that the bureaucrat and the politician, who, when combined, represent untrammelled power, need to be kept under check by a group who can get the people to exercise what Etzioni calls 'normative and social power'. He wanted to minimise the dichotomy between the elite and the masses. This would have resulted in the deemphasisation of the hierarchy in our social, political and administrative structures. The elite would have been both responsive and socially responsible. It would have enabled them to know the people better. They would have spent more time in solving urgent problems of the citizen. "The apathetic discontentment and pathetic contentment" of the masses had given place to a growing ennui and lack of faith in some of our institutions. Through this talisman mentioned above, Gandhiji wanted to energise the people and wanted to do something similar to what Mao Tse Tung had done when he declared to Andre Malraux that "we must teach the masses clearly what we have received from them confusedly."²

- (2) On the prevailing social system in which the more educated we were, the less cultured we tended to be, thus contributing towards a process of alienation, Gandhiji said "such a society is necessarily highly cultured in which every man or woman knows what he or she wants, and, what is more, knows that no one should want anything that the others cannot have with equal labour."³

To Gandhiji no job was too small. At his ashram at Wardha, the great leaders of India did scavenging with as much gusto as they planned for the struggle to evict the British. This is something similar to what Mao has been saying "... a high degree of passion and zeal should be generated for even the most mundane tasks, ... school quizzes, selling pork or spreading manure, as objects of revolutionary struggle."⁴ This is possible if the above aphorism of Gandhiji is incorporated in our value system and if we do not get alienated and firmly believe that one should not ask for anything more than the others cannot have with equal labour.

² Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Middlesex, Penguin Books, 1972, p. 82.

³ B. N. Ganguli, *Gandhi's Social Philosophy: Perspective and Relevance*, Delhi, Vikas, 1973, p. 157.

⁴ Martin King Whyte, "Bureaucracy and Modernization in China: The Maoist Critique", *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 38, No. 2 April 1973 - 155.

- (3) In his succinct words "one step is enough for me"⁵, he stressed the need for the identification of the vital needs of the people and pointed out how important it is to concentrate on them instead of embarking on a series of widely diffused efforts in several directions. The main objective would be the substantial satisfaction of the large majority of the people. Pareto's law of the vital few and the trivial many, if modified to apply to projects and programmes, would become not only relevant but of a compelling nature in a country of scarce resources. If the political parties were to accept a minimum programme and strain every nerve to implement it, we shall be going very far indeed, because the material is good and people have exhibited time and over again that they can work hard if there is a sense of urgency built up and the goals are clearly defined.
- (4) His emphasis on local self-government, creating leadership at all levels, decentralisation of power and building up of self-reliant village communities has a lot of relevance to a large country of ours which is multi-ethnic, multi-lingual and has people of all centuries living together at the same point in time. To him development meant a fuller participation of people in the achievement of the essential goals. Gandhiji used to talk of 'concentric circles' in which smaller villages were linked with others in bigger circles. He conceived of them in terms of 'oceanic waves'⁶ and talked of villages being connected to a larger periphery around, in satisfying their needs for goods and services. The same thought was once expressed by Aneurin Bevan, when he said: "The whole art of local Government is to estimate catchment areas for dealing with particular services before deciding where boundaries of these service should be drawn." Gandhiji wanted to restore confidence in the masses—make the ordinary man feel that he matters—and thus build up what Gunnar Myrdal calls 'upward pressures.'

But our society has instead reached a stage which is best characterised by the words of Eric Hoffer: "When a mass-movement begins to attract people who are interested in their individual careers, it is a sign that it has passed its vigorous stage; that it is no longer engaged in moulding a new world but in possessing and preserving the present. It ceases then to be a movement and becomes an enterprise."⁷

One cannot visualise what kind of bureaucracy would have been formed

⁵ R. N. Haldipur, "Ambivalent Society", *Kurukshtera* (Republic Day Number), January 1963.

⁶ R. N. Haldipur, "Relevance of Community Development", *Kurukshtera*, Vol. 20, No. 1, October 1971.

⁷ Eric Hoffer, "The True Believer", *New York Time*, Incorporated, 1963, p. 13.

as a result of the non-violent revolution that Gandhiji dreamt of. Certainly it would have been different, attuned to the value-system which he provided and in tune with the ideals and urges which inspired the freedom struggle. Probably it would have had the Indian ethos. The inter-elite and intra-elite conflicts which are visible today, whether between the so-called generalists and the technocrats or between various classes in a hierarchy, the administration by alibi where both the politicians and the bureaucrats level charges of failure against one another and the confrontation between management and labour, would not have presented the dilemmas which we face today. Now, it would probably require a very great transformation to enable people to identify their individual interests and local needs with the national goals. In the words of Shrimati Indira Gandhi, "only that society is truly socialist in which the feeling of being exploited has given place to a willing and cheerful participation in national tasks and personal and social objectives are not in conflict."⁸ Unfortunately, this transformation has so far not taken place.

The values which Gandhiji disseminated implied duties rather than rights, austerity, discipline, hard-work and a grave social and personal responsibility. The British protective umbrella, however, had softened us and we had started with the baggage of the past in our anxiety and genuine compulsions to solve the problems created by the transfer of power. We wanted to keep the wolf away. Very few countries have started out with greater initial difficulties of political, economic and administrative character. We had to handle phenomenal problems of law and order caused by the sudden division of the country and the creation of Pakistan, a theocratic state. The migration of population, intermittent violence, the integration of the princely States, the rehabilitation of refugees, the surfacing of elements whose vested interests Independence had shaken off, had all to be tackled with great determination and speed. In this task, there was hardly any escape from getting the best out of the existing structure rather than tinkering with it. It was a Hobson's choice and the post-Independence leaders had to make the best use of the available tools so that the new State, whose life had been estimated to be short-lived by the erstwhile rulers, could be stabilised and given a shape and character. Whatever the inheritance was, it had to be fully utilised. In any case, the resources were scarce and the problems many. Since then, there has been no time or opportunity to look back. The three wars, the swelling streams of nearly a crore of refugees from Bangla Desh, the periodical famines and floods, each had to be tackled firmly and speedily. And, for what they were worth, the bureaucrats did meet these challenges.

If we look at our country's development from this angle, one does not know whether, in this short period of its existence, one could say that it has

⁸ "P.M. for New Spirit in Administration", *Patriot*, New Delhi, May 31, 1971.

failed; since we were able to telescope all that was done in developed countries over a couple of centuries. We could certainly be proud of our Constitution, enshrining the values of secularism and democratic socialism, the freedom that we enjoy, the vast infrastructure in terms of transport and basic industry, the forward looking idealism of Nehru which set the pace and gave a sense of direction in almost every field, from science and technology to art, culture and tribal development. In the words of Gunnar Myrdal,⁹ "The glory of India's heritage from the liberation struggle and the first decades of its political independence was its firm adherence to the ideals of the Secular State and in foreign policy and its renouncement of power politics which is the deeper meaning of Nehru's policy of non-alignment." In this creative adventure, could we say that bureaucracy played no part? In the given circumstances, bureaucracy has sought to influence policy decisions and implement the mandate given to it, from time to time, with hard work, and understanding, though lacking in a long-term perspective and flexibility. The latter has been so because it has been riding a tiger throughout these years, going from one crisis to another.

In the life of a nation, particula'larly a developing country with feudal overtones, centuries of tradition, a colonial past and a complex social structure, the very fact that there has been continuity and stability, with democracy surviving in spite of several shocks and upheavals, shows that the heart beat of the nation is sound and that bureaucracy has assiduously done its maintenance and remedial tasks. The credit for this, to some extent, can certainly be given to the framers of our five year plans who provided for the infrastructure of power, irrigation, heavy industry, public sector undertakings and the transport network. There was also the community development movement which, in spite of an investment ranging only from Re. 1 to Rs. 3 per capita per annum, attempted to make an over-populated, poor society viable in the midst of structural and cultural contradictions. Nevertheless, it gave a new orientation to the bureaucrats and brought them closer to the people.

The task of any Government is complex. It is far from being that of selling a particular brand of chocolate, soap or cigarettes in an ever consuming market. In our country, it is all the more challenging. "India is an old society but a new nation. There are paradoxes of modernising situations.... There is a vast hinterland of tradition. It has a split-image of the future. The links between its modernising élites and tradition-oriented masses are tenuous. Its macro and micro-politics do not always move in unison."¹⁰ Most of us

⁹ Gunnar Myrdal, *The Future of India* (mimeo), adapted from two articles, one "India's New Role following Victory" published in the Indian press for the Republic Day, January 26, 1972 and the other "Growth and Social Justice", *The Economic Times*, Annual, October 1972, the latter published in *World Development*, 1973.

¹⁰ S. G. Dube, *Modernisation and its Adaptive Demands on Indian Society* (mimeo).

have been scratching the back of the macro system while suggesting a panacea for the evils. We often seem to forget that the cultural, ethnic and linguistic diversity, though rich and colourful, has in-built problems which lend themselves to inner contradictions on the unfolding canvas of economic and social development. On this canvas, we have superimposed a political system, a mode of economic planning and a modern industrial culture which is alien. It takes time to absorb this transplant into the body of the nation "... as a practical matter, all of the bureaucracies of the developing areas are likely to be dual in character, reflecting the transitional nature and the conflicting needs of societies themselves. In such a setting, the 'primitive' will be juxtaposed with the 'modern', the traditional with the legal-rational. If, as Hocelitz hypothesises, economic development requires a streamlined and highly rationalised bureaucracy, many of the structures of a dual society will tend to undercut this goal. Whether, in order to push ahead economically, the political elite should seek to eradicate the traditional structure or seek somehow to harness it to developmental plans is not as easy a problem to resolve as we might assume."¹¹ We are prone to ride roughshod over the traditional elements but "traditional ways have amazing survival power; they are capable of adapting to even the most radical changes in the formal organisational structure. And, as national bureaucratic planners in India are learning, the implementation of developmental schemes will have to occur as modified by traditional and parochial influences or it may not take place at all."¹² We shall, therefore, have to ask whether a system is technically appropriate, culturally compatible and economically sound.

Since bureaucracy has a pivotal role in the development of the country, it has also to do a lot of heart-searching from time to time. While it is true that the political elite and bureaucracy had to face serious challenges and much hard work in the decades gone by, both will have to ask themselves a number of questions. As a matter of fact, the entire elite-group will have to pose these questions to themselves if they mean serious business. Margaret Mead,¹³ in her inimitable style, quipped: "In each age, there is a series of pressing questions which must be asked and answered. On the correctness of the question depends the survival of those who ask; on the quality of the answers depends the quality of the life of those survivors who lead." There are few things as useless—not dangerous—as the right answer to the wrong question.¹⁴ Some

¹¹ Joseph La Palombara (ed.), *Bureaucracy and Political Development*, Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1963, pp. 12-13.

¹² *ibid.*, p. 13.

¹³ Margaret Mead, *New Lives for Old—Cultural Transformation of Manus*, Gollancz, 1956.

¹⁴ Peter Drucker, *The Effective Executive*, London, William Heinemann Ltd., 1967.

of the vital questions in the Indian context are:

What sort of a society do we want to live in?

What does modernisation mean to us or should mean to us?

What system of organisation will work well in the social, economic and political context of our society?

What weight do we give to the rights and wishes of the providers of service as against the users?

How do we make administration responsive to the fast changing needs of Indian society and democracy?

Power is the life-blood of any bureaucracy. How well and appropriately can this be used to achieve the objectives of the State? We shall have to seek a balance between maintenance of democratic values, participation of the people, optimum use of our scarce resources and the full involvement of the technocrat whose professional skills and expertise are necessary for the growing complexity of administration along with those of the generalist who can retain his broad approach to the social and economic aspects of our system. The problem of decision-making is not merely a problem of expertise, it is also a problem of restoring confidence in the people. Professional education has remained narrow, static, sterile and ill-adjusted to the challenges of the future. It suffers from a lack of value-orientation. Similarly, general education is not pragmatic in character. It does not build up entrepreneurial skills. It is generally the elite who have failed to rise to the occasion. They have become prophets of doom and despair. In the past, they were happy because they were able to create conditions of investment for economic growth and keep enough surpluses for themselves. Today, the elite are in disarray as they are unable to both satisfy themselves and also have enough surpluses for economic growth and distributive justice. This has led to growing confrontation and the different elite groups are in search of an alibi. The elite are in this state of health. Our diagnosis and prescriptions are like the curate's egg—good in parts. Either they are the offshoots of an imported model true of an affluent society of a perception based upon our urban-oriented training and style of life. The challenges at the micro-level are growing with the passage of time. However, fortunately, rural India has great resilience and power of recovery. We cannot judge it by the violence and unrest that we see in the metropolitan cities and university campuses. The average Indian has borne the brunt of a hard and difficult life with tolerance, fortitude and confidence.

Bureaucracy cannot be viewed in isolation. It is an integral part of a political process and social structure and derives its strength and weakness

from them. It is "...a social system immersed in an external environment, and is closely inter-related with numerous forces ordinarily considered external to the system."¹⁵ In his article, *A Dirty Word?*, Haksar,¹⁶ invites our attention to "the grim reality of the lack of inner coherence in our entire social, economic, political and cultural existence. No dominant value system has yet emerged and the past broods heavily on the present. Some day, perhaps, the imperatives of the modernisation of our economy and our society will create the new value system."

He pleads for a three-fold transformation of "...secularism in thought and action, honesty, integrity and hard work as ethical compulsions, austerity, national pride, sustained by intellectual and spiritual self-reliance and some regard for the scientific temper. Only when such a value system dominates our social life and sustains our educational processes can we talk meaningfully about commitment."

While bureaucracy assiduously attends to the day-to-day tasks, the essence of what Gandhiji said about having a coherent value system in tune with our ethos has escaped our attention. In the words of Gunnar Myrdal,¹⁷ "If Indian planning has not been more successful than it has actually been, the main explanation is that they have not kept so close as they should to the fundamentals of the teaching of the Father of the Nation".

Public administration today impinges upon the citizen at every point. This puts a premium on value-sensitivity, as against mere marshalling of facts and use of techniques. "The concept of decision is a compound of both fact and value. The politician and the public administrator are expected to decide on other's values and expectations. They have to develop a propensity to discover many complex values. A decision in Delhi could influence the sub-continental events and the destinies of millions. Where there is a low degree of vocal organisation of interest, much care is needed in taking into account all the values involved and the politician may be thankful for the help of a politically acute and anonymous administrator in spotting the multitude of values involved."¹⁸ The position is easier in countries where nearly all values have their local advocates. Where such a situation does not exist, the political

¹⁵ Harry Cohen, *The Demonic of Bureaucracy*, Ames, Iowa, The Iowa State University Press, 1965, p. 223.

¹⁶ P. N. Haksar, "A Dirty World?", *Seminar*, 168, A Committed Civil Service, August 1973.

¹⁷ Gunnar Myrdal, *The Human Dimensions of Economic Growth—The Challenge of Stagnation in Under-developed Countries* (mimeo). Opening Address to the Second One Asia Assembly, February 5, 1973.

¹⁸ V. Subramaniam, "The Fact-Value Distinction as an Analytical Tool", *The Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. XVII, No. 1, January-March 1971.

parties do fill in this gap to some extent. "For society at large and for general public interest, there are no brokers so skifull, so widely exposed, so accountable, as the party politicians."¹⁹ In our country, while we have what M. Weiner called "politics of scarcity", we also have a scarcity of politics since political consciousness, ideologies and programmes have yet to percolate down to the village level. This lacuna will have, at present, to be filled in by the officials. It is, therefore, necessary for the administrators, at various levels, to be alive to the urges prevailing in society and respond to them. We need, therefore, a bureaucracy which has a blending of sensitivity to the value-system of society in which it operates, along with professional skills. It has to be socially responsible, it has to be responsive to the many diverse urges of people and the complex nexus of values which beset a transitional society.

This is particularly urgent today because the growing disparity between the developed and the under-developed world, the haves and the have nots in society, the sprawling cities and the gaping countryside, the increasing tempo of technological development and the lack of the spread of distributive justice have created such a chasm that there is a feeling of deprivation. This has created an inner "contradiction of the co-existence of the non contemporaneous".²⁰ This gap has been exacerbated by mass media and is bound to be felt increasingly in the rural areas, resulting in an impatience to close the gap.

It is true that bureaucracy is more concerned with form than substance. It is attracted by the magic of the written word. It is depersonalised. Rules chase evasion and evasion has a way of finding a break-through. This has led to cumbersome rules and a long pipe-line of case-handling. The best brains in bureaucracy are held to ransom by all knowing people who are experts in rules. At the same time, its virtue lies in its value-sensitivity and ability to work in a pluralistic society. Long ago, Gandhiji warned us about the elitism of the new oligarchy of the technological era. Such an oligarchy is bound to come one day, whether we like it or not. May be, it has a rightful place and it is desirable to have it, but a bureaucracy which can function in a democratic polity and a pluralistic society has its own place. Such a bureaucracy has not only some of the Weberian characteristics but in the Indian context, it has to be alert and responsive, with a tolerance of ambiguity. It has to be pro-active than reactive and see the various segments of growth in a totality. In this context the confrontation between the generalists and the technocrats is irrelevant. Similarly, the sharp distinction between the regulatory administration and the developmental administration is irrelevant in a developing society, as both are mutually interactive. If there is perpetual threat and

¹⁹ Paul H. Appleby, *Public Administration for a Welfare State*, Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1961.

²⁰ Paulo Freire, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

violence and lack of stability, development becomes impossible. Similarly, if an area is neglected and remains in the backwaters, the imbalance could result in lawlessness and disaster. We cannot polarise civil service attitudes into developmental and non-developmental. The developmental process itself creates new dimensions of law and order while the latter could pose a problem when there is an absence of development.

One does not know what kind of bureaucracy would suit the future challenges. Some have predicted that in the not too distant future, many countries will be catapulted into a space-age, living in a 'throw-away society', of paper wedding gowns and portable play-grounds, with 'the modular man'—a new over-stimulated nomad—roaming about on the globe, seeking, all the time, zones of personal stability.²¹ With the organisational upheaval and the collapse of hierarchy, rigid rules, regulations and pre-determined systems might become irrelevant. In his *Future Shock*, Alvin Toffler has predicted the death of permanence; man's very existence will have to be integrated into a technological era, foreboding a concept of transience with inexorably fast changes demanding speedy answers through suddenly summoned task-forces which will disappear as soon as the problem is solved, giving place to new ones. That will be the end of bureaucracy as we know it now and we shall begin 'looking behind' for something which can solve the problems of such a neo-society of robot-like men who are neither loyal to an organisation nor to a profession or society. Professional loyalties become only short-term commitments in an interdisciplinary world, where one is uncommitted except to the changing environment, where one "can play with problems, have exotic intellectual mergers the 'organisation man' becoming an 'associate', moving from slot to slot"²².

However, one is inclined to believe that man will always be in search of his identity and would like to have peace with, on the one hand, his ethos and collective sub-consciousness and, on the other, with the environmental pressures which impinge on him. His spirit will revolt against this concept of transience which would make him feel that he is a part of a 'perpetual flux'.

Nathan Pusey, an ex-President of Harvard University, once said: "Solutions to difficult situations do not come quickly outside fairy tales. They never have and they never will. They require patience and knowledge, determination and conciliation." Though bureaucracies have been damned, condemned and satirised as if they were a forbidden fruit eaten by our ancestors, yet they continue to be a part of any system of organised living. One has to seek conciliation between flexibility on the one side and the rule of law on the

²¹ Toffler Alvin, *Future Shock*, London, Bodley Head, 1970.

²² *ibid.*

other. The advocates of the thesis that there should be a complete overhaul of the government system tend to ignore that innovations do not come by the dozen. Further, for translating new ideas into action, hard and systematic work is necessary. It is easy for people to suggest radical change in a system, but it is evident that whether in the capitalist world or in the communist world, a bureaucratic structure has emerged out of the ideological moorings with more or less the same face and same inhibiting factors caused by structure, and procedures. It is easy to talk of a brave new world and suggest putting 'the house on fire' but to obtain results one cannot behave like the wise old owl which advised a centipede to get rid of its surplus legs that were afflicted by arthritis, but when asked how to go about, it said that it was responsible only for giving 'policy decisions' and it was up to the centipede to find ways and means of implementing them. Most of us are like what Dr. Peter said in his book, "they saved the others, themselves they could not save". Mere talk of 'enterprise' could result in "confusion, lack of follow-through and a disregard for system that approaches anarchy."²³ Both stability and change have to be blended together if one has relentlessly to attain the objectives of the State.

This certainly implies a clear perception of our social structure, value orientation, the strengths and weaknesses of our society, the leadership pattern and from this anatomy of the present we should work out the direction in which we should move so that changes could be brought about which are relevant to our life style and which could be effected within the resources at our disposal. Administrative practices cannot be imported and applied without adapting them to our own situations.

This, however, is not a plea for the *status quo*. Any cosmetic treatment would not be enough to solve the problems of the morrow. Gandhiji, who was a 'radical leveller', started with the value framework as the first essential step, stressing the ends and means nexus. All events and programmes could be fitted into such a framework. Unless we, as a nation, agree on the fundamentals, replacing conspicuous consumption by austerity, collective bargaining by hard work and discipline, removing disparities between the private and the public sectors, having a national-income-wage-and-price policy leading to productivity, land reforms, ceilings on urban and rural incomes and the mopping up of surplus money, a minimum needs programme in the rural areas and the creation of agro-based industries using, as far as possible, intermediate technology disbursed and diversified all over the countryside so that there are a large number of centres which could function as magnets to take the surplus population from nearby villages and usefully employ them in secondary and tertiary activities—there is no

²³ Frederick C. Dyer, and John M. Dyer, *Bureaucracy vs. Creativity*, Coral Gables, University of Miami Press, 1965, p. 27.

hope of tangible achievement. In a country of our size and diversity, decentralisation and delegation of power—so that shared power could generate more power at various levels and enable the building up of leadership by people participating in administrative and developmental activities—should unleash the energies of the faceless millions into constructive channels. This does not mean that bureaucracy should abdicate its responsibility in providing its hand in policy-making. In any decision-making process and policy formulation, there is always a need to work out, in detail, the strategic programmes and suitable administrative organisations and operational steps. Administrative planning begins where economic planning ends. It is a conveyor system where there is no dichotomy between planning and implementation, but there is always a feedback from the implementation to make planning much more purposeful. From time to time, we have seen how in moments of crisis bureaucracy has risen to deliver the goods. This sense of urgency has to be created which could result in hard and sustained work. India has been described as a 'soft State' and to belie this charge, bureaucracy can and will have to lend its hand in ensuring that the policies are conceived in such a way that they are relevant to our conditions and that they are implemented with patience and conviction. It is necessary to build up a coherent policy, bereft of inconsistencies, by substituting departmental contests by an inspired social purpose so that people belonging to different sectors of the economy and departments can work in unison to achieve the objectives set before the State. We have often seen how our dialectical way of thinking has unhinged the planning process and where the seed of destruction is sown within the plant itself. We seem to thrive on these contradictions. We talk of austerity but our mass media blare out consumerism day in and day out. Our newspapers highlight violence and lack of discipline when creative endeavours and the peaks of excellence in our society need to be publicised, instead of leaving them buried under the bushel. We talk of hard work when ceremonies and functions take most of the time which could be devoted to purposeful work.

Bureaucracy, while it has faced many a challenge in the past, will have to be forward-looking, human in content and flexible enough to lend stability while moving forward to keep the momentum of change—going fast enough to see that every tear from the faces of the millions is wiped out and the hungry man gets at least one square meal per day. Here Gandhiji's talisman could serve as a guiding light to the bureaucrat in his day-to-day and moment-to-moment functioning.

The dream of an administrator should be that some day he would find a way to the potential of the people and mobilise their dormant energies for the fulfilment of the tasks in hand and share with his associates a mutually

deep vision of what a truly inspired human organisation can achieve. Each of us has some distinctive and individual contribution that he can make in the realisation of this dream. One should be inspired by the epitaph: "For their tomorrow, we shall give our today". Then only we shall be leaving behind a safe world.

BUREAUCRATS AND POLITICIANS : ROLE RELATIONSHIP

R. C. Joshi

THE purpose of this article is to examine the relationship of the politician and the administrator in public administration at the State and local levels. I propose to examine the question in the light of my Civil Service experience as General Manager of a Municipal Transport & Electricity Enterprise in Bombay city and as secretary of various Departments in the Maharashtra secretariat and during my service at the district and divisional levels. I have already argued in my previous article¹ dealing with rural development in Maharashtra State that while local politicians are all too willing to undertake local improvement works with Government subsidies, they are unwilling to finance them after raising the resources from their area. They expect that the State Government should turn over large funds for unsupervised work by Zilla Parishads. They are unwilling to face the prospect of undertaking programmes in which the burden will fall heavily on their voters. As a result the performance of local bodies does not measure up to the idealised account of panchayat raj. This puts a serious limitation on the capacity and efficiency of bureaucracy in development work. I propose to examine in what way and to what extent the efficiency and performance of bureaucracy is affected by the interaction of bureaucrats with politicians.

PUBLIC ENTERPRISE AND POLITICAL CONTROL

The job of the General Manager of a public enterprise with 22,000 employees cannot be a cosy one. It is a job of tensions. The General Manager is expected to manage the affairs of the enterprise with sound business principles and prudent commercial practices. At the same time he is subjected to democratic control of elected municipal councillors which ensures that the working of the enterprise will be in the public interest. There is, however, a considerable amount of confusion of thought regarding the proper relationship of the Managing Committee and the Chief Executive. The powers vested in the General Manager are laid down in the Bombay Municipal Corporation Act. In practice the powers of the General Manager are extremely limited, which hinder the efficient functioning of the enterprise.

¹ R. C. Joshi, "Bureaucrats and Politicians at Rural Level", *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol XXI, No. 2, April-June, 1975, pp. 192-196.

The relationship between the BEST Committee and the Chief Executive is expected to be a partnership based upon mutual respect and confidence. The politicians in the Committee have, in fact, displayed remarkable objectivity in their outlook in the past and considered questions relating to the BEST without any political bias. In two matters, however, the decisions of the Committee are always influenced by political considerations. Firstly, although the costs of operation due to the high cost of HSD oil have outstripped the earnings, the Committee has been unwilling to raise the bus fares. Further, it had to yield to the demands of labour unions for various labour concessions. As a result the enterprise runs into financial difficulty. This makes the position of the General Manager unenviable. The situation becomes more complicated if the labour unions are controlled by the opposition parties bent on extracting the maximum benefit from the management and the ruling party. The role of the General Manager is not limited to provision of data, advice and management expertise to the politicians in the Managing Committee but he has to run the public undertaking and make it a commercial success. The General Manager cannot obtain the best results due to the non-cooperation of part-time politicians who are hardly in a position to understand his position. The above comments are based on my experience as General Manager from 1959 to 1962. The situation has not changed much even today. The important conclusion that is to be drawn from this analysis is that public enterprises should not be subjected to the changing political complexion of municipal bodies and the destiny of such enterprises should be placed in the hands of persons having outstanding experience in various spheres of life like running public or private enterprise and technical and accounting experts. It should be definitely understood that I am not arguing to free the bureaucracy from political control. Quite the contrary, I am arguing that the specialists and experts in the ruling party should participate and supervise the bureaucracy running public enterprises. The vital question to pose is what is the goal of the State or local Government or public enterprise and what role in accomplishing it is to be assigned to the administrators and the controlling politicians, and given the goal, whether the administrators and the politicians at lower levels have the capacity to perform and achieve the goal. This is a subject worthy of study. Both the bureaucracy and the party politicians in charge have to adhere to a set of behavioural norms and unless they follow the norms, mere participation of politicians in decision-making is not likely to be useful to the development process where the bureaucracy is given limited powers in decision-making and where their role is subordinate to the political leaders. They are likely to be passive instruments when confronted with the excessive demands of labour and of the development process. In short, the political party has to take care to see that the politicians chosen to control public enterprise or local Government maintain meaningful control over the bureaucracy and, at the same time, are able to take unpopular decisions and do not pass the buck to the bureaucracy.

ADMINISTRATION AND LAND REFORMS

The contribution that the bureaucracy can make to the development process can be effective when the bureaucracy and the political elements cooperate and complement each other. As Mr. Lucian W. Pye has observed: "... public administration cannot be greatly improved without a parallel strengthening of the representative political processes."² In the implementation of land reforms, it is seen that only 25 per cent of the tenants in Western Maharashtra in occupation of land became owners and 75 per cent of land was resumed by owners for personal cultivation since Independence. This is because the matter was mostly left to the Tenancy Courts to decide in the light of the Tenancy Act. Judged by the actual results, the Tenancy Courts manned by non-judicial revenue officers have not succeeded in bringing greater distributive equity and social justice in the ownership of land. It appears as if the bureaucracy had a tendency to put the interest of the small landowner above that of the landless tenant. This is not an example of bureaucratic evasion and sabotage of land reforms. This is an example to show how bureaucracy, which is not motivated to achieve certain goals, cannot be an effective instrument of modernisation. The political system also did not supervise how the bureaucracy translated the intention of the Government into practice except in the debates of the legislature. It follows that bureaucracy by itself is not equipped and motivated to deal with distributive justice and equalisation through land reforms without assistance from the political system. As Michael Lipton³ has observed: "In several States in north and west India ceilings on the individual holdings are easily avoided by malafide transfers. Thus the landlords take over the land of potentially troublesome tenants, divide it into sub-ceiling holdings (for wife, children, cousins, aunts, etc.) and resume it for personal cultivation—effectively turning tenants into labourers. In general, tenancy reform in the 'Soft-States' of the third world breaks upon the rock of landlord power.... Below the Collector, officials are closely linked by caste and other interests to the very landlord groups who are the object of the Law's provision.... Much more vital is the need to enlist poor peasants as formal action in the implementation process as was done in China in the early fifties." The Committee⁴ appointed by the Government of Maharashtra has recommended that a meeting of Gram Sabha should be called every year in each village and the villagers should be informed of the list of tenant and owner for each plot of land in the village. There is reason to

² Lucian W. Pye, "Administration, Politics and Development in New States", in C. N. Bhalerao (Ed.), *Administration, Politics and Administration in India*, Bombay, Lalvani Publishers, 1972, p. 47.

³ Michael Lipton "Agrarian Reform and Agrarian Reformation—Studies of Peru, Chile, China and India", pp. 277—278.

⁴ Report of the Committee appointed by Government of Maharashtra for Evaluation of Land Reforms, p. 280

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believe that land reforms are best made under pressure from effective mass peasant movement.

POLITICAL SUPERVISION OF BUREAUCRACY

Just as the bureaucrats are handicapped in their efforts to introduce distributive reforms without mass political support, the same is true of the power of the *per se* exercised by legislative committees. The Public Accounts Committees read the audit report of the Accountant General relating to by-gone years regarding the performance of officers who have been transferred long ago. It follows that the financial control by the politicians over the bureaucracy in general is not effective and all the discussions do not ensure any substantial results in controlling administrative lapses and malpractices. Unless politicians have the sophistication and administrative insight and technical ability, they will be unable to give proper guidance, cooperation and direction to the bureaucracy. The failure of the cooperative movement to make an impact on the many facets of agriculture and the large overdues of better-off farmers who have the ability to pay and the inability of the bureaucracy to proceed against the powerful elements in rural areas shows that the political party is unable to exercise control over its members when and where it is necessary.

POLITICAL PATRONAGE

During the recent past there has been a controversy that senior administrators seem committed to the political leaders heading the State Government who can make or mar their career. It is worth examining whether the essential elements and values of public administration like loyalty, neutrality, impartiality are being undermined. Actually, there has been no power struggle between administration and political elites in Maharashtra. As the political leaders controlled the personnel system, the bureaucrats had to adjust to their new position of subordination to political chief at the State level, after Independence. At present at the State level the bureaucracy has surrendered its decision-making role to the ministers who are the new masters and in some cases the senior administrators have been merely yes-men playing up to the Minister in the hope of advancement. At the Zilla Parishad level, conflict has developed between young officers and politicians where a power seeking President of Zilla Parishad might try to use a Government servant for the purpose of awarding a contract to his favourite contractor or for locating a school or dispensary in his own constituency. It must be said to the credit of young IAS officers that at the district level, the majority have not compromised their professional standard of integrity even in the face of difficult situations like a 'No Confidence' motion. At the State level, however, there is a tendency to trim the official notes to what the political boss likes to have

or hear as there is a fear that the official will lose his position otherwise. At the district level, the young officer is unwilling to identify himself with any politician but to maintain the standards and rules in the performance of his duties even in the face of the ever present fear of transfer from the district with the machinations of politicians. At the State level, the promotions and appointments are not based on any known standards or on the basis of an objective assessment of any appointments committee. The general feeling is that advancement depends not on ability and zeal but on favouritism of politicians. The bureaucracy is, therefore, keen to further their career prospects by satisfying their political superiors and there is a feeling that the business of influential politicians and their friends, opportunists, hangers-on, liaison officers, etc., takes precedence over attending to the business of the common citizens.

DELEGATION OF AUTHORITY

Recently the Prime Minister has rightly stressed that there is need for a radical change of attitude in the bureaucracy. The bureaucracy and the politicians at the State and lower levels have to realise their respective roles and develop a new ethic in their approach. There is a reluctance to delegate powers especially at the State level. One Minister did not want to delegate even the power to issue a milk ration card to the dairy department. Another did not delegate the authority to issue permits for cement and steels to the civil supplies department. This shows that there is a tendency to centralise these powers. On the whole, some are reluctant to turn to the Secretary for consultations or discussion but try to reach an under secretary or even a Superintendent far down in the hierarchy so that a favourable turn is given to the matter in the file or even to expedite it. On the whole the reluctance to delegate springs from the desire to know everything that is going on in the department but this makes the higher officers, hesitant to take decision and they are denied the participation in the work of the department.

DECISION-MAKING

The role of the bureaucracy at the State level is severly limited in matters of policy involving not only political but economic issues like the Monopoly Cotton Scheme which is beyond the financial capacity of the State but has political implications. So the matter is not left to the secretariat to study the pros and cons and various alternatives. Even the declaration of scarcity does not depend upon the Annewari of Crops but the interests of particular regions may influence the policies and the programme of relief and the allocation of funds to them. The old tradition of objectivity in taking up relief works or even allocation of funds for irrigation works or road works in particular

regions is subject to the pushes and pulls of politicians. There is great pressure to start a number of roads and other works to keep interested politicians satisfied without a detailed economic analysis and without even preparation of plans and estimates and with no certainty for allocation of funds for completion. There is no great attempt to form a positive effort to implement the national policy but rather a negative attempt to get greater allocation of Central funds, resources and taxes for State projects or for scarcity relief. This tendency is to some extent inevitable but it shows how the administrators are directly subject to the internal political pressure of State political leaders and have to make out a case even though there is disagreement over some of the economic policies. In this way the bureaucracy is involved in State and regional politics. The Government officers have lost their neutrality and their power to take independent decisions. In fact the power and influence of politicians over the bureaucracy at the State level is indeed all pervasive and is used to influence the Central decisions.

MINISTERIAL RESPONSIBILITY

It would be interesting to know how the traditional doctrine of ministerial responsibility under which the Minister is responsible for everything done or not done by his department and under which a Government servant is liable for disciplinary action of any serious lapse in the department operates in practice. On major points of policy, there is no disagreement between Ministers and officers but the real trouble is regarding the administrative process under which the departments make hundreds of decisions based on discretion in individual cases—should this or that piece of land reserved for school or garden in Bombay city development plan be released? Should FSI be increased in an individual case? Should all plots of Government land in the cities be sold by auction or given at concessional rate by negotiation to the builders? Should cement or steel be allotted to luxury buildings? Should industry be allowed to expand in crowded cities? Should costly office accommodation or flat in the Fort area be requisitioned for Government office or officer or released for commercial offices? It is clear that a favourable decision to the individual owner yields huge returns but most of these cases are being decided at the political level. As the public is not interested in individual cases of favours or injustices the decision-making process is not likely to be challenged as in the Crichel Down case in England.⁵ Some official decisions have been challenged in courts recently. In such cases the courts are in a position to see the facts and the administrative process by which the decision was arrived at. On the whole the responsibility for such individual

⁵ D. N. Chester, "The Crichel Down Case", in Richard A. Chapman and A. Dunsire (Eds.), *Style in Administration: Readings in British Public Administration*, London, George Allen & Unwin, 1972, p. 373.

decisions, apart from policy-making, rests with politicians. The British rules for fixing official and ministerial responsibility are not very helpful because most of the decisions are taken in meetings of Ministers and officers. There is a tendency to move more and more to diffuse individual responsibility in the direction of consulting various departments in meetings of officers and make no secret of the personal view of the Minister in the matter so that even in official notings the personal view of the Minister prevails.

Some of the major elements of the classical British administrative doctrine like ministerial responsibility for the acts of administrators and political neutrality of administrative personnel are undergoing change. Administration is involved in processing the policy of the political party and has to be committed to that policy. In fact, the political leaders demand commitment by administrators to the developmental goals and programmes. The political leaders have succeeded in completely dominating the administrative machine which has adjusted to the new situation. This is as it should be but the basic question is how far the political party has succeeded in performing its task of communication and mobilisation of the masses for developmental tasks? The performance capacity of the administrative system will depend upon the vitality of the political party and the leadership occupying strategic power position utilising the bureaucracy in fulfilling the common goal of nation building and modernisation.

Out of the above analysis of my bureaucratic experience in Maharashtra some important points seem to emerge. The first point is that the political leaders are concerned more with the advancement of parochial and narrow interests than with the broader interest of public enterprise.⁶ It is the business of the political party leadership to bring about a proper realisation and appreciation of their role in public bodies. The second point is that administration is not a politically neutral instrument selflessly serving whatever policy is given to it for implementation. In the absence of mass political support, an unchecked unhampered, unsupervised bureaucracy cannot achieve the goal of nation building. It is the business of political institutions to convert the bureaucracy into change agents through training and to bring the political and administrative change agents together into a single development administration. The third point is that power equation between the civil service and the Ministers has drastically changed and the administration has lost its traditional role of giving independent advice to the Ministers and occasions are likely to arise when the civil servant will have to compromise his professional standards if he wishes to remain in service or else he will have to resign his appointment. It is, however, difficult to fix official responsibility, as many

⁶ Shanti Kothari and Ramashray Roy, *Relations Between Politicians and Administrators*, New Delhi, Indian Institute of Public Administration, 1969.

decisions are taken in meetings. As things stand at present there are very few occasions when the Minister admits that his department is in error and there is a tendency for the Minister to take personal credit for good work but he is not prepared to admit his lack of control over the department. The matter is rarely pushed to the extent of punishing the officers involved except at the lower rungs of the ladder.

EXPEDITING DECISION-MAKING IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

P. R. Dubhashi

INDIA is a developing economy which is in a hurry. India lost the opportunity to participate in the first industrial revolution mainly because she was not an independent country and as a result while the western countries reaped the fruits of the industrial revolution and became economically advanced countries, India remained backward with low levels of technology, productive organisation, national income and standard of living.

After the attainment of Independence, India has sought to make good this lag of centuries. She has to telescope centuries of progress into a few decades; she has to leapfrog centuries. In the meanwhile, the world has witnessed a second industrial revolution and India has to compress two industrial revolutions into a single process.

Millions of people in India are restless and a revolution of rising expectations has stirred them. India, therefore, cannot afford to wait, she cannot stand and stare or go at a leisurely pace. In the modern world she has to run to stay where she is; she has to force the pace of economic development and the administrative tasks connected therewith.

This obviously means that economic and administrative decisions must be taken quickly. When quickness of progress is desired, the time factor becomes all important. However, this is not always realised by the administrators and people alike. While land, labour, capital and enterprise are recognised as factors of production, time is not, though it is perhaps the most important factor of production. It is seldom considered that timely decisions can bring in handsome dividends while delayed decisions might well mean a lot of waste and lost opportunities.

Recently Shri Dharma Vira, former Governor of Mysore, cited an instance of delay. Addressing the executive members of the All India Manufacturers' Organisation, he pointed out that the giant Kalinadi hydro electric project in the State was held up for six long years at Delhi for no reason at all and this was mostly responsible for power shortage in the State and the country. Similarly, the delay in setting up fertiliser units has landed the

country's agriculture in serious trouble just when introduction of hybrid seeds and opening up new areas under the command of irrigation projects have opened up new opportunities for increased agricultural production.

Quick decisions, of course, do not mean hurried decisions. Since haste may mean waste, we have to hasten slowly. But, nevertheless, we have to hasten. Decision-making is quick, if systematic action is taken to identify goals and objectives, priorities established, all important possible ways of achieving the goals and policies for achieving them are identified, all important significant consequences that follow from each of the alternative policies are investigated, and consequences of various policies are compared with goals. Equal decisiveness will have to be shown in implementing policies, in translating policies into action, in carrying out the programmes, in appointing personnel and dealing with the innumerable problems connected with all these. Persons at all levels, national, state or local, at the level of policies or at the level of implementation, must take decisions and must take them quickly.

In a predominantly agricultural country, decisions have to be timely; otherwise the agricultural season may be lost. Thus supply of seeds, fertilisers, insecticides and agriculture credit have to be arranged on time. Decisions regarding production, import, despatch and distribution of these inputs have all to be taken on time. This does not always happen. Seeds, fertilisers and credit sometimes reach the farmer after the critical time or season for their use is over. This results not only in waste of resources but also loss of faith of the farmer in the administrative machinery. Industrial development as well as agricultural development depend on inputs like power and transport. Failure to set up fertiliser and power projects has seriously impeded the economic progress of the country. Thus from planning and policy-making at the top to the detailed implementation of the programmes at the field level, there have to be a series of decisions—quick, timely and synchronising with each other.

Decisions may not be taken quickly for a number of reasons. Some reasons may be genuine, such as complexity of the problems, inadequate information, time required for complete analysis and cost involved, difficulties in organising goals or values, some of which cannot be objectively decided or might be in conflict with one another, resistance to rational and unbiased analysis, organisational obstacles, etc.

Some of these limitations can be overcome by several devices to increase analytical capacities like storage of information, quantification, dividing a problem into parts that can be independently analysed and new techniques like operational research system analysis, PERT, i.e., programme, evaluation and review technique, project planning, performance budgeting, etc.

Sometimes decisions are delayed by outmoded rules of procedure laid down in the departmental manuals. Jawaharlal Nehru, talking about these, once said: "What are these manuals or procedure meant for?" Apparently perfection in administration. There must not be a mistake anywhere; check, countercheck, cross references and all that. This is well intended. But if that results in the thing not being done or a great delay occurring in doing it, then the main thing is gone in spite of the perfection aimed at". Obviously, manuals, rules and procedures have to be kept under continuous scrutiny so as to remove the obstacles in quick decision-making. This is a matter of administrative reform which is a continuous process.

If outmoded procedure is one obstacle to quick decision-making, lack of delegation is another. If decision-making powers are concentrated at the higher echelons of administration, then at the levels of action no decisions are taken, no initiative shown, matters are delayed and delay only leads to frustration among the field workers and people at large. There should be extensive delegation of power to promote quick action—delegation from the secretariat to the heads of the department and from them to the field agencies at the district and lower levels and to the local self-government institutions.

Decision-making, however, is not a matter of mere formal system. It is also a matter of attitude of people who work the system. If they are motivated by will to achieve, desire to deliver the goods, to show results, if they have a sense of urgency, a sense of function and commitment then they will look at everything positively and try to take decisions rather than to delay them. If on the other hand, they are lazy, sluggish and indolent, if they only wish to play safe to shirk responsibility, and to pass on the buck to others, then they will make references which are not needed which result in delay and loss of public interest.

When two decades ago, Paul H. Appleby, a leading American expert on public administration examined the Indian administrative system, he described it as one of the twelve best in the world. But he also found it slow moving and circumlocutory, in which everybody must consult everybody else before anything is done at all. Authority must be equal to responsibility and clear cut and pin-pointed and not vague and diffused. In the Indian administrative system, the latter is often the case and nobody can be held accountable for results. Ultimately what matter are results and not just administrative procedures. Decisions are often delayed in the secretariats, the central organisation of governmental administration. Here papers move in a slow, ponderous and clumsy manner from the case worker to the various upper layers like the section officer, under secretary, deputy secretary and finally on to joint secretary, additional secretary, secretary and minister himself. At some

of these levels no material contribution may be made and yet papers accumulate, people feel hard worked, but decisions are delayed. Must all papers necessarily pass through all the layers of authority? It is often felt that they need not and 'level jumping' is suggested as the answer.

Many years ago, A.D. Gorawala, a noted Indian administrator reporting on Mysore Administration, recommended officer oriented administration in the secretariat as against the existing clerical orientation so that proposals would not have to pass through routine clerical procedures but dealt with expeditiously by an officer fully in the know of the situation and in a position to take decisions. Unfortunately, the system after being introduced for a brief period, was abandoned. The system is also otherwise known as the 'Desk System' prevalent, I believe, in some Central secretariat departments.

Another remedy is to hive off many chunks of administration to autonomous agencies capable of quick decisions and mobile flexible action not hamstrung by the need to make references to finance or law departments in the secretariat whose lack of concurrence or protracted scrutiny may delay vital decisions.

We are living in a planned economy and the administrative decision-making process has to follow the planning process. Plans are based on forecasting and this must facilitate smooth administration and quick decision-making. But if there are uncertainties in planning, they upset the priorities and cause a certain amount of confusion leading to delays in decision-making.

Quick and timely decision-making is indispensable for public good. But this is not possible where there are deficiencies either in the system or the personnel who operate the system. Both have to be improved and kept trim.

ENVIRONMENTAL CONTEXT AND THE PERSONNEL SYSTEM—ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR TRIBAL AREAS

B. D. Sharma

ENVIRONMENt is one of the most important aspects in any study of a social situation. The prime role of environment in influencing human conditions is generally not questioned. However, there is difference of opinion about its total impact in determining human behaviour. For example the Marxian philosophy treats man wholly as a creature of his environment. It is an example of one extreme position. Some religious philosophies are on the other end of the spectrum. It may not be necessary to go here in the philosophical refinements, it will be sufficient to have a clear appreciation of the importance of the environmental context.

The term 'environment' has been borrowed from the physical world. Here, the man or, say, the 'human society' is situated within the frame provided by nature which constitutes the necessary 'environment'. But when we consider administration, 'environment' is not this physical environment but the numerous non-physical relationships which man has created for himself. Therefore, the term 'environment' has a different connotation and distinctive characteristics. In nature, environment is given and unchangeable; in the context of administration environment is man's own creation. It may, however, be added that this is so only in the ultimate analysis. Even the man-made 'environment' may be unchangeable for many purposes. In certain circumstances, it may acquire some of the characteristics of the natural environment itself.

'Personnel system' is the instrument of public administration or the State itself. This system comes in contact with the individual citizen through individuals who are members of the system itself. It is here that the 'environment' and the institutionalised form of the 'State' interact and influence each other. For understanding the nature of this interaction, it will be necessary to trace the succession of linkages from 'individual' to 'environment', on the one hand, and from 'individual' to 'system' on the other. This is a circular chain which may be roughly represented as follows:

'individual' → 'environmental context' → 'organised State' → 'personnel system' → 'individual'.

In this chain, change can occur at any point. Any change at any point will influence the entire chain, the intensity at any point depending on the strength of the change element. In fact, the whole structure is continuously changing, though imperceptibly. These changes are generally measurable only over a period of time unless mutation occurs at some point in the chain. In this paper, we will try to understand this interaction and process of change particularly in the context of the more backward tribal situation.

ENVIRONMENTAL CONTEXT

The environmental context can be better appreciated if we gradually limit its canvass and focus our attention to a continuing smaller region. The first concrete manifestation of the environmental context is the 'time spirit' prevailing in the society. Time spirit represents the sum total of the social phenomenon or the prevailing ethos of the community assimilating within itself the social, cultural and religious heritage. It is the nearest equivalent of what has been termed as '*kala*' in our scriptures. 'Time spirit' is the first stage in approaching the personnel system from the 'environmental' end. If we proceed further, we reach the socio-economic situation in the second stage; thereafter is the political system and finally the administrative system. Thus we have the successive linkage as in the following:

Environment → Time spirit → Socio-Economic situation → Political system → Administrative system → Personnel

Thus we have broadly identified the six aspects of environmental context relevant to the study of public administration. There is an apparent logical fallacy in this statement. Once we describe the six elements as successive narrower regions of the same canvass, they cannot be termed as independent aspects. This fallacy arises because of the very nature of social science studies. Here, whenever we try to analyse a situation in terms of its constituent elements, none of them can be an independent variable as in physical sciences or in pure mathematics whose field of operation is pure thought. In social situations, the relationship is so intricate and inter-woven that no element is really independent. All elements, therefore, are inter-connected and inter-dependent. In the analysis of the preceding paragraph, the various elements have been introduced, in a way, in a causal sequence though even here there can be some scope of a reasonable difference of opinion.

'Time-spirit' is most difficult concept. What is the prevailing atmosphere in the community? For example, the statements 'Everyone was truthful in Ashokan age' or 'People are prepared to sacrifice their lives for their country in Japan' would be indicative of the prevailing atmosphere in that community. No better term is available for expressing this element and,

therefore, we can call it 'the time-spirit' of a nation. The scope of the term 'socio-economic situation' is narrower. The 'political system' can be said to be a part of the 'socio-economic situation,' but the two in some respects and to some extent are independent as well. The political system, to a large extent, depends on the socio-economic matrix of the community but the political system, in its turn, influences the socio-economic situation itself. Similar mutual relationships can also be seen between the 'political system' and the 'administrative system'. In this chain of elements, when change takes place at any point, it manifests itself in all the other elements depending on the strength of causal links. The identification of crucial elements and catalytic agents should help in simulating the processes of socio-economic change and development.

PERSONNEL SYSTEM

We may now proceed in the other direction to trace the stages from the 'personnel system' end to the 'individual' with reference to whom all processes have to be finally interpreted. We find two elements, *viz.* (1) the 'personnel structure' and (2) the 'human element'. These two elements are further connected by another element 'personnel technique'. The characteristics of the 'human element', are determined by the group of individuals who man the personnel system. When we study the personnel system in the context of environment, we are really studying the interaction of this 'sub-group' with the larger society of which it is a sub-group.

The above three elements in the 'personnel system'-individual' chain are mutually related and influenced by each other. Personnel techniques are devised with reference to the personnel structure. For example, when an All-India service is constituted, appropriate techniques for selection and promotion are also designed. Similarly, personnel techniques themselves, in their turn, influence the personnel structure. For example, the fact of a common written examination for all the central services in India has influenced the internal structure of the civil service and the relative position of various services. Who will man a structure depends on both the selection technique and the structure.

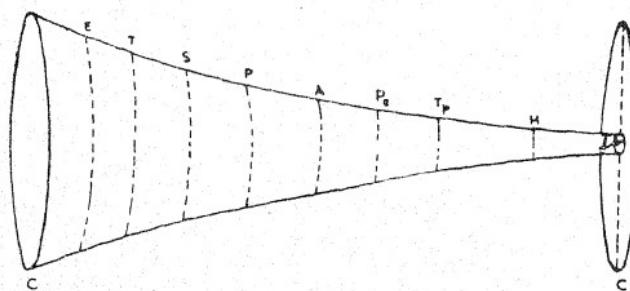
Let us further consider the interrelationship between the human element and the personnel techniques. The method of recruitment and the qualifications prescribed are two important factors of personnel techniques. Minimum qualifications determine the sub-group from which the human element can be drawn. Thus, no body who is not a graduate can be a member of an All-India service because graduation is prescribed as the minimum qualification for entry. The written competition further tilts the balance in favour of those who may have the benefit of attending better institutions. A

minimum qualifying grade in the interview super-imposes an additional value-constraint; besides mere intellectual attainment, social poise also becomes an important factor in selection. When it was found that this requirement effectively excluded the poorer groups from the service selection, the technique was suitably amended. Even all these steps did not help substantially certain underprivileged groups like the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. Therefore, an element of reservation is introduced in favour of these communities. This would help in changing the very complexion of human element in the system. Thus, interrelationship between the techniques and the human element can be traced all through the system.

THE INTERACTION OF ENVIRONMENT AND THE PERSONNEL SYSTEM

Let us now understand the process of interaction between the environment and the personnel system. We have noted that the personnel system itself is determined by the administrative system. In fact, the personnel structure is a function of the administrative system. On the other hand, the administrative system itself will be influenced by the personnel structure. The administrative system, in a way, is the midpoint between the environment and the human element. Perhaps, the administrative system goes to determine the environmental conditions for the personnel system.

SCHEMATIC REPRESENTATION OF 'ENVIRONMENT-PERSONNEL' INTERACTION CHAIN



C—Community, E—Environmental Context, T—Time-Spirit

S—Socio-Economic Matrix, P—Political System,

A—Administrative System, Pe—Personnel System, H—Human Element,

T_p—Personnel Technique, I—Individual, C—Community

Thus, we find a continuing relationship starting from the environmental context through the personnel system to the human element. From the environmental context end, we first come to the 'time-spirit', then we reach

socio-economic matrix, political system, administrative system, personnel structure, personnel techniques and, finally, the human element. In the ultimate analysis, we want to study the interaction between this sub-group, comprising the human element, and the environment or the prevailing ethos in the society. In fact, we arrive at different groups of individuals and our problem is reduced to the study of relationship between a smaller group as defined by the personnel system and the larger community within which it operates. The above statement may appear to be so simple as to verge on triviality; but it brings into relief the character of interaction between environment and the personnel system. It should be noted that in view of the complex interrelationship between various elements, interaction between any two of them, even with the environmental context remaining unchanged, will affect the personnel system. This, in turn, will have an impact on the personnel structure, the personnel techniques and other aspects of the system. We may not dwell upon the logical niceties of each minute change in the final analysis; the whole chain continuously reverberates with spontaneous changes at various points. We are interested in concrete world situations. Therefore, we may identify areas of perceptible change and study them.

The socio-economic situation of the community influences the political system. In a democracy, a political party comes to power on the basis of certain promises to the electorate. The present Government has also come to power with an election manifesto of the ruling party. Here we find an example of interaction between the society and the political system. But this interaction does not become relevant to the administrative system unless the election promises are translated into precise work programmes or in terms of organisational goals of various units in the administrative system. The political party's promises in the election manifesto will become relevant to the system only when it is translated in terms of concrete goals and work programmes of the personnel system. The personnel system and the environment can be said to interact at that point in time when the organisational goals, so determined, are transmitted to the administrative system and through it to the personnel system.

Similarly, let us now consider the various internal processes within the personnel system. These internal processes may or may not have anything to do with the socio-economic system or the environment. For example, different administrative units may compete for superiority within the system. This internal warfare may be neutral in terms of its impact on environment. But if it gets intensified beyond a point, it may jeopardise the very objective of the whole administrative and the personnel systems and defeat the final goals of the political system. The political executive may decide to intervene at this point. It may also happen that as change becomes

necessary or desirable other organised pressures may begin to work on it and force a new direction.

All interactions in a community operate through individuals who may be members of two sub-groups between which the interaction is sought to be studied. The fact that interaction between the personnel system and the environment is ultimately through individuals is basic to our analysis. However, the totality of actions of every individual may not be relevant to our study. An individual, as a member of the society, has numerous roles to perform. Here, we are studying the interaction of a sub-group comprising the personnel system with the larger group comprising the society itself. Each member of a sub-group has at least two roles—one as a member of the sub-group and another as a member of the larger community. However, besides being a civil servant, an individual is also a member of a family, a friend, a player, etc. Similarly, an average citizen also has a number of roles. But only a very small section of his total personality comes in contact with the administration. We are interested in the interaction between the individual in his role as a member or as a part of the personnel structure and an individual as a citizen so far as he comes in contact with the administration. Although this area is extremely narrow, in the complex human situation, all elements in the contact zone and outside are not independent variables. Therefore, the relevant points of interaction may be few, yet the total personality of an individual will have a bearing on them and, therefore, the whole personality becomes relevant. The study of the interaction between the environment and the personnel system has to be attempted in terms of the individual-aggregates as packages of personality traits comprising the respective systems.

INTERNALISED BEHAVIOUR PATTERN—ITS SIGNIFICANCE

It is the time-spirit that determines the value system of an individual and, therefore, influences his internalised behaviour pattern without any reference to the roles imposed by the membership of an organisation. For example, in a society where every individual subscribes to the ideal of equality between all citizens, no matter what the administrative system is, the interaction between the administration and its environment will be, more likely than not, as between two equal citizens. Each of them will appreciate the constraints of the roles imposed by the system on either of them. In Britain so long as people believe in democratic values, interaction between any two groups, whatever may be the groups, will tend to become as between two equals rather than from a superior to a sub-ordinate. In a socio-economic system where the idea of inequality still persists as a remnant characteristic of the feudal order, the interaction between the members of any two groups will be as from a superior to the inferior. In fact, even if the formal relationship

may have been changed through a suitable statute, one can find the traditional interaction patterns continuing. This is at the base of alleged unsympathetic response of the administrative system towards the member of the scheduled castes. Even the members of the scheduled castes themselves may not respond to the new situation because the new value system has not been internalised. The situation is entirely different in the tribal societies which basically have equalitarian structure. The tribal is not used to a rigid heirarchy. Therefore, in a backward tribal area it is possible to draw out with ease an average citizen. Once the initial hesitation is broken, he is prepared to talk on terms of equality. On the other hand, in advanced rural areas, where the society is structured it is impossible for an average villager to feel at home with higher-ups in the administrative heirarchy. However, the situation again changes when we study this interaction in the urban setting. The average citizen in a metropolitan city is conscious of his rights and may not bother much about the formal position of an individual with whom he is dealing. Thus, it is the mores of internalised behaviour pattern within a community which largely define the quality of interaction between any two groups.

THE ROLE PERSPECTIVE

Another important determinant of the quality of interaction between the environment and the personnel system is the role perspective of the individual himself. If an individual is a member of the I.A.S. or a trade union, he is expected to perform certain functions and assume certain responsibilities as a member of that group. Sometimes normative behaviour patterns for members of different groups are also informally defined. However, unlike the internalised value system, the roles are externally determined and superimposed on the individual. Sometimes, we may find a clash between one's value system and the prescribed role. In this situation the necessary decision whether at all one would carry the cross of one's imposed role has to be taken. Many a civil servant resigned in the pre-Independence days when the prescribed role came directly in clash with their personal values while dealing with the freedom movement. Similar situations may also arise even now in the economic or other policy spheres if the prescribed role were to come in conflict with one's personal ideology depending on the intensity of one's feeling on the concerned issue.

We may now study the individual roles more closely. In the first instance, it may be noted that the individual roles are defined by one's place in an organisation. There is a qualitative difference in the roles of the top executive, the middle management and the supporting staff. Although the place in the heirarchy is not important for our analysis, the quality of interaction will depend on the conceptual frame of the role itself.

The roles of the constituent elements or a sub-group of the personnel

system of an organisation are determined by the overall organisational goals. In their turn, the organisational goals are, by and large, defined by the political system and are given to the civil service. Yet it has to be noted that not all organisational goals are politically determined. There are some organisational goals which are internalised in the system and may be the products of some special historical situation of the organisation itself. For example, self-preservation has the inherent potential of becoming the most elemental goal of every organisation. The creation of an organisation may be a definite political or administrative decision. But its abolition is not as simple as its creation. An organisation may become too powerful to be under the control of a political system. The armed forces is an extreme example. But many others, which are neither so powerful nor have a special significance, continue their weary existence even after their initial purpose has been served or even when they have failed to serve the original purpose. Besides self-preservation, there may be some other goals which an organisation may come to acquire in the process of its organisational evolution. These goals may or may not conflict with the overall objectives of the political system. For example, an organisation may attempt to carve out a bigger 'empire' for its members. But such an effort may also be made in sheer self interest notwithstanding that it may conflict with the larger interests of the community which is the ultimate objective of all political activity.

One common characteristic of all roles prescribed by the organisation for its members is their non-voluntary character. But there is considerable room for flexibility within any set of prescribed norms; otherwise, individual members of the system would be reduced to a position of automata, immune to the environment. If all organisational goals could be clearly prescribed and automatically followed by each member, no conflicting situation would arise; all problems would be reduced to a suitable planning exercise. The organisation could then behave just like a machine in which each individual responds perfectly predictably to any stimuli in the computer. But this is not so because in that case, we would have nothing to study except bureaucratic machines. If there is no flexibility, the internalised value system would be completely out of place in any study. In real world situations, every individual member, subject to some constraints, becomes a central figure in the interaction game. Man's relationship with man, his value system, role perception of each individual, prescribed formal roles, etc., are important elements which determine the quality of interaction. Therefore, the next important question which we should try to answer is as to 'who these gentlemen are?' or 'how a personnel system is manned?'

THE COMPOSITION OF A PERSONNEL SYSTEM

To understand the character of the composition of the personnel system, we will have to consider two aspects: (I) How the civil services are initially

recruited? (2) Is the membership thereof a once-and-for-all decision for the individual or can he change membership from one sub-group to another and has the freedom to rejoin the original sub-group?

The question of initial recruitment can be posed in another way. We may ask as to what sections of the community are represented in the civil service. The composition will be found to be a function of three elements, *viz.*, the socio-economic situation, the administrative structure and the personnel techniques. The needs of the political system may influence the design of the personnel structure and persons having a particular background may be preferred in and dominate the civil service. A colonial system prefers an aristocratic background; the liberal democracy in Britain prefers a well-rounded personality; the legalistic political system in Germany prefers a legal background; military dictatorships may prefer a military background; the Indian system is attempting to change itself to ensure a more representative character of its services. Similarly, the administrative system itself may influence the composition of the civil service without any reference to the political system. The socio-economic situation of a nation also determines the field of selection of a civil service. In India, we are witnessing the changing professional preferences of higher socio-economic groups in metropolitan areas. Business houses are attracting those who otherwise would have gone to civil services. New technical courses are attracting brighter students who would have gone to liberal courses and joined the civil service in another context. The quality in traditional services is being maintained by the higher value still accorded to it by the vast rural and semi-urban communities ironically because of their built-in feudal preferences. Thus, the socio-economic situation, which includes the class structure of the society, the political system, the aspirations of various groups, the relative position of civil services, etc., determine the composition of various sub-groups in a personnel system.

We had earlier attended to the fact that the personnel techniques have the greatest influence in determining the group structure. For example, open competition based entirely on a written examination will throw up an entirely different group compared to a system in which the selection is only on the so-called 'assessment of personality'. Similarly, reservation for the scheduled tribes, scheduled castes and other backward classes is basically a corrective to the personnel techniques in a given frame which do not produce a socially desired composition of the civil service. We are also aware of the demands for local representation because there is incongruence between the socially desired and the actual composition of the personnel system. Therefore, a corrective is sought through suitable personnel techniques.

The second question is 'membership of the sub-group for how long'? Or, in other words, the continuity in the personnel system. This aspect

can be consciously designed or may be left to be determined by the interplay of different forces. Plato's *Republic* would choose its guardians once and for all. At the other extreme, the American system has a sizeable turnover and renews its civil service practically once in five years. Our own system in India discourages outward movement from the civil service by making its members eligible for various benefits only after completing a long tenure. The general economic situation in a country is also an important determinant. When the job opportunities are plentiful outside the civil service and the personnel system does not constitute an unduly privileged group, whether in terms of power, prestige or privileges, the turnover is faster. In this case, an interchange between the civil service sub-group and other citizen sub-groups is more; in the other cases, the civil service membership tends to be long-term and permanent.

The two factors discussed above, viz., initial recruitment and turnover, are important in relation to the interaction between the personnel system and the community. Internalised value system, which determines the quality of interaction, depends to a large extent on the initial constitution of the service and its turnover. Initial recruitment defines the cross-section of the community from which the group is drawn, the qualities of head and heart and, therefore, its behaviour pattern. The extent of uniformity and continuity in a civil servant's career determines his capacity of objective perception of different life-situations. If the turnover in the civil service is small, the continuing influences on individual members, as part of the larger social system, are minimal. If the turnover is fast, service traditions will tend to be weak since the members are never able to form a self-contained permanent group. Individual members of the group and, therefore, the group itself continue to renew their contact with the larger society. The internalised value system of each member is continuously affected by what is happening outside.

If we examine our own permanent civil service system in India, with little turnover, we find that an element of renewing contact with the society, which is an advantage of quicker turnover, is sought to be built into it through other devices like the tenure system. Similarly, if a system cannot get recruits from rural communities and thus tends to become unrepresentative, the next best alternative is to enable the individual members have a personal experience of working with the rural communities, be exposed to different life-situations and, thus, internalise some of their values. The higher civil servants, during the early British days, were drawn from the higher strata of the British society. The tenure system was, perhaps devised to compensate for this inherent defect of a different social extraction. The members of the service could draw upon their experience and internalise certain values which are important for understanding the community and having the

desired interaction. The system of planned changes in assignments in the higher civil service is an attempt to let the members be exposed to the varied socio-economic environments and thus compensate for the disadvantages of a limited cross-sectional representation. Similarly, with the emergence of the new industry oriented economic frame, a need for direct exposure to experience in these new situations is being felt. A systematic interchange with the industrial undertakings and even the suggested exchange of personnel with the private sector is also an attempt in the same direction.

STRATIFICATION WITHIN THE PERSONNEL SYSTEM

In the above analysis we have treated the personnel system or the civil service as a single homogenous entity. But the system is divided both by vertical as well as horizontal lines and there are numerous groups within it. The composition of different sub-groups within the same personnel system in terms of its social background may be entirely different. Each group will have its own value-systems, its own aspirations and, therefore, would have qualitatively an entirely different response to any situation. Each group would, therefore, require different consideration. We can identify broadly three types:

Type—A The whole civil service is drawn from a limited cross-section of the society and there is limited turnover after initial recruitment. Or, the initial recruitment may be from a wider spectrum but afterwards there is purposive insulation. Colonial administration civil service in a backward region and the guardians in Plato's *Republic* are the few examples of this type. There is practically no area of informal contact between the personnel system and the society.

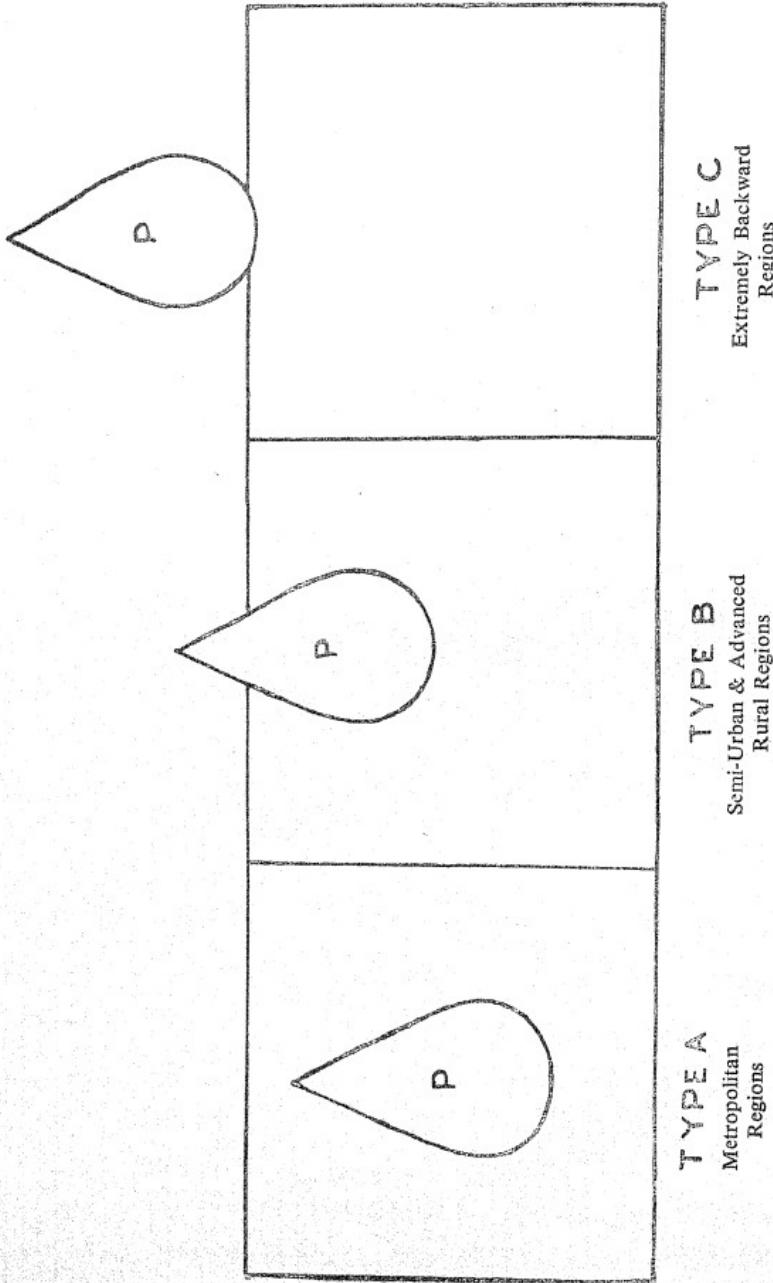
Type—B A part of the civil service (or the higher sub-group) is drawn from a higher strata in the society. It has a limited turnover. Other sub-groups are drawn from a wider cross-section and the turn-over is larger. In this case the area of informal contact of the civil service system with society is wider than in 'A'.

Type—C The entire civil service is drawn from a wide social spectrum. The area of informal contact is universal and co-extensive with the system itself. The civil services in the urban, particularly, metropolitan areas approximate to this type.

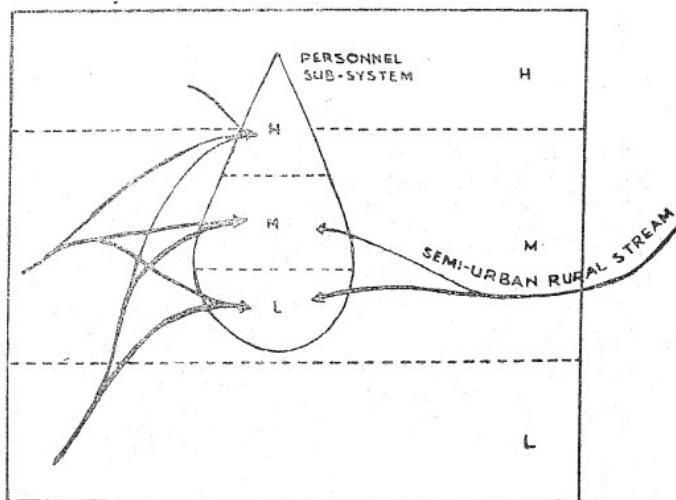
SOCIAL STRATIFICATION AND ITS IMPLICATIONS

Before we further analyse the inner composition of the civil service, we may have another look at the 'environment'. In the earlier part of the

RELATIVE POSITION OF THE PERSONNEL SUB-GROUPS
IN THE COMMUNITY

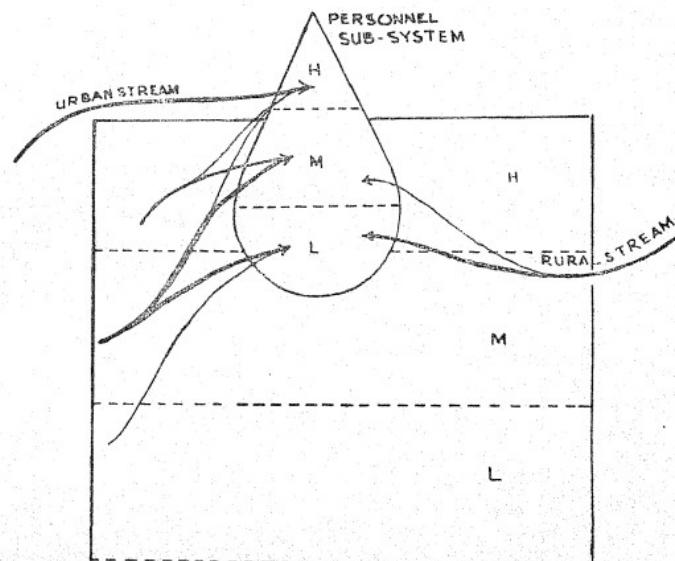


INNER COMPOSITION OF PERSONNEL SUB-SYSTEM
IN DIFFERENT REGIONS—TYPE 'A'



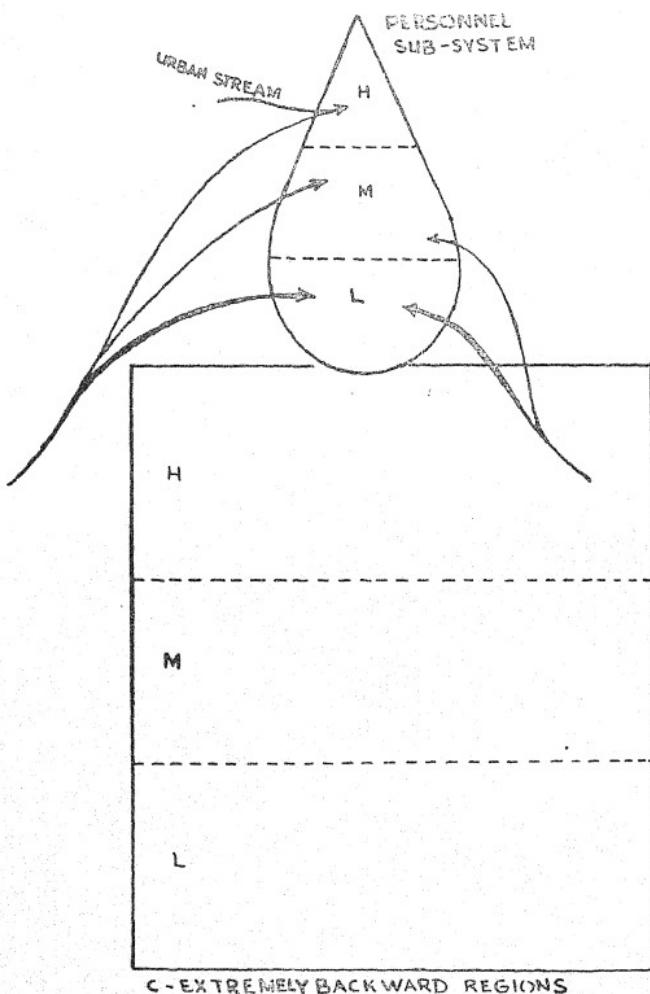
TYPE A :- METROPOLITAN REGIONS

INNER COMPOSITION OF PERSONNEL SUB-SYSTEM
IN DIFFERENT REGIONS—TYPE 'B'



TYPE - B - SEMI URBAN REGIONS

INNER COMPOSITION OF PERSONNEL SUB-SYSTEM
IN DIFFERENT REGIONS—TYPE 'C'



article, we have talked about the 'time-spirit' and the 'socio-economic matrix' of a country as if it were uniform and homogeneous throughout the nation. It is really not so, particularly in a developing society like ours. Here, on the one hand, we may have an advanced region where the prevailing social ethos may be equalitarian and democratic. On the other extreme, there

may be some regions where the old feudalistic or colonial traditions may be holding the ground. This difference may persist notwithstanding the prevalence of a uniform political and administrative system throughout. We have already noted that the personnel system itself is heterogeneous in terms of the social background of its numerous sub-groups.

The above situation poses a basic question: Whether the interaction between the personnel system which has been devised for the country as a whole and the 'environment' which differs from place to place will be the same. The answer is a clear 'no'. In an urban centre like Bombay or Delhi the civil service sub-group is not placed at the top of the socio-economic system and is almost indistinguishable from the general population. In the metropolis, it is the political, the industrial and the commercial groups, which occupy the top position. Therefore, the relationship between the personnel system and the society is generally on terms of equality. If we move from this highly urbanised environment to the general environmental context in our country, say, a small town and a group of villages, we will find that the personnel system has a mixed character. The personnel structure up to a particular level may have a representative cross-section of the community except perhaps for the lowest social groups for which special correctives are made. There is continuous interchange between the lower section of the services and the community and there are no psychological barriers. However, higher sections in the civil service structure represent a different social group and, to some extent, as a class are above the local community. Therefore, in the interaction between the local environment and the personnel system we may find some equalitarian traits but some remnants of the feudalistic or colonial traditions may also be found. If we move along the general socio-economic spectrum we find, at the other extreme, the backward tribal regions. The personnel structure in these regions is largely alien to the local community and, in a way, may be a replica of the old colonial and feudal system. Even the lowest member of the personnel system may consider himself superior to the highest in the local community and take pride in not belonging to it. Thus, the interaction is qualitatively different compared to that in the metropolitan and advanced regions.

ENVIRONMENTAL DETERMINISM

Thus, the qualitative difference in the interaction of different environmental contexts with personnel structures having varied characteristics becomes central to our study. We may for a moment revert to the analogy of the nature with reference to the concept of environment. Nature works for harmony. Those elements in nature which are unable to come to terms with their environment are wiped out and the process of selection helps those that adapt themselves to the demands of the environment. Thus, it is the

environment that compels the organism to change rather than the organism changing the environment. (Man is, however, an exception.) This example in nature presumes a one way process. We can start with this hypothesis and, for the sake of convenience, term it as environmental determinism. Our study may bring to light some exceptions to this general rule. It is possible that we may even find that it is the elements which determine the environment rather the other way round. Consequently, it may be concluded that the hypothesis is not true. All these possibilities will need to be explored.

Environmental determinism in the terminology of public administration would be equivalent to the statement that given the basic value system and the political system, the personnel system would be fully defined. The system would faithfully carry out the objectives set for it as a neutral element without exerting any influence of its own. Once the goals are given, the personnel structure just carries out the directives. If the situation were so simple, there would be nothing to study. It would be a one way process. In human situations, usually, there is no one way process. All situations give rise to multiple interactions. It is the comparative strength of the various elements that determines the precise course of action in any given situation.

Some examples from different situations will help in understanding the underlying principles. In a monarchy, the process of change in principle should be unilateral. The will of the ruler is supreme and it is not left to the society to define the organisational goal. Yet this would not be the correct description of the actual dynamics of change for all countries at all times. The 'time-spirit' does influence the mutual relationship of the ruling elite and the society even in a dictatorship or monarchy. For example, Hindu kings were guided by the principles of governance enunciated by the great sages. These principles, in a way, embodied the social consensus about the role of the king. Therefore, although the administrative system in its interaction with the people was being guided by the will of the ruler, the ruler himself was guided by a code which defined the quality of that interaction. In those cases of monarchy which did not have the advantage of such codes of conduct, or when the ruler preferred to ignore them, extreme forms of autocratic relationships prevailed.

We may find similar variations within the broad frame of the democratic system. In this case, the source of primary force is not an individual as in a dictatorship but the common man. Let us understand as to how the change-processes get initiated, what is the role of different groups and how each of them influences the change process. Conceptually, the motive force for change in a democratic situation must arise as a consensus amongst the people. The national consensus gets some form during elections in terms

of party manifestoes. The manifesto of the party in power may be further spelt out in terms of political programmes and finally as administrative tasks set for the Government. This is the idealised frame. But such an ideal process hardly ever determines the change elements. In fact, the motive force may be provided by a small articulate political group, sometimes even from the back of the stage, and the people may just acquiesce in it. The bold action in enacting and enforcement of a new Hindu code is a good example of an enlightened political group assuming the crucial leadership role. Even today a full consensus in favour of the Hindu Code cannot be assumed in the society as a whole but the political leadership was able to see its way through even much earlier. Although the ultimate success of any such measure would necessarily require people's acceptance, yet they are guided and considerably influenced in their opinion and behaviour pattern by the very fact of such a decision having been brought about by the political leadership.

We also come across some examples, though very limited, of the motive force being provided from within the personnel system itself. Some important policy decisions can be traced to the reaction of sensitive individuals in the civil service to a situation where they found local condition was not in consonance with the accepted political norms. For example, 'protection of aborigines' was proposed by the Collector of Bastar when he found that the existing law was ineffective in protecting the simple tribal from exploitation. It was accepted by the political leadership because it accepted, without any reservation, the protection of tribals as one of the accepted goals of the State.

The personnel system can also act as a conservative force retarding, or even effectively obstructing, the process of change. In these cases, which are more frequent, the administrative system fails to respond to the objectives set by the political system. The administration may be helped in this by the prevailing ideas amongst the people on the relevant issue. For example, the land reform measures did not, by and large, have the sympathy of the lower bureaucracy which generally belongs to the middle and the upper strata of our society. The provisions of the various statutes have not been implemented in their true spirit. There is another side to the picture as well. The socially accepted concept of land-ownership, where the sub-tenant may himself feel guilty by his own code in depriving others of their legitimate rights sanctified by tradition, also resulted in a passive response from the affected group. Here the internalised value system of the community come into play. This factor is one of the most formidable obstacles in the implementation of debt regulations in tribal areas. After trying to convince a tribal about the implications of the new enactment and about the fact that he had more than repaid what was due to the moneylender, the argument breaks down on the point of the tribal's own value of his 'word' to the moneylender,

These examples can be multiplied from different areas of experience in the administrative dynamics. The burden of the argument is that we find exceptions, and these are important ones, to the environmental determination hypothesis of one way process in nature where environment remains unchanged. In the social situations the motive force may arise at any one of the numerous points of constituent elements of 'environment' and the administrative system. Similarly, there can be resistance to the change-impulses at any of the numerous points in the chain. The demand for responsive or committed bureaucracy in a developing economy arises from the basic reason that the constituent elements in the long environment-personnel chain are not, as a system, in full consonance with the national objective; each element may have its own value-matrix which may distort its perception of administrative goals.

ASSIGNED ROLE OF ADMINISTRATION

It may be noted at this stage that the role assigned to the administration in different systems covers a wide range and can be considerably different both in quality and its intensity. In a *laissez-faire* state, administration is expected to provide a neutral frame so as to prepare the stage for the free operation of economic forces. In a socialistic democracy, on the other hand, administration is generally taken as an important instrument of planned change. These two positions, however, describe the central tendency of the administrative processes in the two systems and are, in a way, normative. The actual role of administration in any system will have a mixed character having elements of both these roles. Thus, even in a *laissez-faire* state, there may be certain aspects of national life where the administration is assigned a positive role. Similarly, in a socialistic society there are certain areas of its national life where the administration may be assigned a neutral role.

The role of administration as a whole or its constituent parts may also vary from one region to another in the same country. Thus, in our own country the general tendency of the administration in the more developed areas can be described as nearer the neutral concept whereas in the more backward areas it is nearer the positive directional concept. Its interaction with the environment in different areas, therefore, is also qualitatively different. In the developed areas it is the 'environment' which perhaps influences and moulds the quality of interaction of the personnel system. As we move to the more backward regions the environmental influence on the personnel system gradually decreases and finally becomes insignificant. In fact, in the extremely backward areas, the administration has a positive role of changing the environment itself, initiating innovative activity and helping the local community in its socio-economic development.

IMPLICATIONS FOR THE PERSONNEL SYSTEM IN TRIBAL AREAS

The above analysis of the personnel system and its environment context poses some important questions in relation to evolving a suitable personnel system for the more backward tribal areas. In the first instance, we find that in India we are having, more or less, a uniform personnel system for the entire country. Two basic questions arise. Firstly, is it possible that the same system can function equally well in different regions with varying levels of economic development? Secondly, if the task of the administrative system in relation to the different areas is different, can the same system assume with equal ease the passive role in one situation and the role of an active catalytic agent for change in another? We may usefully draw from our experience of administration the innovation in the past few decades.

In the early years of planned development, it was realised that the programme of community development and extension services envisaged essentially for the rural areas would require a somewhat different system than the traditional regulatory administration. Therefore, a separate machinery for this task was created all along the line from national level to the grass-root level. However, no structure can work in complete isolation; there were interlocking arrangements for the new institutions with the traditional administrative stream at different levels. The precise nature of this arrangement varied considerably from one State to another taking into account their local socio-economic situation. The tribal areas, because of their extreme backwardness, were treated on a different footing. In their case a less specialised and more integrated system was generally adopted.

The above solutions were based on the presumption that the same personnel system may not be suitable for all regions and for all purposes. However, the logic of this argument was not carried very far because of another tendency in the planning process guided from the State and the Central Government levels in which inadvertently uniformity has been over-emphasised. While differentiation of the administrative structure on functional considerations has been generally accepted, yet its differentiation within the same functional category, with reference to the regional variation of socio-economic situation, has not been adequately appreciated. The fact that in the Indian administrative scene, regulatory administration continues to occupy a central position also influenced this process. In regulatory administration, with few exceptions, a uniform structure is taken to be adequate for serving all areas with equal efficiency. The same presumption appears to have been taken as the working hypothesis for bulk of the public administrative activity in India. The case for regional variation in other sectors therefore, got a set back.

The examples given at various points in this article bring out some of the inherent drawbacks in the existing personnel system so far as it relates to the more backward tribal areas. Some changes in the basic concept of the system, as also its inner dynamics, are necessary in relation to these areas. They may be summarised as follows:

- (1) In principle, it should be accepted that a uniform personnel system largely designed with reference to the needs of the more advanced areas will not serve the needs of the more backward areas. Thus, while functional specialisation of administration may be necessary at the national level, the principle of regional particularisation should be accepted for the more backward tribal areas. It may mean lesser functional differentiation and simpler structure to match the earlier stages of their socio-economic development.
- (2) The mono personnel systems covering the tribal and the non-tribal areas in various specialisations should be suitably modified. The fact that once an individual is assigned a place in a State or in an all-India cadre the tendency of each member, with some exceptions only, would be to prefer the more convenient places for posting. This affects the quality of the personnel. Consequently, the interaction between the environment and the civil service is not a happy one. Such a situation is not congenial for the catalytic role performance. Besides the schemes of graded compensation, etc., it may be useful to institutionalise longer tenure assignments, for example, by constituting suitable sub-cadres, with certain built-in incentives.
- (3) The fact that the relationship between the personnel system and the community in the more backward areas retains certain feudalistic characteristics should be recognised. While reservations in services are helping in making the services more representative, conscious effort will need to be made for enlarging the areas of contact and normal interaction between the personnel sub-group and the tribal society. The personnel techniques will need to be reviewed so that a larger number of persons can be drawn into the system at appropriate levels from the local community. It may require change in the qualifications and adaptation of recruitment procedures to suit the local socio-economic situation.
- (4) The personnel system itself will need to be made conscious about its special role in these areas in contrast to the role and responsibilities of its counterpart systems in the more advanced areas. Persons with sympathy for the weaker sections should be specially drawn into the system and its members should be suitably re-oriented.

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In conclusion, the personnel system in the more backward areas has a unique role to play. It has to be a catalytic agent for change. This task has to be performed through carefully guided mutual interaction at numerous points in the local socio-economic matrix. The task is particularly delicate as the area of normal interaction between the system and the community is extremely limited. One of the most important irritants of the tribal scene in the country at the moment is the incompatibility of the administrative system and the local socio-economic situations. A better understanding of the basic processes and suitable corrective measures would help in harmonising the interaction between the local environmental context and the personnel system.

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USING SIMULATIONS FOR BETTER POLICY ANALYSIS

Arie Halachmi

Policy analysis is an aggregative, continuous and dynamic process in which rational and extra-rational means are used in implicit and explicit manners in order to deal with a problem. It is common to think about policy analysis as a rational process. However, the usefulness of the classic "rational model" for that purpose is very limited. Policy analysis demands multi-disciplinary skills as well as the use of rational and extra-rational processes. Simulation can be an efficient tool for this purpose, since it allows and encourages the use of rational and extra-rational processes. The meaning of simulation and its possible contributions to model and theory building in the social sciences are discussed here. Special attention has been devoted to the reliability and validity of simulation for policy analysis.

THE future is the result of our present behaviour. We can be led by the course of events, or we can try to influence the future to be what we want it to be. The policies that we make now will determine our flexibility to act and our choice of alternatives. Thus, to deal effectively with the problems of the present and to have a better future (or a future at all), there is a need for better policy-making. This, in turn, can result only from an improvement in the analytical framework that provides the definition of the relevant reality—the problem that is to be dealt with—and a comparison of the alternative courses of action.

Policy analysis is an aggregative, continuous and dynamic process in which rational and extra-rational means are used in implicit and explicit manners of thinking in order to deal with a problem.¹

¹ For other definitions of policy analysis, see Y. Dror, *Public Policy Making Reexamined*, San Francisco, Chandler, 1968, pp. 3-11. Y. Dror, *Venture in Policy Sciences*, New York, Elsevier, 1971, p. 3. T. R. Dye, *Understanding Public Policy*, Englewood Cliffs, N. J. Prentice-Hall, 1972, pp. 5-6. A. Ranney (ed.), *Political Science and Public Policy*, Chicago, Markham, 1968, p. 8. E. S. Quade, et al., (eds.), *System Analysis and Policy Planning: Applications in Defense*, New York, American Elsevier, 1968, p. 2. J. M. Mitchell and W. C. Mitchell, *Political Analysis and Public Policy: An Introduction to Political Science*, Chicago, Rand McNally, 1968, p. 391. C. E. Lindblom, *The Policy Making Process*, Englewood Cliffs, N. J. Prentice-Hall Inc., 1968, pp. 5 f.

Policy analysis is an intellectual reaction to a stimulus. In order to start this reaction, the stimulus must reach a certain critical mass. Hence, the objective existence of the problem is not as important as whether the problem has reached a sufficiently critical mass to make it a stimulus (sufficient in the light of the psychological condition of the individual at that time). If early analysis enhances flexibility in the choice of alternatives*, the question is how to sensitise the policy-maker and the policy-analyst so that they will be aware of a problem as early as possible. The limited ability of some important individuals to be constantly on the alert prevents them from sensing many problems early enough; institutional arrangements are needed to compensate for such deficiencies of individual policy-makers.

There is no direct connection between the objective existence of a problem and the reaction that results from apprehension of the problem. Many times a person does not realise that his feeling of uneasiness indicates the existence of a problem. Even when he realises it, he may not be able to deal with it by himself or expeditiously. If this individual happens to be a policy-maker—somebody whose decisions can influence the future of many people—these elements of human behaviour are critical. The process of problem solving starts only after the realisation of the possible existence of a problem. Thus, in order to improve policy analysis, we need tools that improve the ability to find and to define problems.

Policy analysis is not a single activity that begins and ends at given moments. It is an endless process that begins with the apprehension of a problem, continues during the various phases of policy-making and implementation, and fades away by moving into the analysis of subsequent issues. The analysis is aggregative² and dynamic because it develops through an eclectic process that includes verification of theories, adoption of various analytical tools, substitution of concepts, etc. Hence, one way to evaluate an analysis is to examine the modifications that took place in its theories, tools and concepts since its beginning. The dynamics of an analysis are connected to innovations resulting from the analyst's creativity, and to the insight he gains as the process develops—which, in turn, influences the conduct of later stages. Indeed, an analyst needs feedback loops that enable him to modify the process—and, if necessary, the networks of the feedback system itself.³

*The assumption here is that early analysis means more flexibility to choose between alternatives—including the alternative not to choose, or to postpone the decision or even the analysis.

²The aggregative nature of policy-making analysis was discussed in length in: Y. Dror, *Public Policy Making Reexamined*, op. cit., pp. 13f.

³Cf. Y. Dror, *Public Policy Making Reexamined*, op. cit., pp. 161-162, C. Lindblom, *The Policy Making Process*, op. cit., pp. 24-25. I. Sharkansky, *Public Administration: Policy Making in Government Agencies*, Chicago, Markham, 1970, pp. 235f.

In an analysis, rational (*i.e.*, structured) and extra-rational⁴ (*i.e.*, unstructured) means are used in a more-or-less explicit manner. The rational and extra-rational means supplement each other, and enable us to overcome some of the barriers that each creates. Thus, a particular analysis can speak of a point in space defined by the rational and extra-rational axes.

In order to use rational and extra-rational means efficiently, they must be used explicitly. Explicitness and implicitness are the two ends of a continuum. Hence, it is possible to assume a correlation between the explicitness of a theory and its value; the more explicit a theory is, the better are its chances of being easily verified, intensified or expanded (which, however, does not mean that it ought to be more rigid!). Implicitness, therefore, means a vagueness which prevents examination (not to mention modification or improvement) of a theory.

Policy analysis is an attempt to build a theory based on a set of assumptions, and involves the use of a rigorous methodology capable not only of proving the validity of the assumptions, but of arranging them in an instrumental manner. Hence, the more explicit the analysis, the better.

Many people tend to identify rationality with explicitness; on the other hand, extra-rationality does not have to be implicit. Implicitness means that the individual is not able to specify the reason for what he is doing, how he got a certain result, or why he is doing something in a certain way. But if he is able to specify that a certain procedure was followed because he felt that it was the right way, or that on the basis of his experience he expected the results, he is no longer being implicit—although he is not using ‘pure’ rational means. Once he becomes explicit, rational means can be used to check the validity or value of his feelings, notions, experience, etc. In many cases, this is the nature of the creative process which enables a breakthrough.

It follows that to improve policy analysis as the first step toward the improvement of policy-making, we need an approach that deals effectively with the problematics of policy analysis, *i.e.*, its continuous and dynamic character, the fact that rational and/or extra-rational means are used, and the need to increase its explicitness so that it can easily be verified and elaborated.

HOW SIMULATION CAN BE USEFUL FOR POLICY ANALYSIS

Policy analysis is related to the concepts of system analysis.⁵ Because of this connection, it is suggested that simulation—one of the more powerful

⁴ M. Polani, *Personal Knowledge*, New York, Harper & Row, 1958.

⁵ This concept was emphasized in the various writings of Y. Dror, Cf. Y. Dror, “Prolegomena to Policy Sciences”, *The Rand Corporation*, Santa Monica, January, 1970, p. 4283.

tools of system analysis—can be a useful and efficient tool for policy analysis. In the words of D. G. Malcolm:

"System simulation has the most useful property of permitting experimentation with and testing of certain policy, procedure and organisation changes in much the same way as the aeronautical engineer tests his design ideas in the laboratory or the 'wind tunnel'."⁶

It is not very easy to conceptualise the term 'simulation'. R. L. Ackoff points out that simulation has come to mean different things to different people.⁷ J. W. Forrester emphasised 'process' and 'experiment' as the main elements of simulation. For him : " 'Simulation' is a name often applied to this process of conducting experiments on a model instead of attempting the experiment with the real system."⁸

C. J. Haberstroh has another point of view; he defines simulation as follows:

"A simulation is a working model of an entire system or subsystem in which some or all of the components and environmental inputs are replaced by artificially contributed substitutes for the purpose of investigation of overall performance."⁹

Forrester assumes that the model exists before the existence of the simulation; Haberstroh identifies the simulation with the model, a notion adopted by I. R. Raser and many others.¹⁰ Many scholars defined simulation by referring to the structure or the content of simulations. Herold Guetzkow defined simulation as: "Operating representation of central features of reality."¹¹ R. A. Brody provides us with an even narrower definition of simulation. For him: "Simulations are physical and/or biological representations of systems."¹²

E. S. Quade has another approach; he claims: "Simulation is applied to the process of representing, without using formal analytic techniques, the

⁶ D. G. Malcolm, "System Simulation—A Fundamental Tool for Industrial Engineering" in H. Guetzkow (ed.), *Simulation in Social Sciences: Readings*, Englewood Cliffs, N. J. Prentice-Hall, 1962, p. 138.

⁷ J. W. V. Macrae, and P. Smoker, "A Vietnam Simulation: A Report of Canadian/English Joint Project", *Journal of Peace Research*, No. 1, 1967, p. 2.

⁸ J. W. Forrester, *Industrial Dynamics*, Cambridge, M. I. T. Press, 1961, p. 18.

⁹ C. J. Haberstroh, "Organization Design and System Analysis" in J. C. March, (ed.), *Handbook of Organizations*, Chicago, Rand McNally, 1964, p. 1178.

¹⁰ Cf. J. R. Raser, *Simulation and Society*, Boston, Allyn and Bacon, 1969, pp. 9-10.

¹¹ H. Guetzkow, et al., *Simulation in International Relations*, Englewood Cliffs, N. J. Prentice-Hall, 1963, p. 25.

¹² R. A. Brody, "Varieties of Simulations in International Relations Research" in Guetzkow, *op. cit.*, p. 194. Cf. D. G. Malcolm, *op. cit.*

essential features of a system or organization. Simulation is a broadly inclusive word used to describe various physical or analogue devices."¹³

W. D. Coplin suggests: "Rather than look at simulation as a technique . . . it would be better to view it as an approach. . ."¹⁴

It seems that the list of definitions of simulation is endless. At least, it is not much shorter than the number of publications on the subject. One reason for the vagueness of the concept of simulation is that most scholars tried to narrow the concept by excluding a certain kind of simulation¹⁵ or be referring to a particular kind of simulation in order to make the concept definable.

To find the common element in all the phenomena called 'simulations', there is a need for a generalisation and abstraction of the concept. Thus, we suggest that simulation be defined as *a reproduction of reality by a controlled reflection*. This definition is normative and instrumental. From a normative point of view, the definition spells out what the attributes of simulation are or should be. Thus, the reflection of a tree in the water cannot be regarded as a simulation if this reflection is not controlled, or if the reflection is not in order to reproduce reality as a goal in itself or as a sub-goal toward the achievement of another goal. The instrumental value of this definition results from the specific nature and interpretation of its various components. The definition consists of four complimentary elements:

Reflection means that we are mirroring, copying or recording reality. However, it does not necessarily mean the creation of an exact duplicate of reality. Reflection means that while simulating, we are dealing with only one part of reality. This part is defined by the reflection process itself. In other words, the reality with which we are concerned is a result of the particular simulating process, and it is always but a portion, aspect, or element of a bigger reality (e.g., a superior system).¹⁶

The interconnections between the reflection and the reality are important. The duplication or reality in a simulation can be seen as any

¹³ E. S. Quade, *Analysis for Military Decisions*, Chicago, Rand McNally, 1964, p. 166.

¹⁴ W. D. Coplin, *Simulation in the Study of Politics*, Chicago, Markham, 1968, p. 1.

¹⁵ The most common ones are games and what is referred to as Monte-Carlo techniques. Cf. R. E. Dawson, "Simulation in the Social Sciences" in H. Guetzkow (ed.), *Simulation in Social Science: Reading*, Englewood Cliffs, N. J. Prentice-Hall, 1962, pp. 1-15. R. P. Abelson, "Simulation of Social Behavior" in G. Lindzey, and E. Aronson, (eds.), *The Handbook of Social Psychology* (2 ed.), Reading Mass., Addison-Wesley, 1968, pp. 274-287.

¹⁶ Cf. G. Sjoberg, and R. Neh., *A Methodology for Social Research*, New York, Harper & Row, 1968, pp. 133 f.

other physical recording. The tools used to duplicate reality (*i.e.*, simulate it) can be compared to the lenses, mirrors and radio and television receivers with which we can 'see' or 'hear' specific components of the external world. Indeed, simulations might verify an elaboration of Von Bertalenfy's claim that certain social phenomena and dynamics can be described by concepts related to the nature of beams, sound waves, magnetic fields, etc.¹⁷

Another element in our definition is *control*. The kind of control used in the reflection of reality defines the scientific value of the simulation and influences its validity and reliability. The difference between a meaningful scientific simulation and an irrelevant children's game is often the type and amount of control. The purpose for which the simulation is built (*i.e.*, the type and quality of the desired reproduction) influences the kind and amount of control that is needed. The latter, in turn, influences the nature of the reflection, the process by which the reflection is achieved, and the reality that is simulated or reflected. Control also means explicitness; furthermore, it emphasises that we are dealing not with homologs but with analogs, even in those cases in which we try to be as close as possible to reality. The distinction is an important one, because it differentiates simulation from controlled experiment.¹⁸

The third element in our definition is the *reproduction of reality*. In the simulation process, we try to reproduce reality in the form of an equation, a graph, kits, etc.—either as an end in itself, such as the simulation of various systems of the human body for teaching purposes, or as a mean (subgoal) in order to achieve another goal. The point is that while simulating, we are not trying to influence reality itself. This is another important difference between simulation and certain kinds of experiments (like pilot research) that are done under 'real' conditions and thus may influence reality.¹⁹

The fourth element is the fact that the simulated *reality* is defined by the particular components which we choose to include in the simulation, and these are determined by two factors: (1) The perception set of the simulation, which determines which stimuli will be perceived and how they will be perceived. (2) The ability to select from all perceived stimuli those which are relevant to the subject matter.

¹⁷ L. Von Bertalenfy, *General System Theory*, New York, George Braziller, 1968.

¹⁸ Cf. W. J. M. Mackenzie, *Politics and Social Sciences*, Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1967, pp. 46-50. A. Kaplan, *The Conduct of Inquiry*, San Francisco, Chandler, 1964, pp. 265-8. Cf. C. W. Churchman, "An Analysis of the Concept of Simulation" in A. C. Hoggatt, and F. E. Balderston (eds.), *Symposium on Simulation Models: Methodology and Applications to the Behavioral Science*, Cincinnati, Ohio, South Western Pub. 1963, pp. 1-12.

¹⁹ D. Cambell, "Reforms as Experiments", *American Psychologist*, 24 (4), April, 1969,

The perception set influences the essence of the mirroring, and the ability to select is associated with the quality of control.²⁰

SIMULATIONS AND GAMES

Several writers have discussed the necessary conditions for changing a simulation into a game (or vice versa)—referring to the role of the human element, the nature of the rules that govern the process, and the rules that define the behaviour of the system.²¹

It is easier to differentiate between two clusters of games and simulations than between games and simulation *per se*. In the first cluster, we can recognise those simulations and games that were developed in connection with the theories of Von Neumann and Morgenstern; they are aimed toward maximization or optimization in conflict situations.²² In the other cluster are the ones whose main interest is in the nature of social interactions.²³

For the first group, the important thing is the ultimate result; for the

²⁰ T. M. Newcomb, *Social Psychology*, New York, Holt and Co., pp. 210f. A. R. Lindesmith, and A. L. Strauss, *Social Psychology*, (3rd ed.), New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968, ch. 7, pp. 144f. J. Bruner, "Social Psychology and Perception" in E. E. Maccoby, et. al. (eds.), *Readings in Social Psychology*, (3rd ed.), New York, Holt, 1958, pp. 85-94. See 'perception' in *International Encyclopedia of Social Science*, N. P. McMillan and the Free Press, 1968, Vol. 11, p. 527-80.

²¹ K. N. Waltz solves the problem 'easily', saying: "Simulations retain the dynamic quality of games and add the formality that comes from the models on which they are based." For other discussions and literature about various aspects of this point, see: K. N. Waltz, "Realities, Assumptions and Simulations" in W. D. Coplin (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 107. J. S. Coleman, "Social Processes and Social Simulation Game" in S. S. Boocock, and E. O. Schild (eds.), *Simulations Games in Learning*, Beverley Hills, Calif. Sage, 1968, p. 29. W. D. Coplin, *op. cit.*, p. 1. R. E. Dawson, "Simulation in the Social Sciences" in H. Guetzkow, *op. cit.*, pp. 1f. O. Helmer, *Social Technology*, New York, Basic Books, 1960, p. 20. J. R. Raser, *op. cit.*, p. 29. C. F. Hermann, "Simulation: Political Process" in *Inter. Encyc. of Soc. Sci.*, Vol. 14, p. 274. M. Shubik (ed.), *Game Theory and Related Approaches to the Soc. Sci.*, New York, Wiley, 1966, pp. 70-74. K. W. Deutsch, *The Nerves of Government*, New York, Free Press, 1966, pp. 51 f. R. C. Meier, et. al., *Simulation in Business and Economics*, Englewood Cliffs, N. J., Prentice-Hall, 1969, p. 179.

²² Cf. J. Von Neumann and O. Morgenstern, *Theory of Games and Economic Behavior*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1944, (2nd ed.), 1947, (3rd ed.), 1953. R. D. Luce, and H. Raiffa, *Games and Decisions*, New York, Wiley, 1957, Ch. 1. Recent publication on the development of the theory see R. D. Edwards, and A. Tversky, *Decision Making*, Penguin Book 1967, pp. 11-65. A. Rapoport, and C. Orwant, "Experimental Games: A Review", *Behavioral Science*, Vol. 7 (1962), pp. 1-37. T. C. Schelling, *The Strategy of Conflict*, New York, Galaxy Book, 1963.

²³ J. S. V. Coleman, in S. S. Boocock, and E. O. Schild (eds.), *op. cit.*, pp. 29 f. Cf. R. C. Meier, *op. cit.*, p. 179. J. R. Raser, *op. cit.*, p. 96f.

second group, the important thing is the process itself.²⁴ This differentiation is similar to the division that Bauer tries to draw between normative and descriptive theories of decision-making.²⁵ Although there is room for further discussion on the nature of games and simulations in these two groups, we would like to concentrate here on their special meaning for policy analysis.

The policy analysis process can utilise both clusters of simulations and games. At the beginning, the analyst can use those games and simulations that uncover the various components of the situation with which he is concerned: interrelationships, constraints, etc. After the analyst has gained enough understanding of these, he can use the other group to maximise the results.

The process of policy analysis can be described in terms of theory or model building; thus, it is possible to point out the potential benefits of simulation by discussing the relationships between simulations, models and theory building. The assumption is that every policy analysis must be based on a certain theory (some times referred to as an ideology), and that this theory should be spelled out explicitly.²⁶

SIMULATIONS AND MODELS

There is a dual relationship between simulations and models. This dual relationships can be demonstrated by the following facet definitions:²⁷

(1) are used to build, test, manipulate, etc.

Simulations	models
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(2) consist of

We can see that the relationships are instrumental and dynamic, on one hand, and normative and static on the other. The instrumental and dynamic

²⁴ F. E. Balerston, and A. C. Hoggatt, *Simulation of Market Process*, Berkeley University of California Press, 1962. C. P. Bonini, *Simulation of Information and Decision, System in the Firm*, Englewood Cliffs, N. J. Prentice-Hall, 1962. G. Fromm, and P. Taubman, *Policy Simulating with an Econometric Model*, Washington D. C., The Brookings Institute, 1968.

²⁵ R. A. V. Bauer, and K. J. Gergen, *The Study of Policy Formation*, New York, Free Press, 1968, p. 9.

²⁶ Cf. E.S. Quade, *op. cit.* p 11. R. T. Golembiewsky, et. al., *A Methodological Primer for Political Science*, Chicago, Rand McNally & Co., 1969, p. 27.

²⁷ For a brief description of the facet approach, see: A. L. V. Guttman, "Introduction to Facet Design and Analysis" in *Proceedings of the 15th International Congress of Psychology*, 1969, pp. 130-132.

relationship indicates that simulations can be used as an efficient tool for model building, model testing, etc. The simulations are dynamic in the sense that during use, they undergo alteration, variation and other 'evolutionary' changes.

Simulations are presented in the form of models. There is a great similarity between the various kinds of simulations and the various kinds of models. As a matter of fact, one may claim that every simulation is a model—since every model tries to express, reflect or copy a certain reality, phenomenon or process. However, not every model is a simulation. Simulation is more than a single model or a series of models; in addition to the model, the simulation contains the rules of the game and a simulator. Thus, simulation is a bigger entity than a model.

When we are interested in dynamic aspects such as interactions that vary with time, or when we try to generalise rules of behaviour, we are using the instrumental-dynamic facet of the relationship between simulations and models. When we are dealing with a description of the subject, we use the normative-static facet. The first type is used when we need to define the components of the model and their interrelationships. The second type is used after we build the model, when we try to describe, to teach, or to optimise its outputs.

One of the main attributes of simulation is that the knowledge gathered during the process can be used to improve both the process and its outputs. In order to simulate, one has to understand not only the simulated object, but also its relationship to the surroundings; in the case of policy analysis, one must understand its relationship to other policies. The validity and reliability of simulation depend on this understanding; it helps assure that the right things will be dealt with. Consequently, the use of simulation in model building or testing (and, thus, in policy analysis) can begin at the earliest stage—when we define the problem, criteria for measurement, etc.²⁸

There are at least three alternative and complementary ways that simulations can help a scientist improve the definition of the problem:

- (1) A backward analysis defines the character of the solution that we seek; thus, it indicates the kind of data needed to proceed from one stage to the other, and the consequences of changes in data or stages of inquiry. In fact, this is a version of the 'end-means analysis' used when we try to find out what is needed to reach a defined end. This approach, which is

²⁸ G. H. Orcutt, "Views on Simulations and Models of Social Systems" in A. C. Hoggatt, and F. G. Balderston, *op. cit.*, pp. 221f.

used widely in P.P.B.S. enables us to assure a logical consistency between our expectations or tentative solutions and our definition of the problem; it also enables to get an insight into the nature of the problem.²⁹

(2) Another way to check whether the right problem was selected is to define it in alternative ways that emphasise its different aspects; this makes it possible to use different approaches to reach alternative solutions. The implications of each definition can be then estimated by comparing the differences. This, in turn, leads to more insight into the nature of the problem, and enables the analyst to look for further refinements of the definition or the solution.³⁰

These two techniques make wide use of heuristic methods that can improve the meta stage of the inquiry (*i.e.*, the stage in which we look for the methodology to be used in the process itself). Both techniques use rational and extrarational means, and encourage creative thinking—an important element in itself for any scientific inquiry. Since these techniques demand the use of flow charts, network, etc., the analyst has to define many elements and to be explicit about their relationships. Thus, the analyst has to go over and over his material to check himself and to clarify concepts, feelings, etc.

(3) Another way to improve the definition of the problem is the Delphi Method. This helps illuminate various aspects of the problem from different points of view, and provides information about the implications of a change in emphasis or in the elements that constitute the problem.³¹ As a matter of fact, the Delphi Method enables the analyst to use relevant knowledge scattered among various disciplines, to identify new elements of the subject matter, and thus to overcome some barriers of human thinking.³²

²⁹ K. J. Cohen, and R. M. Cyert, in J. G. March, *op. cit.*, pp. 330f. H. M. V. Wagner, *Principles of Operation Research with Applications to Managerial Decisions*, Englewood Cliffs, N. J., Prentice-Hall, 1969, p. 18. There is a hidden assumption here that there is a connection between the definition of a problem and its solution, and that better insight into each of them will influence and improve the other.

³⁰ On the potential and importance of this strategy, Cf. R. C. Snyder, in H. Guetzkow (ed.), 1963, pp. 15f. B. B. Goldner, *The Strategy of Creative Thinking*, Englewood Cliffs, N. J., Prentice-Hall, 1962, especially Ch. 20: Comprehensive Synthesis, pp. 234-235. R. C. Meier, *et. al.*, *op. cit.*, Ch. 5, pp. 147-148. A. V. Newell, *et. al.*, "The Processes of Creative Thinking" in H. E. Gruber, *et. al.* (eds.), *Contemporary Approaches to Creative Thinking*, New York, Atherton, 1962, pp. 63-119., H. M. Wagner, *op. cit.*, pp. 165f.

³¹ O. V. Helmer, "Exploratory and Normative Technological Forecasting: A Critical Appraisal" *Technological Forecasting*, Vol. 1 (1969), pp. 114-115.

³² On the use of experts and gathering of knowledge see E. S. Quade, *Analysis for Military Decisions*, Chicago, Rand McNally, 1964, p. 167. E. S. Quade, 1968, *op. cit.*, p. 44. H. L. Wilensky, *Organizational Intelligence*, New York, Basic Books, 1969,

Simulation has an important potential not only for model building, but for the realisation of the functions of the model. Karl Deutsch said:

"We may think of models as serving more or less imperfectly four distinct functions: the organising, the heuristic, the predictive and the measuring (or measurable)."³³

Since these four elements are in every simulation, we can regard simulation as an efficient tool for model building and testing, and thus for policy analysis. By the use of Guttman's facet approach³⁴, it is possible to classify the connections between various models and simulations. For the purpose of our mapping sentence, we will use the specification that a smaller degree of freedom means a higher formal conceptualisation. We use the term 'formal conceptualization' as equivalent to 'explicitness' and 'consistency'.*

The mapping sentence given on page 59, provides us not only with a description of the Cartesian space of models and simulations, but also with a qualitative picture of the relationships between the various kinds of models and simulations.

On the basis of our mapping sentence, any model or simulation can be presented by a profile $M \rightarrow A B C \dots \alpha \beta \gamma$. If we try to scale the various profiles according to their degree of formality, we find a partial order between them—with a common factor and a disjoint factor that are vertical to each other. The common factor is the structural factor(S), and the disjoint factor is the factor of substance (S'); thus, any model or simulation can be defined by the figure given on page 60.

This matrix makes it possible to find out how to improve the model, and how much such an improvement is worth (*i.e.*, to do a cost-benefit analysis of resources and allocations). Thus, one is able to keep a proper ratio between the cost of the analysis and its ultimate value.

VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY OF SIMULATIONS

The value of a simulation is related to its reliability.³⁵

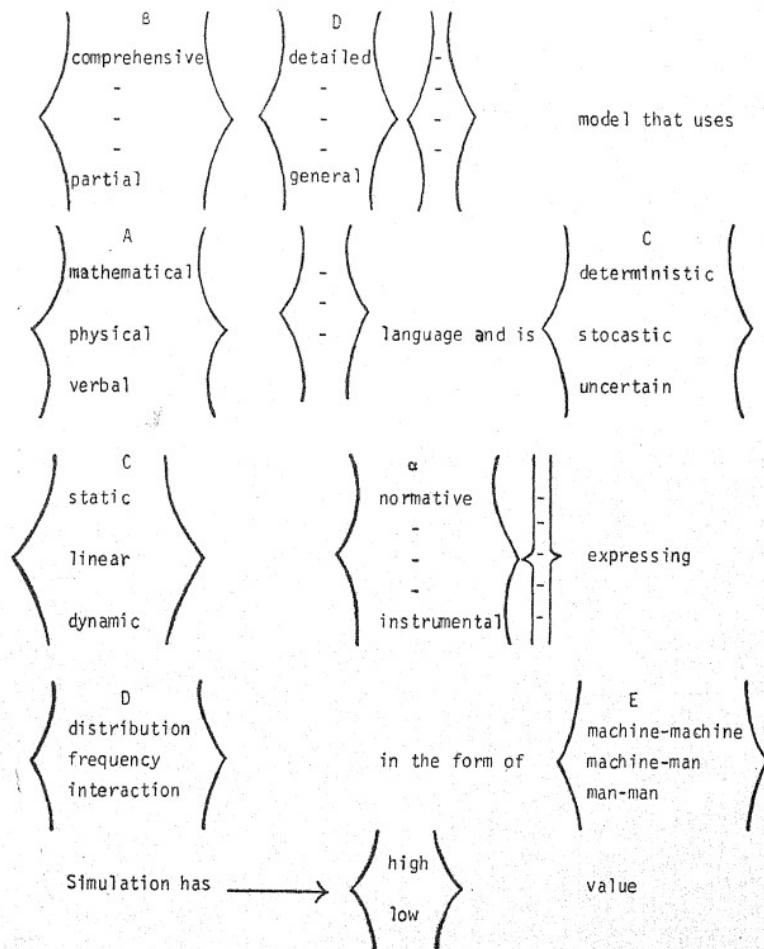
The reliability of a simulation is a product of two factors: (1) the validity of the simulation (in the sense that it simulates the right thing in the desired way), (2) the constraints that limit its use.

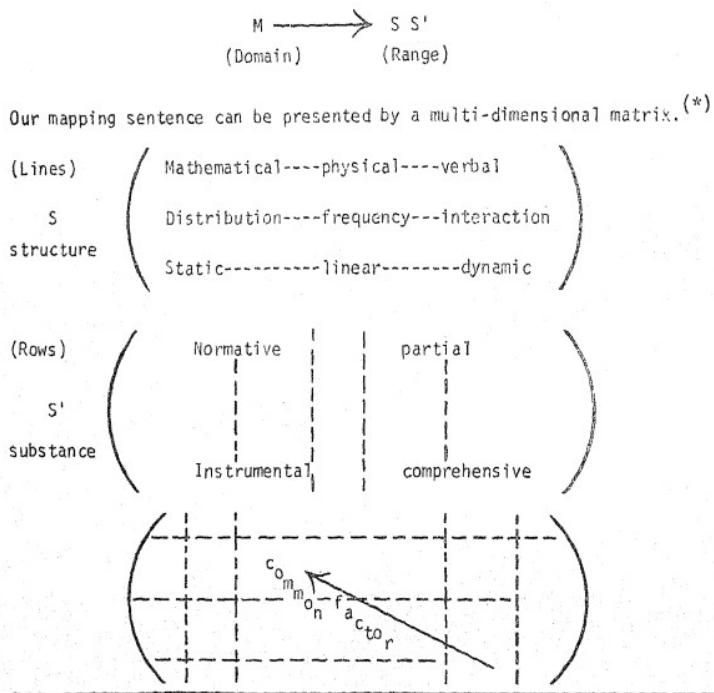
³³ K. Deutsch, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-9.

*Please note that in this case, formality has nothing to do with rigidity.

³⁴ For another approach to the question of validation and reliability, see, C. F. Hermann, "Validation Problems in Games and Simulations with Special Reference to Models of International Politics", *Behavioral Science*, Vol. 12 (1967).

MAPPING SENTENCE OF MODELS AND SIMULATIONS





Simulations can be mapped on a continuum from machine-machine to man-man. Between these two extremes are various combinations between 'man' and 'machine'.

The reliability of man-man simulation cannot be higher than the reliability of the individual who participates in the simulation or the individual who is part of the simulated system. Human behaviour is the product of interaction among many factors; even the same behaviour by two different people may be caused by different factors.

One difficulty in this context is that people perceive reality in different ways, and so react to it in different ways. Hence, their reaction is interpreted in different ways†. This point can be further developed but it suggests that the reliability of man-man simulation is a function of the

*The matrix includes some empty cells.

[†]One should be aware of this point when using the Delphi technique.

communication network—which can be characterised by the communication's intensity, frequency, explicitness and quality. (Quality is related to the deviation between what was said in a message and the way it was perceived; the deviation between how the sender/receiver of the message wants to react, and how he really reacts, the deviation between the meaning of his reaction message, and how it is interpreted by other receiver).

At first glance, this seems to be an important barrier to every man-man simulation; however, these communication problems exist in reality, not only in simulated situations. Consequently, improving the simulation's communication network involves a danger of over-optimisation—in the sense that the simulation will be too good to reflect reality, and thus would not be reliable.

In line with this argument, it was claimed that simulations describe the behaviour of the individual in game-like situations, and not the behaviour of the individual in reality.³⁵ While participating in a simulation, one may be exposed to a Hawthorne effect—so the results of the simulation are not real. However, since the participant is able to see the results of every decision he makes, to analyse the decision, and to search for new alternatives, there is a fair possibility that he will be able to make a better decision in reality. The use of simulation trains the decision-maker to quickly get better insight into the problem and the possible consequences of each alternative action. Without simulation, he may be bound to the conservative or pessimistic approach that "there is a very low probability that the future will be much better than the past, so let us stick to the past"—*i.e.*, let us use an 'incremental' or 'satisfying' approach.

As a matter of fact, the man-man type of simulation has a built-in-device for improvement. The fact that simulation can be recorded, analysed and repeated (with the same player or with other players) provides the simulator with the kind of knowledge that enables him to improve his simulation.

The reliability of machine-machine simulation results partly from the problems of man-man simulations and partly from the nature of the technical devices used. One thing is clear: there is no pure type of machine-machine model, since the human mind is always somewhere behind it.

The logical validity of a programme does not mean that the right parameters were included, that their real interrelationships were programmed, or that individually or collectively they are valid or relevant (in reality) beyond the definition that was assigned to them.

³⁵ Cf. P. H. Ray, and R. D. Duke, in W. D. Coplin, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

Many deficiencies of machine-machine simulation are due to the fact that the programming language, the character of the machine, and the use of a programmer bring in constraints and biases. These are not so serious when we are simulating 'mechanical' systems, but they are fundamental when we are trying to simulate social systems.

Much can be said about the deficiencies of simulations—both man-man and machine-machine. However, these deficiencies should be considered in light of the fact that simulations can be improved by replication and by a parallel use of alternative methods of inquiry.

There are at least two counter arguments against those who suspect the reliability of simulating as a scientific tool: (1) Simulation is not less reliable than any other research method, since while simulating one can use almost all the techniques that are used in non-simulated research, (2) E. S. Quade remarks: "Simulation . . . can be used to tackle many seemingly unmanageable or previously untouched problems where a traditional analytic formulation is at least initially infeasible"³⁶

D. F. Kress suggests six strategies for improving the validity of simulations;³⁷ however, the possibilities for improvement should not be presented in numerical terms, but rather in financial terms. The resources available put the real limit on improvement of any simulation; otherwise, one could use replicas and other means of scientific inquiry to improve his simulation.

If an increase in the reliability of a simulation is a function of the resources available, we have to decide how much the reliability of a certain result is worth to us. Thus, by cost-benefit analysis, we can locate the point at which it is still worth spending resources in order to improve the reliability of a certain simulation. This is represented graphically below. First, we build a curve that represents the cost-benefit ratios that are relevant to the case. (See Figure 1 on p. 63).

This curve has a U shape, since there is only one ratio that optimises the relation between them. Any movement from this point involves an increase in the cost. This curve can be built empirically for every case.

The various relationships between costs and degree of error can now be defined. The curve created by the function $f=c(R)$ expresses the cost of an increase in reliability, and the curve of the function $f=c(E)$ expresses the total cost of every error. (See Figure 2 on p. 63).

³⁶ E. S. Quade, 1968, *op. cit.*, p. 44. Cf. E. S. Quade, 1964, p. 167. J. R. Raser, *op. cit.*, p. 103. P. H. Ray, and R. D. Duke, in W. D. Coplin, *op. cit.* p. 157.

³⁷ P. F. Kress, "On Validation Simulation with Special Attention to the Simulation of International Politics" *cit.* by Raser, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

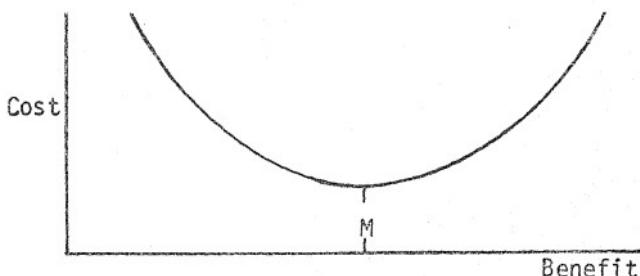


Figure 1.

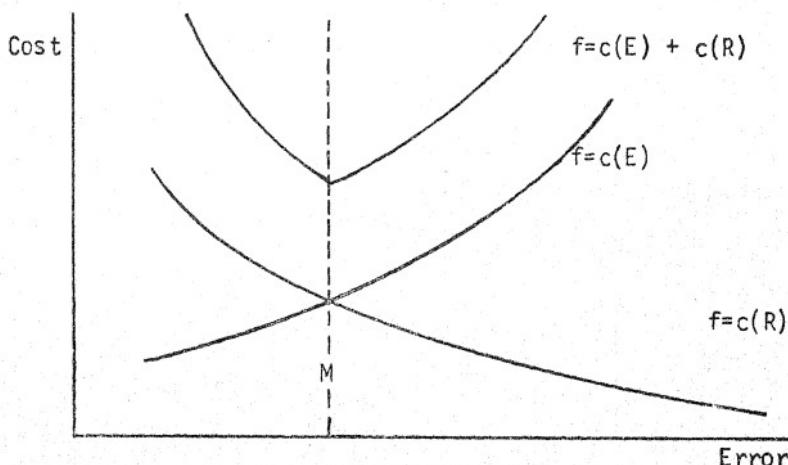


Figure 2.

These curves are built in an empirical way, and they intersect at an equilibrium point between the cost of reliability and the total cost of error. Their common curve gives us the total cost of the system—*i.e.*, the cost of each error, and the cost of ensuring that there will not be a bigger error. This common function has a minimum point, identical to the equilibrium point between $f = c(R)$ and $f = c(E)$.

By transformation, it can be shown that the minimum point M on the cost-benefit curve is identical to the point M' in the cost-error curves. Thus, we can determine the tolerance we are willing to bear and its exact price,

CONCLUSION

The case for more intensive use of simulation in policy analysis lies in the capabilities that the policy analyst gains: assimilation of additional knowledge, and greater flexibility in the use of definitions and opinions. If policy analysis can be designed like computer programming, the use of subroutines may enable the analyst to devote more time to analyzing their inputs and outputs—thereby, getting better understanding of the process by which the initial inputs were transformed into the final outputs.

When the analyst has to deal with a population policy, for instance, he may be interested in the interrelationships among the economic, sociological, judicial, medical and other aspects of each alternative policy in the short, medium and long runs. The analyst may not be interested in (or able to understand) all of the calculations and considerations that are used by experts in each field. Nevertheless, by the use of subroutines for these disciplines, the analyst can examine different values, attitudes and beliefs—thereby gaining a more comprehensive view, increasing his sensitivity and insight, and lowering his threshold of problem apprehension.

And once a simulation is built, it can be refined with the feedback from reality—and then be utilised to explore new ways to achieve previous goals or to deal with new problems.

SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH AND ACCOUNTABILITY: ATTITUDES OF THE POLITICAL EXECUTIVE, SCIENTISTS AND CIVIL SERVANTS, 1952-70*

Balwant Bhaneja & Michael Gibbons

THIS paper examines the attitudes which prevailed within the Indian Government, towards its accountability for scientific research affairs during the 1952-70 period. Three important constituents of the Government examined here are: political executive (ministers and prime ministers), scientists (agency heads), and the civil servants (secretariat).

Accountability is defined here as an obligation to reveal, explain, and to justify one's actions. It refers to the way in which responsibilities, financial or other, the origins of which may be political, constitutional or hierarchical, are discharged.¹ The term, as such, suggests a relationship between two or more entities. The Government is held accountable to the legislature; members of the legislature, on the other hand, are authorised constitutionally to scrutinise the Government's performance. Through this the Government is desired not only to answer to legislature for its political decisions, but also to account for the performance of the Administration in the implementation of approved policies.

Dell describes this arrangement as a system of 'checks and balances'. He states that it would be wrong to suggest that if the framework of responsibility is inadequate, the result will be irresponsibility.² But it is the value accorded to responsibility in public decision-making which enhances the capacity of a Government.

SYSTEM OF INSTITUTIONAL ACCOUNTABILITY

The system of institutional accountability within India's Central Government has pursued the following pattern of delegated authority. The

*This paper was prepared at the Department of Liberal Studies in Science, University of Manchester. It is adapted from a chapter of my doctoral thesis "Science and Politics in India: Accountability of Scientific Research Policy Structures, 1952-70". Manchester: University of Manchester, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, 1975.

¹ D. C. Hague and B. L. R. Smith (eds.), *The Dilemma of Accountability in Modern Government: Independence versus Control*, London, Macmillan, 1971, p. 311.

² Edmund Dell, *Political Responsibility and Industry*, London, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1973, p. 172.

minister as the head of a ministry retains overall responsibility for it, he is its chief spokesman both within the Cabinet and in Parliament. The role of the secretariat is to provide the minister with 'impartial' policy advice, and day-to-day account of the working of the policy-implementing departments and executive agencies under the ministry. As the administrator in charge of the research agencies, the scientist agency-head deals with the execution of policy programmes. He is responsible to the minister through the secretariat for the agency's activities.

A department functions under a secretary's charge; it is within itself a substantially homogeneous unit comprising a network of junior secretaries and civil servants to look after various aspects of the department. The two major functions of a secretary are: (1) principal adviser to the minister in matters of policy and administration; (2) representative of the department before the Parliamentary Committee on Public Accounts.³

The departmental secretariat is separated from the executive action agencies so that the secretary and his staff can provide relatively objective advice to the minister on the functioning of the agency. The major scientific research agencies have been given autonomous status by allowing each agency to function under a scientist who acts as its head-administrator. The research-agency, in general, is given authority to determine its own research and related aspects of its development and utilisation.

Such an ideal system of responsibility, although flawless in appearance, does not always exist in practice. The time scale of a policy is usually long. Ministers come and go; the administration and the agencies have the on-going function of carrying out policies over a long-term period. In addition, both at the secretariat and the agency level, the departments have their own vested interests—they have a staff to protect, and over the years, they have evolved for themselves a point of view which distinguishes them from the other departments.

For examining the attitudes of the aforementioned three constituents, the following sources have been utilised. Firstly, the declarations of both ministers and the prime ministers on accountability with respect to science affairs since Independence are studied. This is done by analysing their speeches which were made before various gatherings of distinguished scientists. Secondly, the views of scientific leadership on accountability of their activities are assessed by examining the pronouncements made by leading scientists at Government-sponsored conferences and advisory committees.

³ Asok Chanda, *Indian Administration*, London, George Allen & Unwin, 1960, pp. 140, 143.

Finally, two reports of the Administrative Reforms Commission's study team on scientific departments are examined, in order to understand the diverging positions adopted by secretariat administration and agency scientists on the subject.

THE POLITICAL EXECUTIVE AND ACCOUNTABILITY

The expressed views of the political leadership on the issue of scientific research accountability have been few and far between. During the Nehru period (1950-64), the leadership was mainly concerned with expansion of the research institutions. There seemed to be unanimous acceptance of the need to create scientific agencies, laboratories and research centres. It was only in the mid-sixties when the number of national laboratories had grown to more than thirty (as compared to four in 1950) and the budget for research activities had increased fourfold that concern for dividends from investments made in scientific research was expressed.

Autonomous Science and Economic Development

Until 1964, the political leadership advocated the need for scientists to be provided with the maximum possible opportunities to explore the new dimensions of science which ultimately would eradicate the immense problem of poverty in India. The value placed by the leadership upon this freedom was very high. Prime Minister Nehru in 1952 pointed out: "In an authoritarian regime there is much progress all around, but there is also a tendency for man's mind to become limited because it has no freedom to develop. In a sense the very development of a highly technical civilisation begins to affect man unconsciously and you may get the uniform mind from the creative mind".⁴ In a democratic political system like India, he stated, scientific development would take place if there was an 'atmosphere of free inquiry'; such an atmosphere could be created only if no 'nationalistic and governmental pressures' were imposed upon scientific minds.⁵

Comparing the scientist and the administrator, Nehru regarded the former as superior because of his capabilities to deliver the material goods for modernisation of the country. He stated:

"For this reason, our conception should change and we should recognise

⁴ *Inaugural Address at the 39th Session of the Indian Science Congress Association*, Part I, Proceedings of the 39th Session, Calcutta, 1962, p. 31.

⁵ *Inaugural Address at the 42nd Session of the Indian Science Congress Association*, Part I, Proceedings of the 42nd Session, Baroda, 1955, p. 35.

that the engineers and scientists are far more important than the administrators, insofar as the progress of nation is concerned."⁶

His faith in the scientists was such that he openly defended them in the face of criticism. When some eminent foreign scientists told him that there was an element of 'ivory tower' attitude among Government scientists, Nehru remarked, "I do not think the criticism is correct".⁷ While the political leadership looked down upon the administrator as a 'conservative' legacy of colonial rule, scientists and technologists were regarded as the 'progressive' co-partners in the national development programmes. On the significant importance of mutual cooperation between scientists and politicians, Nehru reflected philosophically:

"In the olden days, the men of knowledge had had to go to those in power for their maintenance. Their works had to be dedicated to those who dominated that age. But now the scientist stands on the same footing as the politician. The scientists having become fairly important, the politician, whether he knows anything about science or not, now praises science all the time."⁸

At the ministerial level, the attitude of the minister responsible for scientific research, closely followed the Prime Minister's line of thinking. At the combined 51st and 52nd session of the Indian Science Congress, the Minister for Scientific Research, Dr. Humayun Kabir, reiterated, "science could not flourish unless there was a democratic atmosphere".⁹ Such a democratic atmosphere was to be created through the State's increasing role

⁶ *Inaugural Address at the 42nd Session of the Indian Science Congress Association*, op. cit., p. 35.

Even until his death in 1964, Nehru believed that one of the major causes of the retarded pace of India's development was the outmoded administrative practices. He felt that the lack of impact of science on Indian society was due to increasing bureaucratization of science. He was amazed that the senior scientist-administrators were themselves tending to become 'bureaucrats' safeguarding their research territories, seeking status and power for its own sake. Appealing to the scientists in 1963, he said, "I would suggest to you that you should... think how we can get out of the governmental way of looking at things. I was inclined to think that some of our laboratories were gradually succumbing to our Governmental way. I think a deliberate effort should be made by them to work outside the Governmental scheme of things."

Inaugural Address at the 50th Session of the Indian Science Congress Association, Delhi, 1963, cited in Ward Morehouse, "Nehru and Science, The Vision of New India", *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, 1969, 15(3), p. 496.

⁷ *Inaugural Address at the 42nd Session of the Indian Science Congress Association*, op. cit., p. 34.

⁸ *Inaugural Address at the 37th Session of the Indian Science Congress Association*, Part I, Proceedings of the 37th Session, Poona, 1950, p. 29.

⁹ *Presidential Address at the 51st and 52nd Combined Session of the Indian Science Congress Association*, Part II, Proceedings of the 51st and 52nd combined Session, Calcutta, 1965, p. 7.

in the promotion of scientific research yet "without, however, trying to influence directly the aims or programmes of scientific organisations or individual scientists."¹⁰

In 1966, when Shrimati Indira Gandhi became Prime Minister she attributed the discrepancy between the Government's policy intent and action to organisational gaps within the Government. At Varanasi, addressing a gathering of scientists, she described the existing relationship between science and development as 'loose and uncertain.'¹¹

"Too much is left to chance or to personal initiative. Institutional links need to be strengthened. We need more science in planning and more planning in science. Hitherto, the scientist has not been adequately associated with the formulation of our plans and it has been left to him to choose the projects through which he can further them. Even in this he has seldom had sufficient support. The machinery for utilising his research funding through the process of development, design and manufacture has been rather crude. It is staggering to visualise how much has to be done and that too with no loss of time."¹²

Need for Justification of Investment in Scientific Research

In November 1970, in a more pointed statement on the value the Government placed on seeking justification of investment in scientific research programme, the Prime Minister said that the "nation had not secured sufficient returns from the quantitative expansion of scientific research".¹³ Some of the questions which were constantly being asked both within and outside of Government, Shrimati Gandhi noted, were essentially related to the Government's performance in meeting the objectives of economic modernisation. These questions were: what were the goals to be achieved in terms of enhanced productive capacity or the supply of new goods and services; what were the scientific and technological means available to achieve these goals; and what proportion of these could be provided with existing knowledge and institutional capabilities.¹⁴ For this, the Prime Minister pointed out, a fundamental change in the existing approach to the management of scientific and technological institutions was required. The three objectives

¹⁰ *Presidential Address at the 51st and 52nd Combined Session of the Indian Science Congress Association*, op. cit., p. 7.

¹¹ *Inaugural Address at the 55th Session of the Indian Science Congress Association*, Part I, Proceedings of the 55th Session, Varanasi, 1968, p. 39.

¹² *ibid.*, p. 39.

¹³ Text of Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi's Inaugural Address in Committee on Science and Technology (COST), *Proceedings of the Third National Conference of Scientists, Technologists and Educationists*, November 1970, p. 50.

¹⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 55-56.

of the new approach should be: (1) the balance between the need for freedom of research and the requirement of accountability of research institutions; (2) basic changes in personnel practices as applied to scientific and educational institutions: assuming that we replace the prevailing system of selection through the UPSC by a decentralised selection system, can the scientific community take the responsibility for operating it with the utmost integrity and objectivity; (3) finally, the democratisation of decision-making in laboratories, universities, scientific agencies and, indeed, in the scientific community as a whole.¹⁵

When a new Department of Science and Technology was set up in 1971, its Minister echoed similar views. He agreed that there was "unease about the rate and direction" of India's scientific progress and that the Government wanted to know whether the national laboratories were pursuing the right scientific goals—whether enough research and development was being undertaken in the Government laboratories; what was the rate of return on the Government's investment into scientific research; was the balance between basic and applied research about right; were the appropriate scientists and technologists being trained.¹⁶

SCIENTISTS AND ACCOUNTABILITY

Scientists, since Independence, have maintained that their work should be independent of bureaucratic and political interference because of the creative nature of research activities; and if justification of performance was mandatory, then an entirely different set of standards should be used to evaluate their work. They have often referred to the Government mandate of the 1958 Scientific Policy Resolution. This Resolution emphasises the 'urgent' necessity of "individual initiative of acquisition and dissemination of knowledge to ensure that the creative talents of men and women is encouraged and finds full scope in scientific activity".¹⁷

At the First and Second Conferences of Scientists and Educationists held in 1958 and 1963 respectively, the areas which occupied the attention of scientist-delegates were mainly related to implementation of the aims proclaimed in the Scientific Policy Resolution. One of the major tasks laid down at the First Conference was to strive for better salary scales and service conditions for scientific and technical personnel employed in various R & D and teaching establishments. It was stressed that the senior scientists' service

¹⁵ Text of Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi's Inaugural Address in COST, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

¹⁶ Minister of Science and Technology, C. Subramaniam's foreword to the National Committee on Science and Technology (NCST), *An Approach to the Science and Technology Plan*, New Delhi, Department of Science and Technology, January, 1973.

¹⁷ For the text of the Resolution, see *Lok Sabha Debates*, 13-3-58, v. 13, cc. 4736-4739.

conditions should be made comparable to the superior administrative services so that the best brains could be attracted to the scientists' profession.¹⁸ A similar theme was followed at the Second Conference held in 1963 where a case for liberalisation of conditions of recruitment for scientific personnel was made. Other areas which came under discussion dealt mainly with themes such as provision of complete autonomy for research agencies; encouragement for individual scientists to pursue independent lines of research; release of scientists from administrative work; facilities for scientists to undertake consultative work on both institutional and individual basis; and facilities for foreign travel to improve the quality and quantum of research.¹⁹

It was only at the November 1970's Third Conference of Scientists, Technologists and Educationists that an explicit stance on the issue of accountability of scientific research was taken. The rescue of the scientific departments from existing 'outmoded and cumbersome' audit reviews and purchase procedures was described as a 'high priority' task of the Government at this Conference. It was recommended that the audit system should become "constructive in its orientation so that the focus is on suggesting corrective action for the future rather than mere fault-finding from the past".²⁰ Each technological and scientific agency within the Government should be accorded the status of a Department. Furthermore, that organisational format of the research agency be made flexible—a structure similar to board or commission, with a scientist or technologist as its chief executive, with the rank of a Government secretary.²¹

It was agreed that although a cost-benefit evaluation of scientific research was necessary, "satisfactory techniques of measurement were not as yet available in India"; therefore, more studies were required to 'evolve a suitable methodology' while taking into consideration the tasks assigned to the agency concerned and the environment in which it had to operate.²²

THE CIVIL SERVICE AND ACCOUNTABILITY

The civil service viewpoint on this subject has been to defend the secretariat's traditional function of overseeing the agencies. It has sought

¹⁸ *Minerva*, op. cit., pp. 245-256. The section on 'reports and documents' contains a list of recommendation made at the First and the Second Conference of Scientists and Educationists, convened in 1958 and 1963 respectively.

¹⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 254-256. The achievements of the first two conferences of Scientists and Educationists were very limited. As Dr. Bhabha, the chief atomic scientist, some years later commented, "they merely take a lot of the time of a lot of our scientists, resulting in needless and avoidable expenditure and achieve very little. I am not therefore in favour of any such meeting being organized." Bhabha's comments cited in the *19th Report, Estimates Committee, 1967-68*, Fourth Lok Sabha, February, 1968, p. 52.

²⁰ COST, op. cit., p. 17.

²¹ *ibid.*, p. 14.

²² *ibid.*, pp. 12-13.

that the same rules, regulations and procedures of scrutiny be applied to research agencies as those normally operative in other Government departments.

The two reports by the Administrative Reforms Commission (ARC)²³ on the prevailing administrative procedures of the Government scientific departments reflect the attitudes of the secretariat. The reports highlight the extent of positional differences between the secretariat civil servants and the scientist agency-heads.

The ARC's study team on scientific departments was set up in June 1966 with the object of recommending reforms for the administrative structure of Government scientific research organisations. Its major function was to ensure that the "maximum benefits are obtained from the existing scientific and technological potential of the country by providing it with the right type of administrative set-up and working procedures".²⁴

The study team comprised nine members and a chairman. Seven members were senior scientist-administrators representing the respective research agencies (and other scientific departments). Of the two non-scientist members, one was a senior civil servant of secretary's rank and the other one a leading industrialist. The team was chaired by Professor M. S. Thacker, a prominent member of the Planning Commission. Thacker, since Independence, had actively sought for autonomy of scientific organisations, and had contributed to the formulation of programmes for the administration and organisation of science within Government, and at the United Nations.²⁵

The cleavage between scientists and the secretariat officials' viewpoints came to light in March 1968 when Thacker decided to resign from the chairmanship of the team. The chief cause of Thacker's resignation was the secretariat member of the team's insistence on a dissenting note being added to the Thacker Report.²⁶

²³ Administrative Reforms Commission, *Report of the Study Team on Scientific Departments*, Part I, (Chairman: M. S. Thacker), New Delhi, Government of India, March 1968. Also see, Administrative Reforms Commission, *Report of the Study Team on Scientific Departments* (Chairman: D. K. Kunte), New Delhi, Government of India, 1970.

²⁴ Administrative Reforms Commission, *op. cit.*, Part I, p. 2.

²⁵ See M. S. Thacker, *Organization and Planning of Scientific and Technological Policies*, United Nations Conference on the Application of Science and Technology for the benefit of less developed areas; Document No. E/CONF. 30-1-24, October 30, 1962. Also see, M. S. Thacker, "Scientist and Administrator", *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, XII(3), 1966, pp. 618-620.

²⁶ Administrative Reforms Commission, *op. cit.*, Part I, pp. 66-72. Supplementary Note of K. P. Mathrani, Secretary, Ministry of Irrigation and Power, Government of India, attached as Appendix I to the report.

The secretariat-member in this note pointed out that the Thacker Report, did not, in general, present a 'balanced' view of the problems of scientific departments and the improvements necessary to secure the maximum benefits. He felt that the claims made by the agency-scientists for further autonomy of scientific departments were exaggerated; they were mainly based upon their personal feelings that the interposition of lay administrators in the workings of research organisations handicapped its working. For this, the dissenting member suggested that an independent study should have been undertaken to examine how far these factors were, in actuality, affecting the working of the agencies. It was felt that the scientist members in their recommendations had shown a lack of comprehension of the fundamental principles of public administration within the Central Government in India.²⁷

With Thacker's resignation, the study team was reconstituted in October 1968. D. K. Kunte, a member of Parliament, was consequently appointed as new chairman of the study team. Kunte in his preliminary review of the Thacker Report agreed that the earlier report had 'significant gaps' and, in the main, showed biases of the majority membership.²⁸ The new study team was given the task of bridging those gaps. Their revised report was submitted to the Commission as the final report on the subject in January 1970; the scientist-members, however, refused to become signatories to it. They informed the chairman that only the earlier Thacker Report was acceptable to them.

Agency-heads versus Secretariat Areas of Disagreement

There were four main areas in which the scientist-members were in disagreement with the secretariat representative (and the M.P. chairman). These areas were: (1) definition of autonomy and accountability, (2) general principles of administration, (3) recruitment of scientific personnel, and (4) procurement of equipment and supplies.

Autonomy and Accountability: The final report's approach to the concepts of 'autonomy' and 'accountability' was more specific, and avoided the vagueness evident in the Thacker Report. The latter, elaborating upon a scheme of responsibility for research agencies, had stated :

"Delegation of powers must be carried out as a conscious act of policy. In a research organisation, such delegation is, in most cases, clearly

²⁷ ARC, *op. cit.*, Part I, pp. 67-68. Supplementary Note of K. P. Mathrani, *op. cit.* pp. 67-68.

²⁸ Administrative Reforms Commission, (Chairman. D. K. Kunte), *op. cit.*, p. 4. The new study team's chairman in his letter to the Administrative Reforms Commission reviewing his predecessor's report pointed out that the Thacker Report was neither study-based nor objective. It had "certain serious gaps" and did not take full note of the policies and pronouncements of the Government of India. pp. i. See also pp. 125-30.

related to confidence and rapport between personnel at the policy-making body and its secretariat and those in the laboratories—factors which can grow only through working together over a period of time.”²⁹

The report did not go beyond this to show how the delegated system of authority would be related to accountability and criteria required for evaluation. The final report, on the other hand, elaborating upon this aspect, and added this rider to the above statement:

Delegation, however, has to be related to the concept of accountability to be enforced through the assessment of results produced on a time and expenditure scale, as well as examination of propriety of expenditure* and administration practices involved.³⁰

The secretariat-member was of the opinion that in addition to propriety audit, the research agencies must be subjected to an ‘external’ audit by a board of scientist auditors.³¹ This audit would look into the scientific merits of results achieved, and aim to bring out, in detail, how the workings of the scientific departments and the results achieved were related to national goals. In such an audit system, justification for financial cost would be ascertained by an appraisal of whether results were commensurate with expenditure. Six criteria were to be adopted for evaluation. These were:

- (1) Were the results of a comparable nature and magnitude with those the project had sought to achieve? If not, in what feature did they fall short of, or differ from expectations?
- (2) Had the results been relevant to the solution of a specific problem—local, national or international—and to what extent did they bring the solution nearer?
- (3) What were the actual benefits likely to accrue to the country, and how were the results to be employed to serve the objectives in view?
- (4) What were the time targets for various stages of work for pilot projects and subsequent large-scale experiment, and how had they been fulfilled?
- (5) What was the extent of viability of process/product for large-scale adoption with minimum modifications in plant apparatus and technology?

²⁹ Administrative Reforms Commission, Part I, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

³⁰ Administrative Reforms Commission (Chairman: D. K. Kunte), *op. cit.*, p. 16.

*Propriety audit is normally carried out by the Comptroller and Auditor General.

³¹ *ibid.*, pp. 39-41. Secretariat Member Mathrani’s views were fully supported by the chairman Kunte.

(6) Were the results commensurate with the costs involved, or could these have been achieved with less expenditure.³²

The secretariat-member felt that this method of accountability would give due recognition to scientific achievements being made either individually, as a group, or as an organisation.

Other Areas of Disagreement

On the issue of location of scientist agency-heads within the ministry, the secretariat representative stressed that the system of Central Government's public administration consciously separated the ministry's secretariat from the executive agencies. This had been done in order to ensure that the minister in charge and the Government as a whole had advice and assistance of trained administrators who were not directly connected with the functioning of the executive organisations. It was, therefore, immaterial whether the officers who advised the minister were lay administrators or scientific personnel, provided they were not directly involved in day-to-day operations of a policy-implementing agency which might render their advice subjective in character.³³ Regarding the recruitment policy, the secretariat official did not accept the need to establish a separate body for recruitment of scientific personnel, independent of the Central Government agency, the Union Public Service Commission (UPSC). It was suggested that instead of creating a parallel structure, due weight should be given to the advice of technical and scientific advisers within the Public Service Commission itself. A 'reported reluctance' on the part of some eminent scientists and technologists to associate themselves with the UPSC as personnel advisers was noted. The report added that "aiding such a body for the selection of personnel for scientific/technological jobs at senior levels should not be an act unsuited to the dignity of even the highest scientists in the country".³⁴

The scientists maintained that their work was of a special nature, which must in all its spheres remain 'autonomous', and should be made answerable only to a body of specialists. Even before the Administrative Reforms Commission (ARC) study team began its work on scientific departments, its chairman, M. S. Thacker, describing the priorities and tasks of this team asserted that the scientific institutions should build up their own

³² ARC, *op. cit.*, Secretariate Member Mathrani views were full supported by the chairman Kunte pp. 40-41.

³³ *ibid.*, pp. 18-19; see also Part I, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

³⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 48-51. Messrs. Mathrani and Kunte further added that in fact "men of comparable eminence in other fields of national activities have never voiced such disapproval of sitting on the UPSC Boards... the UPSC has always given due weight to the opinions of these experts."

traditions and working methods to 'suit the genius of scientists'. The scientific institutions could not afford to carry the 'deadweight' of 'colonial bureaucratic traditions' which were regarded in the regulatory administrative departments as something of an end in themselves. This, according to Thacker, called for "expert knowledge of a higher degree" and a mere general knowledge of scientific disciplines did not serve this purpose.³⁵ This view of the scientists' superiority led to the Thacker Report's recommendation for the promotion of agency-head from an advisory position to that of a secretary within the ministry. The agency-head was considered the most suitable person, possessing expert knowledge both in the affairs of science and administration. He was expected to be both adviser and advocate, and responsible for the implementation and execution of scientific programmes simultaneously. This proposal was unanimously supported by the scientists.

SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

In this paper, the attitudes of the three key constituents of the Government have been examined to discover the value placed upon the system of institutional responsibility by scientists, secretariat administrators and ministers. From the above examination, it is clear that during 1950-72, a distinct gap persisted between the administrator and the scientist, representing two diverging viewpoints on institutional responsibility. The agency-head's emphasis on a 'republic of science' concept, perpetuated the notion of autonomous scientific affairs; the administrator, on the other hand, held to the traditional role of being a regulatory entity, prepared to account, first to the minister, and then to Parliament.

While the scientists maintained that their work was of a 'special' nature, the administrators argued that the job of administering was basically 'generalist'. The secretariat was not responsible for overseeing the activities of just one agency but generally interacted with several ministerial departments and other executive agencies within the same ministry. The job required a wide knowledge of skills in personnel and financial matters, such as shrewdness and firm-handedness in controlling the establishment branches; the ability to guide and manage people of diverse capacities; and a fine judgement for what was practicable in a given situation.³⁶ Furthermore, with ever increasing specialisation in narrower fields, who was to determine the criteria of specialisation necessary, for example, to fill a position of

³⁵ Thacker, *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, op. cit., p. 620.

³⁶ Ramaswamy R. Iyer, "Understanding our Bureaucracy", *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, XII(3), 1966, p. 699.

secretary in the agriculture ministry. Should he be a botanist, a bio-chemist, a geneticist, an agriculture engineer or an irrigation expert?*

It would, however, be wrong to assume that the problem of bureaucratisation was a figment of the imagination of scientist agency-heads. Had there been no problem, the Government would not have felt any need to set up an elaborate Administrative Reforms Commission. Even the administrators agreed that the delays, red tape and complex bureaucratisation procedure led to general public frustration and disenchantment with Indian bureaucracy. As one Deputy Secretary remarked : "If we inherited a formal and complex system and ritualistic ways of behaviours, we have certainly made these our own. How else can we account for the fact that given an opportunity to draft a completely new set of rules we end by devising systems which are even more complicated and elaborate than existing ones."³⁷

Recapitulating, the political leadership, for long, favoured scientists; the implied sense of 'partnership' with scientists, until late sixties, was based upon the realisation that the programmes of both scientist and minister suffered at the hands of the administration; who, as a non-active participant in the modernisation programmes, could afford to adopt a continual critical stance on mere procedural and regulatory grounds. At the same

*In the dissenting note on the Thacker Report, the secretariat member pointed out that such singular emphasis upon specialist *versus* generalist themes distorted the real problems faced by the scientific departments and agencies. He stated that it might be partly true that the development of Indian science had been handicapped by the administrative set up under which it had to function; but, there were several other factors which had come in the way of securing maximum results from the money and effort expended on research. These factors were not external but were mainly related to the inefficient internal functioning of autonomous research agency and its laboratories which were generally administered by 'expert' scientists.

Mathrani in his dissenting note cited the Indian Institute of Public Administration's findings on the study entitled, "Communication to and utilisation by Industry of the results of research done at CSIR Laboratories". The study in its findings pointed out that the poor results of this Agency were due to:

- (a) organisational weaknesses,
- (b) lack of proper attention paid to cost and time considerations,
- (c) poor product developmental facilities—personnel, skills, attitudes, and confidence were generally lacking.
- (d) impractical results which were not in a readily usable form, offered by laboratories to industry, and
- (e) a physical and psychological gap which existed between the researchers and industry.

Administrative Reforms Commission, *Report of the Study Team on Scientific Departments*, Part I, (Chairman: M. S. Thacker), New Delhi, Government of India, March, 68, pp. 66-67.

³⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 706-707.

time, the leadership did not wish the scientist to be fully autonomous because of the massive public investment required in science, and the uncertainty of long-term results of research. However, by late sixties, a change in attitude towards the notion of accountability was becoming evident among all the three constituents. With the Government's active participation in 'big technology' projects, e.g., communication satellite system and space research, justification for investment into these programmes and weighing of various options became inevitable. Scientists and technologists were asked to justify their R & D programmes in terms of impact on national socio-economic development.³⁸

This change in recent years has led to development of accountable science and technology programmes. The programmes of national laboratories, for example, have become increasingly applied and mission-oriented. On the secretariat side, as the reforms suggested by the Administrative Reforms Commission transcend mere implementation at the research agency level, progress in this direction has been slow. Furthermore, these recommendations demand professionalisation of the civil service and a wider acceptance of new programme, planning and budgeting techniques by those who allocate resources for research and those who conduct it.

³⁸ For new approaches in science planning in India, see. B. S. Rao, et. al., "Satellite Television: A System Proposal for India", *Space Research in India*, 10, 1968. See also: National Committee on Science and Technology (NCST), *Science and Technology Plan, 1974-79 (Draft)*, I-II, Delhi, Controller of Publications, 1973-74.

ADMINISTRATION AND MANAGEMENT OF RESEARCH ORGANISATIONS*

M. R. Kolhatkar

THE report of the U.K. committee on the "Management Control of Research and Development" (Chairman Sir Solly Zuckerman) has differentiated, under the term R & D, five categories of activity. They are : pure basic research, objective basic research, applied (project) research, applied (operational) research and development. A.B. Cherns also has adopted a similar typology for social scientific research and has further identified the specific 'diffusion' channels and institutional forms of these activities. The aim of pure basic research is mainly advancement of knowledge and is carried out in the universities. Its diffusion channel is academic publications. The aim of objective basic research is to provide knowledge on which to base technological advances. This is mainly carried out in research establishments of Government. Its diffusion channel is professional journals. The aim of applied research is to evolve a new process, product or service and is best carried out in the related industry. In social sciences, applied research involves introduction and observation of planned change. Its diffusion channel is feedback straight to the administrators of organisations.

It is thus clear that three typical research organisations are universities, Government research establishments, and industrial research units.

Research, however, is only a small part of the activities of a university, the major activity being education and training. According to the estimates of the Education Commission (1964-66), even industrialised countries spend only about 10 per cent of their total research and development efforts on university research and, in India, this proportion is even smaller. Quantitatively, therefore, research in universities is insignificant and qualitatively, problems of administration and management of universities (which A.K. Rice has aptly called multi-task organisations) are quite different and best regarded as part of the problems of educational rather than research organisations. We shall, therefore, exclude university administration from our discussion.

However, we may note in passing an important point which has a bearing on our subsequent discussion. Traditionally, universities, conceived

*Awarded second prize in the II PA Annual Essay Competition 1975.

as a community of teachers and students fearlessly pursuing truth and excellence are regarded as autonomous *vis-a-vis* outside agencies. Although this autonomy practically is or needs to be qualified in important respects, there is a tendency to cherish an image of absolute autonomy supposed to be enjoyed by the universities and to carry over this notion to the entirely different milieu of research organisations in Government or other agencies.

But while, on the one hand, the scope is thus restricted, on the other hand, as the reference to A.B. Cherns would indicate, we propose to adopt a more extended definition in some respects. Normally, research connotes scientific research but there is sometimes a tendency to identify science solely with physical and biological sciences. However, we must reckon with sciences relating to social relations or social sciences. In the post-Second War period, research in social sciences has also assumed importance. As observed by Don K. Price, the fear of atomic warfare, of irreversible damage to environment, of the tyrannical use of techniques of computation and communication and of the immoral use of genetic engineering have all contributed to the demand that science develops a new way of knowing based on an acceptance of human values and the main result of this has been to give a new emphasis and status to research in social sciences. This has led to the growth of organisations engaged in or promoting research in social sciences.

Let us also be clear regarding the terms 'administration' and 'management'. One can regard the former term to refer to public research organisations and the latter to others. Alternatively one can define 'administration' as an activity concerned with preservation of *status quo* of an organisation and management as an activity concerned with the more laudable objectives like growth and development. One can then arrive at the tautological conclusion that we should eliminate administration and go in for management of our research organisations. To us, these alternatives appear to be either naive or fallacious. We feel that the balance of convenience lies in using these terms broadly and interchangeably for our purposes.

In the light of the foregoing, we may state that we are concerned with administration and management of organisations engaged in research in physical, biological and social sciences.

IMPORTANCE OF RESEARCH ORGANISATIONS

Research organisation is a comparatively new form, unlike the university or a scientific society (*e.g.*, the Royal Society in England). It is essentially a manifestation of the differentiation characteristic of socio-economic

development. In the scale of occupations, it is classed as quinary occupation or occupation of the fifth order. It underlines the rise of 'knowledge industry' where pursuit of knowledge has an instrumental value and its output can be thought of as directly related to the scale and intensity of input howsoever measured. As pointed out by Daniel Bell, in what he terms as 'post-industrial society', theoretical knowledge is the central source of innovation and policy formulation and, therefore, the research organisation, where theoretical knowledge is codified and enriched, becomes the axial structure. It is thus clear that research organisation as the strategic institution of the emergent society assumes unprecedented importance. In pre-industrial or industrial societies, co-existing with post-industrial societies, they assume a similar importance because they become the source of hope of telescoping a vast amount of change.

The recent preoccupation with progressively increasing investment as a percentage of the gross national product in research and development underlines the economic dimension of the problem. We may not accept a simple correlation between investment in R & D and the stage of development as is done, e.g., by Stevan Dedijer. But we cannot help observing, for example, that in India, the annual expenditure on research and development has increased from about Rs. 0.75 crores in 1929-30 to Rs. 28.81 crores in 1958-59 and to Rs. 246.02 crores in 1973-74. This represents about 0.4 of the gross national product (G.N.P.). The National Committee on Science and Technology has suggested that expenditure on R & D should reach the level of Rs. 1000 crores in 1978-79, i.e., about 1 per cent of the GNP. Although this proportion will still be less than that in developed countries, which ranges from 1.8 per cent in Japan to 4.2 per cent in Soviet Union, the outlay in absolute terms is quite high. When research organisations claim such a large share of the national resources, the problem of their management cannot but compel attention.

THREE MODELS OF ORGANISATION

We will consider mainly the problems of Indian research. As a backdrop, we may glance at three models, viz., the British, the American and the Soviet.

In Britain, the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research was established in 1916 as a direct response to war-time conditions. Its staff were civil servants. The Medical Research Council was established in 1920. It is a non-departmental authority empowered to appoint its own staff. The Agricultural Research Council was established in 1931. In 1954, a separate Atomic Energy Authority was established. In the post-Robbins reorganisation, a new Department of Science and Education was established which

administers research establishments other than those relating to atomic energy and industrial research. Thus the general structure runs down from Government department to autonomous council to laboratory. As observed in the First Annual Report of the Advisory Council on Scientific Policy, 1948, in the civil field there has grown up a special relationship between the departmental and the research authorities which is governed by two general principles :

- (1) The executive department should be responsible for identifying problems requiring research, settling their order of priority, deciding when the various investigations should be carried out and applying the results.
- (2) The research authorities should be free to initiate background research when they think fit, free from administrative control of the executive departments and consequently from considerations of day-to-day expediency. They should also undertake research at the request of executive departments.

Apart from civil research organisations, there are, of course, defence research organisations. In regard to social sciences, the work of research promotion was previously looked after by the Human Sciences Committee of the DSIR which work has since been taken over by a fullfledged Social Sciences Research Council.

In the United States, the organisation for research reflects a pluralistic and pragmatic approach. Agricultural research was the largest scientific research programme of the federal government prior to World War II. It was predominantly mission-oriented. After World War II, thanks to the new approach set by the Vannevar Bush report, the National Science Foundation with an orientation towards fundamental research was established in 1950. The National Science Board is the policy-making organ of the NSF.

In 1958, in response to the Soviet challenge of the Sputnik, there came about a strengthening of research organisation in the form of appointment of a Special Assistant to President for Science and Technology. This was institutionalised in 1962 by the establishment of the Office of Science and Technology as part of the executive office of the President and certain functions of the National Science Foundation were transferred to O.S.T. For various reasons, but mainly because of differences between the President and the Special Assistant, on defence matters like antiballistic missiles and supersonic transport, the office of Special Assistant declined in importance. Early in 1973, President Nixon abolished the Office of S and T in the Executive Office of the President and also terminated the White House post of Science Adviser. The civilian functions of the Office of S and T were transferred to

the Director of NSF and the security function to the National Security Council. In regard to social sciences, there is no central council but the work of various organisations including universities and special non-government organisations like the Social Science Research Council and the National Research Council is coordinated by the NSF.

In the Soviet Union, the research function is entirely carried out by the State. There is a sharp distinction between universities conducting pure research and professional institutes. There are scientific councils for each discipline. There is also considerable regional decentralisation. The problem, therefore, is mainly coordination between bodies responsible for pure and applied research and between central and regional organisations. The tie between research and production is strengthened and stress is laid on the principle of practical usefulness. In the headships of institutes, managerial capacity is considered more important than research alone.

In this background, let us consider the Indian situation.

SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH IN PRE-INDEPENDENCE PERIOD

There is a tendency to consider that encouragement to scientific research started only after Independence, and, in particular, with the promulgation of the scientific policy resolution in March 1958. This is not correct. In fact, basic survey organisations were set up by the British quite early, *viz.*, the Meteorological Department (1875), the Botanical Survey (1889) and the Zoological Survey (1916).

What is now Indian Agricultural Research Institute (IARI), New Delhi, was established in 1903 at Pusa in Bihar and was transferred to Delhi in 1934 after a severe earthquake there. What is more, the apex organisation for agricultural research, namely, the Indian (Imperial) Council of Agricultural Research was established consequent on the recommendations of the Agriculture Commission (Linlithgo Commission) in 1929, *i.e.*, much before the establishment of a corresponding council in Great Britain, *viz.*, in 1931. The history of the principal research organisation for medical research, namely, the Indian Council of Medical Research (ICMR) also goes back to the year 1911 when its predecessor body, the Indian Research Fund Association, was established. The Central Research Institute for Medical Research was established at Kasauli in 1906. The Council of Scientific and Industrial Research, however, was established later, namely, in 1942, than the corresponding British organisation, *viz.*, Department of Scientific and Industrial Research (DSIR) in 1916. The Atomic Energy Commission, of course, was a post-Independence organisation (1948). It may be observed that scientific research plans for post-war reconstruction were

thought of well in advance. Thus Prof. A.V. Hill was deputed from the Royal Society in 1943-44 to consider the future organisation of scientific and industrial research. Prof. Hill's report was considered by the Industrial Research Committee under the chairmanship of Shri R.K. Shanmukham Chetty. It was in pursuance of this Committee's recommendation that two national laboratories in the field of chemistry and physics and seven specialised institutes in the fields such as food technology, meteorology, fuel, leather, glass, etc., were established. The Chetty Committee also recommended the establishment of a national research council to coordinate industrial research in Government laboratories with basic research in universities. The popular national leadership also was not oblivious of the importance of scientific research. The National Planning Committee (1938) had a study group for general education, technical education and scientific research and it recommended that the programmes of industrial and educational development should be closely linked with programmes of scientific research.

SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH IN POST-INDEPENDENCE INDIA

The constitutional basis for locus of research organisations may be briefly noticed. The Union List includes the following relevant entries :

- (1) Defence
- (6) Atomic energy and mineral resources necessary for its production.
- (65) Union agencies and institutions for the promotion of special studies in research.
- (66) Coordination and determination of standards in institutions for higher education or research and scientific and technical institutions.
- (68) The Survey of India, the Geological, Botanical, Zoological and Anthropological Surveys of India; Meteorological organisations.

The State List comprises the following entries :

- (11) Education including universities.
- (14) Agriculture including agricultural education and research.

The Concurrent List has the following relevant entries :

- (20) Economic and social planning.
- (45) Inquiries and statistics for the purpose of any of the matters specified in list II or list III.

It will thus be seen that the various surveys and research in defence and atomic energy properly fall in the sphere of Central Government whereas agricultural research falls in the State sphere. But the Central Government has the overriding responsibility for coordination and standards and thus its jurisdiction is almost unlimited.

The first Plan emphasised the role of scientific research in increasing production, finding substitutes for scarce resources and uses for abundant resources and, in general, regarded the national laboratories as direct helpers to small-scale industry. It was in March 1958 that the scientific policy resolution was enunciated. The timing of this is significant. As is well known it was in November 1957 that the Soviet Union launched Sputnik, i.e., the artificial unmanned satellite into the space. For developed countries in the world, especially the United States, this dramatised what was felt to be the comparative lack of attention to the development of science and technology in the United States and a series of measures were initiated including the creation of a post of Special Assistant to the President on Science and Technology and creation of other scientific organs. Presumably, it was in this context that the scientific policy resolution was enunciated on March 4, 1958. So far as administration and management of research organisations are concerned, it was mentioned that the Government had decided to pursue and accomplish the various aims of scientific policy by offering good conditions of service to scientists and according them an honoured position by associating them with the formulation of policies and by taking such other measures as might be deemed necessary from time to time.

The lacunae in the scientific policy resolution have been pointed out by several authors. Thus, it is noted that research for agricultural development has not been so much as mentioned. It is also pointed out that the relationship between science and technology has not been sufficiently articulated; in particular, the scientific policy resolution appears to have been designed mainly with research scientists in the universities in view. However, in the nature of things, such resolutions cannot be comprehensive. What is more important is : how effective is the institutional framework for implementation of science policy and the extent to which the increasing importance of science is recognised and implemented in general policy thinking and planning.

From this point of view the situation has not been very happy at least until recently. The Scientific Advisory Committee of the Cabinet (SACC) was formed in 1956 even prior to the scientific policy resolution to advise the Cabinet mainly on the coordination of scientific work between the various ministries and between the Government and other scientific and technological institutions in the country. The SACC, however, did not have a

strong secretariat and its work proceeded slowly. It took up a review of the institutes and laboratories to see how far they are in a position to deliver the goods. It was not till 1964 that it was able to issue a model draft constitution for scientific institutions. The Committee also tried to evolve general principles of scales of pay and conditions of service for different levels of scientists. Shri B. Sivaraman has pointed out that one reason for the slow pace of work was that most of the scientist members were very busy and could not spare sufficient time for the work. As SACC was not able to pay sufficient attention to the task of an examination of the working of scientific organisations, the Government appointed in April 1963 a Committee on Organisation of Scientific Research (COSR). The Committee was able to study the working of two institutions, namely, the Indian Meteorological Department and the Civil Aviation Department. It is significant that two rather innocuous departments were selected. In 1968, the Scientific Advisory Committee to the Cabinet was replaced by the Committee on Science and Technology (COST). Functions of the new Committee are the enlargement of the functions of the Scientific Advisory Committee of the Cabinet into the field of technology. It again suffered from lack of a strong secretariat. As observed by Shri B. Sivaraman, neither SACC nor COST was able to go into the implementation of the scientific policy resolution which required not only that the Committee has a strong secretariat but also strong political support. Both these lacunae were to some extent filled with the establishment of the Ministry of Science and Technology of which the National Committee on Science and Technology (NCST) now forms a part. The present organisation of scientific research in India at the Central level may be briefly described as below:

For coordination purpose we have the Ministry of Science and Technology whose main policy-making organ is the National Committee on Science and Technology. The Ministry also houses the Environmental Planning and Coordination Division. It directly controls the scientific survey departments, namely, Survey of India, National Atlas Organisation, Botanical Survey of India, Zoological Survey of India, etc. Similarly, the National Research Development Corporation (NRDC) has also been transferred to the new Ministry. The big four of scientific research scene, *viz.*, Atomic Energy, CSIR, ICAR and Defence Research all work under the user Ministries or are themselves independent departments, *e.g.*, atomic energy.

So far as research in State Governments and in private sector is concerned, it forms a very small proportion of the overall national effort. As in 1972-73, 92 per cent of R & D was accounted for by the Government and only 8 per cent by private sector. Even within the Government, Central Government accounted for 95 per cent and State Governments only for 5 per cent, the latter mainly in the field of agricultural research. So far as

the relative allocation of funds for the various research organisations is concerned, atomic energy accounted for 29.8 per cent of the expenditure in 1958-59 and although the percentage fell to 23.9 in 1969-70, the expenditure in absolute terms was still higher than that of any other organisation. In 1969-70 CSIR accounted for 17.3 per cent, ICAR 13.9 per cent and ICMR 1.4 per cent. This clearly underlines the priorities of research in India. It was only recently, i.e., in 1972-73, that the share of agricultural research has increased to about 19 per cent as against 16 per cent accounted for respectively by Atomic Energy, CSIR and Defence Research. Since space research accounted for 12 per cent, atomic energy and space research together account for the highest share, i.e., 29 per cent.

So far as social science research is concerned, India has followed the UK example of setting up the Indian Social Science Research Council (ICSSR). ICSSR has taken over the functions of the Research Programmes Committee in the Planning Commission. It works under the Ministry of Education as a promotional, coordination and advisory agency in the matter of research in social sciences. The allocation of funds for ICSSR is comparatively meagre. ICSSR has, as a matter of policy, decided not to set up its own research institutes unlike other councils which have their institutes and laboratories.

BASIC ISSUES OF ORGANISATION

Having surveyed the scene, let us consider the basic issues of organisation before we turn to the concrete problems of day-to-day administration and management.

There is an influential school of thought which considers that the approach to research management, especially in underdeveloped countries, should be entirely different from the traditional administrative approach or even the approach of management of industrial enterprises. The leading practitioners of this school were Dr. H.J. Bhabha and Dr. Vikram Sarabhai both of them associated with the Atomic Energy Commission and/or the Indian Space Research Organisation. As this has become a part of accepted thinking of scientists generally, an extended discussion is in order.

Dr. Kamla Chaudhry, on the basis of case studies of two 'successful' scientific institutions, viz., the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) and the Ahmedabad Textile Industry Research Association (ATIRA) has drawn the following conclusions: The development of institutions was influenced by small interacting clusters of members with different experiences and competence which provided the innovative base for policy-making and achievement of scientific projects. The organisation chart did not determine the

recruitment of people but the availability and the growth of scientists determined the structure of the organisation. The scientists themselves defined their work within the broad objectives set and evolved the administrative practices required instead of borrowing the practices of the Government. Moreover, scientific and technological work and scientific and administrative roles were combined in a mutually fruitful relationship. Lastly, important psychological advantages are claimed involving confidence and trust in the people who have to man the institutions in the long run.

Ward Morehouse has analysed the levels of research organisations into task coordination and task implementation. At the task coordination level of organisation, scientific organisations can be categorised into scientific-technological 'inclusive' and scientific technological 'exclusive'. This analysis has reference to 'chain of innovation' from discovery of new knowledge to actual utilisation. Examples of inclusive category are the Department of Atomic Energy, industrial enterprises with R & D units and non-scientific Government departments with research units, e.g., railways. Examples of the 'exclusive' category are the CSIR, ICAR, ICMR, etc.

At the task implementation level, scientific organisations are categorised into those characterised by 'scientific isolation' and those enjoying 'scientific togetherness'. The former denote units of scientific activity which are part of larger organisational entities, the primary purpose of which is something other than research and development, e.g., university science departments, industrial R & D units, research units in non-scientific Government departments like railways. The latter denote units of scientific activity which are directly linked with other scientific organisations at the operational level or through the task coordination body of which they are a part. It is suggested by Morehouse that scientific organisations which combine scientific-technological 'inclusiveness' and scientific 'togetherness' (e.g., Department of Atomic Energy) contribute to 'institution-building' in science necessary in underdeveloped countries.

Dr. H. J. Bhabha, in concrete terms, has contrasted two methods of development of Indian science, viz., the standard method adopted by CSIR in which a Planning Officer is appointed who according to a pre-determined plan goes about construction of buildings and recruitment of scientists and the other, 'the growing science' method, adopted by the Atomic Energy Commission in which outstanding scientists are found first and institutions are built around them which then build up a band of young scientists fresh from universities. According to him, the second method seems to lead to better results in the end with greater potential for continuous growth.

Dr. Vikram Sarabhai has distinguished between horizontal control and vertical control and has suggested that horizontal control exercised

through discussion and judgement of peers, with administration performing largely the role of service, should be the preferred mode of control for scientific organisations.

This account of 'success' stories is, no doubt, persuasive. But we must enter a few caveats. Firstly, though Dr. Chaudhry claims the idea of building institutions around men as a unique contribution of Dr. Bhabha, Dr. Bhabha himself admits that this was the philosophy which inspired the Max Planck Institute in Germany. Secondly, building institutions around men may either mean that we must get the best man for a job which is unexceptionable or it may mean that we should never start till the right man comes along which is a counsel of despair and is not practicable. But if it is also implied that the decision regarding 'rightness' of a man can be taken only by particular individuals and not by others, there can be no further argument. One rather suspects that this is one strand. Thirdly, the concept of interacting cluster of individuals can easily degenerate into a closed system of monopolistic positions occupied by an interlocking network of a handful of individuals. Lastly, trust, no doubt, begets trust but it is utopian to conceive of a modern large-scale organisation in which the trust of the chief scientist (who, moreover, would be a frightfully busy man) can inspire the lowest technical assistant. The idea rather smacks of a fading paternalistic organisation.

But does not the very success of those organisations constitute a pragmatic refutation of all counter-arguments? Here we submit that it is really difficult to judge success of an organisation in the absence of objective criteria based on cost-benefit or cost-effectiveness analysis. If it is claimed that the organisations in question have contributed in an intangible way to the process of scientific institution building in India, and that their achievements have placed India on the scientific map of the world, we must point to the special favourable circumstances under which these grew. In the case of atomic energy, we may enumerate the following factors. Firstly, the subject 'atomic energy' is a Central subject with no problems of Centre-State cooperation. Secondly, because of its strategic importance, all its development is the monopoly of the State and there are no problems of transfer of technology to innumerable industrialists and farmers as in the case of other industrial research or agricultural research. Thirdly, the Department of Atomic Energy was fortunate in having the Prime Minister as its steward. This not only meant prestige but also meant several administrative advantages including relative freedom from a close parliamentary or public gaze. Fourthly, the Department, no doubt, has been blessed with a consistent run of a high order of leadership. Fifthly, the location of the Department in Bombay rather than in the national capital has afforded the advantage of comparative insulation. Sixthly, the Department has consistently claimed a very large share of Central allocation of R & D funds. This, of course, has meant

comparatively smaller allocations to other fields. What should have been the correct scale of priorities is not at present the point at issue. The main point is that the Department got most of the funds it needed. Moreover, as observed by the Education Commission (1964-66), the Department of Atomic Energy, without compelling reasons, engaged in activities like research in radio astronomy and molecular biology which properly should have been conducted by the universities. This was another factor in a larger allocation of funds. Seventhly, the Department has not been subjected to any external evaluation as in the case of CSIR (Sarkar Enquiry Committee) or ICAR (Gajendragadkar Enquiry Committee). Again, the point is not as to which type of evaluation is better. The point simply is that, as a matter of fact, no external evaluation having taken place, we do not have enough facts. We, therefore, conclude that while the 'success', in some sense, of the organisations in question may be acknowledged, it will be difficult to treat the cases as in any sense typical and hence it will be neither proper nor practicable to extend their organisational patterns wholesale to other research organisations.

But the issues involved are larger. They are not factual but conceptual. If we closely examine the various arguments of what may be termed the 'heroic' school of research organisations, we find that they make the following assertions:

- (1) That science has unlimited power to do good and that science constitutes an un-mixed blessing.
- (2) Not only science, but science organisation, as it exists, is the best conceivable and there are no hierarchies among scientists.
- (3) That scientists defined as active practitioners of science are a cut above the normal run of men. They are objective and impartial in all their dealings not only in relation to science but also in relation to science management and administration and that they can be counted upon to take the best possible decisions.
- (4) That the ideal organisation of science should be self-regulatory or, in other words, there should be no vertical controls but only horizontal controls in the sense of examination of the worth of scientific work by fellow scientists. In particular, there should be no examination of proposals emanating from scientists either by professionals or managers/bureaucrats. The ultimate right of political decision-makers to say yes or no is conceded but intermediaries are disfavoured.

Each of these assertions can be questioned. We may briefly deal with them:

- (1) It is true that immediately after the Second World War and thereafter

in the early 1960s, there was a euphoria about science, about the capacity of science to find solutions for most of the problems of the world. Technically the claim of science in effect was that whatever the nature of the problem, there was a 'scientific/technological fix' for that problem. By now, nobody accepts such claims of science. First of all, it is recognised that science, like any other instrument, is ambivalent in its ends and can be used for evil as well as for good. Secondly, science shares the common characteristic of other social phenomena, namely, that there are unforeseen consequences of any scientific solution. Thus taking the problem of population, while increase in agricultural productivity and the use of contraceptives were offered as the technological fix for the problem, these solutions did not take account of the consequences of increased agricultural productivity especially when unevenly distributed. The use of contraceptives, on the other hand, has the unforeseen consequence of breaking up family ties and encouraging sexual promiscuity. Thirdly, any given science is not capable of solving the variety of problems which obtain. In most cases the approach needs to be interdisciplinary which would include hard science like physics and chemistry and soft sciences like sociology and psychology. But even if interdisciplinary solutions are evolved, there is a limit beyond which science cannot go in solving various problems. Fourthly, the undesirable consequences of science like increase in pollution levels has created a sort of disillusionment regarding scientific achievement and has led to the management techniques called technological assessment. Fifthly, especially in the underdeveloped areas, it was realised that the problems of development were more complex than mere transfer of technology or transfer of massive capital doses. The problems of development were deeply imbedded in the traditional attitudes of the community which are very difficult to transcend. For all these reasons the dazzle of science has faded and serious scientists would not now make exaggerated claims on behalf of science and technology.

(2) It is also not a fact that science is optimally organised without any hierarchies. Actually, at any given time, some disciplines of science are in the ascendent and others, to that extent, are in the descendent. Respective practitioners share in this high or low status and their attitudes are formed accordingly. It may broadly be stated that, atleast in India at present, the highest prestige is enjoyed by the scientists practising hard sciences like physics and chemistry with applications to atomic energy. The next come industrial scientists. In the third place, come the scientists practising comparatively soft sciences like biology and related technologies, *viz.*, agriculture and medicine. The fourth place is taken by social scientists. Most of the writing on science policies in India is accounted for by scientists who practise the comparatively prestigious science. Much of the writing, therefore, is clearly partisan and cannot be said to represent either the whole of the scientific spectrum or the unanimous thinking of the scientific profession. Moreover,

the fact of stratification means that the concept of horizontal control would in practice be difficult to articulate.

(3) This brings us to the third point regarding the alleged objectivity of scientists. As observed by Robert K. Merton, science as a method involves application of some kind of universalistic norms. But this does not necessarily mean that practitioners of scientific method in one field cannot be unscientific in other fields. In fact, several case studies relating to important discoveries, and winning of Nobel Prizes, etc., attest to the fact that scientists are ordinary human beings and outside their limited field of specialisation they are subject to all the human frailties, namely, egotism, egoism, partiality, jealousy and so on. This argument can be extended even to national communities. For example, it is very commonly stated that in the ancient past, India had many scientific achievements to its credit and though India suffered a decline, it can come up into its own. Side by side it is also stated that the most important prerequisite for development of science in India is cultivation of the scientific temper. Such a premise could lead us to believe that most of the western countries have, in fact, developed a scientific temper and this accounts for their scientific excellence. This is very far from the truth. First of all, the achievements of Japan which is an eastern country and Soviet Union which is a totalitarian country show that scientific achievement is possible in different kinds of cultural milieus. We conclude that development of an all-pervading scientific temper as such is an impossibility and cannot be set as a prerequisite for scientific development. India can have the greatest scientific achievements to its credit, even though scientific temper may not permeate the whole population. But by the same token, a small group of scientists cannot claim the monopoly of scientific objectivity. In practice, persons who have been associated with selection of scientific personnel know that scientists set a great store by the association of a candidate with particular scientists. Not that merit is discounted but it is something else which tilts the balance. This only means that scientists are all too human. But there is another important factor, *viz.*, that scientists have not developed a scientific habit of mind in non-scientific matters. We may state in parenthesis that administrators, by their training and experience, can to some extent be expected to bring objectivity to bear in human affairs though they also are not infallible. We are, of course, talking of normal scientists. But we can have pathological types, in science as in other fields, aptly characterised by Stevan Dedijar as 'research politicians' 'cranks', 'rogues' and reputation-builders. We can only note this phenomenon by way of precaution.

(4) The argument that vertical controls for scientists are not desirable cannot also be accepted. Scientific research is just one of the activities whether of the Government or of the industry. And scientific research has to take its place according to the national or societal objectives. When some funds

are allocated to scientific research some other activities have to go without funds, so that scientific research has to fulfil some criterion of cost effectiveness, to make the grade. The society has to have an institutional arrangement to examine, firstly, relative priorities of two lines of scientific research and, secondly, whether at the margin, allocation of funds should be made for scientific research or for some other activity. Given this reality, science and scientists will have to subject themselves to an external evaluation. They will have to work within a framework of political decision-making and since the political decision-making does not stand on its own but is required to be aided by a professional/managerial apparatus, scientists cannot claim immunity from an intermediate scrutiny.

In fact, as pointed out by Don K. Price, it is in the interest of science as well as nation to have such graded examination so that impossible demands are not made on science, the innovation chain is not artificially shortened and science is not subjected to sudden ups and downs of raw political favour. It is not implied that scientists cannot make managers. But what is contended is that to the extent a scientist is a manager, he cannot claim the privilege of an ivory-tower scientist but must submit himself to outside control. In particular, we must guard against abuse of administrative and financial power in the name of science to the detriment of national objectives.

In short, we hope to have shown that scientists in research organisations cannot claim unqualified autonomy. They must pass the test of national priorities. They must abide by rules of propriety and must be accountable for expenditure out of taxpayers'/shareholders' money to the legislature or similar bodies. Logically, therefore, they will have to function within the relevant administrative and financial procedures with exceptions which are clearly related to achievement of governmental purpose. The way is now clear to consider detailed aspects of administration and management.

ASPECTS OF ADMINISTRATION

As earlier mentioned, research organisations are mainly of three types, namely, government, university and private. So far as private research organisations are concerned, they are of two kinds—non-profit making and profit making. Non-profit making bodies like charitable societies share the characteristics of universities. When they are cooperative research bodies as, e.g., Ahmedabad Textile Industry Research Association, they are indistinguishable from public research organisations. A typical private research organisation is the R & D unit in an industrial concern. Agriculture is a highly scattered and small-scale occupation and traditionally research in agriculture has always been done in government research stations.

Research facilities for small scale industries are also provided by the government. It is, therefore, only in large industrial firms that there is an incentive for having research units. These research units are directly linked to the production and marketing operations of the firm. Generally research in private industrial units is directed towards having the product produced by the firm differentiated from that of the other firms. Very little research effort is directed towards the general purpose of innovation and especially the cost reducing innovation. In particular, research effort which will have the effect of undermining the vested interests of the firm is not undertaken. As the objective of private firms is to make a profit, especially to reap the profits arising out of the advantage of a new product over a rival product, the mode of diffusion of research in private institutions is through the patent. This makes not only for secrecy of the product and process in question but also for the secrecy of actual management processes of research and development of private firms. A lot of writing in this field is normative and few case studies are available. In India, of course, private R & D effort is small (8% of national total) but in the UK and US it is significant (32% to 35%) and in Japan it exceeds government effort (70%). It is significant, therefore, that the demand for autonomy of scientists is not voiced in relation to private research organisations.

So far as government research is concerned, we can consider the various aspects under the broad headings of: form of organisation, headship, autonomy in administrative matters including personnel matters, autonomy in financial matters including stores procurement, utilisation of research results, and coordination.

Form of Organisation

There are three main forms of organisation, namely, research council functioning as an attached or subordinate office of the government department, a fullfledged research department and a research unit functioning as part of a department. The cases of the first type in India are ICMR, CSIR and ICSSR. In the case of CSIR, the link of the Council with the department is ensured by giving *ex officio* secretaryship of the department to the director-general. The leading example of a departmental research organisation is the Atomic Energy Commission which functions as the executive body of Atomic Energy Department and its chairman as secretary of the department. Recently, ICAR has also been converted into a department of agricultural research and education with the DG, ICAR, working as secretary to the Government. The third variation of the organisational form is illustrated by the various surveys which previously formed part of the Ministry of Education and now form part of the Ministry of Science and Technology. The advantage of a research council

is that it can enjoy a comparative freedom from the normal departmental procedures. The CSIR, for instance, is a registered society and, therefore, it is open to such societies to regulate many matters through adoption of bye-laws which otherwise would be governed by the normal departmental rules. Secondly, they would also enjoy comparative immunity from the day-to-day accountability to Parliament to which the departments are subjected. Thirdly, they can closely involve research scientists from universities and other bodies with various aspects including sub-committees for dealing with defined matters. However, when the council has its own laboratories or institutes, it is difficult for it to maintain a stance of impartially *vis-a-vis* other institutes. It is for this reason, perhaps, the ICSSR has decided not to have its own institutes. However, if problems of secrecy are involved or if there is a problem of coordination with State Governments, then departmental organisation is preferable as is seen in the case of the Defence Research and Development Organisation and the Atomic Energy Department and recently, the ICAR. On the other hand, when a research unit is a part of a large department which deals with many other matters, such units are likely to suffer for lack of adequate attention including financial provision. This is the problem of 'isolation' referred to by Ward Morehouse. It is not clear that the problem is soluble in the nature of things. Bringing the units under the Ministry of Science and Technology might have helped only to a slight extent.

However, when the research organisation is directly related to the function or the mission of a particular department as, for example, agricultural research in relation to agriculture and industrial research in relation to industrial development, it is mutually advantageous that the research council/department works under the functional Ministry rather than the overall Ministry of Science and Technology.

Headship

In India, the question of headship of scientific research institutions has evoked a lot of controversy. It is now generally accepted that a scientist should head a research organisation. However, there are some related issues which cannot be said to have been completely settled.

The issue of headship of scientific research institutions partakes of the general issue of specialist *versus* generalist. Although the trend now-a-days is towards a specialist heading technological/scientific organisation, the case of a generalist heading a scientific organisation cannot be said to be entirely weak. We have to remember, first of all, that specialisation in various sciences has gone to such an extent that it is difficult for any one scientist to know even the basics of all the various specialised disciplines, much less

to know about the latest developments. Therefore, a scientist with specialisation in one discipline is equally a layman in another discipline. At the most, he can be called a scientifically literate man. The same, however, holds in the case of a generalist who is scientifically literate. *Prima facie*, therefore, there should be no objection for a scientifically qualified generalist to head a research organisation. However, going beyond this, we must note that the headship of an organisation involves several coordinating responsibilities in which partiality for one specialism may be a liability rather than an asset. Further, a large amount of work involved in an organisation is really administrative and burdening a scientist with administrative chores is a waste of scientific manpower. The usual counter-argument is that the problem can be solved by having an administrative officer to assist a scientist chief executive. The administrative officer, however, functions at a very low level and would not provide the necessary relief to the chief executive. There are, therefore, only two effective alternatives, namely, that a scientist should have a deputy who is well-versed in administration/management. Alternatively, of course, there is the old solution of the chief executive being an administrator with a scientist deputy. Which solution if accepted would depend largely on the intellectual fashion of the day.

A related issue is regarding secretariat status for scientists who head research organisations. The Administrative Reforms Commission had recommended that there is no need to give secretariat status to the head of technical/scientific organisations. This recommendation was based on the very sound argument that the Minister should have the advantage of advice from a quarter which can take a comparatively disinterested view of any proposal under consideration. Of late, however, we have many cases of heads of scientific organisations also being *ex officio* secretary to department.

Administrative Autonomy Including Personnel Matters

One of the most important claims on behalf of research organisations is that they should enjoy complete liberty in hiring and firing personnel. In particular, association of UPSC is disfavoured. We have the examples in this regard of Atomic Energy Commission, CSIR and ICAR to go upon. So far as the Atomic Energy Commission is concerned, UPSC from the very beginning has been kept out. A complicated recruitment procedure is followed, the gist of which is that eminent scientists in particular disciplines are closely associated with the selection. It is the general claim that the system is working satisfactorily in the Atomic Energy Department. We lack evidence to check the claim. We have, however, examples of CSIR and ICAR which clearly show that excluding the UPSC from selection of scientific posts especially at higher levels can lead to abuse. Serious complaints in this regard led the Government to appoint high level committees, *viz.*, the

the Sarkar Committee for CSIR and the Gajendragadkar Committee for ICAR. Both of the Committees established the fact of abuse. The Gajendragadkar Committee also pointed out that UPSC could not be called dilatory in comparison with speed of recruitment in ICAR. So far as ICAR is concerned, following the recommendation of the Gajendragadkar Committee, the power enjoyed by the ICAR during the period 1966 to 1973 to conduct its own recruitment through its recruitment board has been taken away and a separate recruitment board under an ex-member of UPSC has been constituted.

In regard to confidential rolls and promotion system, there is general agreement that C.R. forms should be specially designed to bring out the qualities and achievement of an officer *qua* scientist and that promotion should be on the basis of merit subject to certain safeguards. Another aspect of personnel management is the claim for special working conditions advanced by the scientists, in the matter of leave, etc. For example, it is suggested that scientists should be given liberal furloughs and study leave to enable them to refresh themselves. We are afraid that such claims are based on the analogy of the university and cannot be sustained. It is admitted that the Government should be concerned with the development of employees but this applies to non-scientists as well. There is a grave risk of abuse of such privileges.

It is also suggested that scientists should have unlimited freedom of communication with fellow scientists even across national boundaries and also freedom to attend various international symposia, etc. It may be stated that communication of certain research findings freely either to the scientists within the country or to scientists abroad may involve security and allied risks. There have, therefore, to be procedures of clearness not only in defence related research but also in other research as well. Regarding freedom to participate in scientific gatherings, it can only be considered in the context of its ultimate value to the organisation and overall financial implications.

On the question of mobility of scientists, one often hears contradictory arguments; on the one hand that service conditions should be attractive so that there is no incentive to leave and on the other hand that mobility should be encouraged. Here again, overall objectives must prevail.

Financial Autonomy Including Stores Purchase

It is generally accepted that so long as budget proposals are detailed enough and have been thoroughly scrutinised before hand, there should be a freedom for the head of the institution to operate within the budget, without further reference to the Finance Ministry. There is also need for

greater operational freedom in the matter of stores purchase if valuable time is going to be lost and the question of allocation of scarce foreign exchange is not involved. We may observe that delegation of financial powers is the general trend and scientific organisations, in common with others, are bound to benefit.

There is one important point regarding administrative and financial autonomy which is often lost sight of. While research departments are keen to have maximum autonomy *vis-a-vis* personnel and finance departments, they are loath to part with their powers in relation to subordinate laboratories and institutions which are the operating level. This needs to be consciously checked and re-delegation to operating level maximised to the extent possible.

Utilisation of Research Results

The question of utilisation of research results assumes importance especially in Government departments which carry out research for the benefit of external clientele as, for example, industrial and agricultural research. For this, firstly, research should be relevant to the felt needs, which can be ensured through association of users with the management of organisations in an advisory capacity. Secondly, industrial research requires scaling up facilities and agricultural research needs to be adaptive to local conditions. In industrial research, the problem is that of adequacy of finance for development work. The National Research Development Corporation has been established for this purpose. It sells licences (patents) and also undertakes development work in collaboration with industry. It is also promoting horizontal transfer of technology within the country and export of technology abroad. In agriculture, universities have been established all over the country to undertake adaptive research and for extension of research to farmers. In this connection, the role of regional research stations of the Central research institutes needs to be re-examined, with a view to seeing whether their work cannot be taken over by agricultural universities.

Coordination of Research

As mentioned earlier, the National Committee on Science and Technology is the apex coordinating body for R & D effort in the country. NCST is presided over by the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission thus underlining the close link between planning and research. NCST has also prepared an R & D plan as part of the Five Year Plan. It is not clear, however, that this plan is more than an aggregation of proposals of various scientific organisations. For NCST to become an effective

coordinating body, the following steps need to be taken :

(1) The national R & D plan should be supportive of plan outlays in other sectors. This will require operating on a scale of priorities and chopping and cutting. So far, bigger scientific organisations have resisted such coordinating control.

(2) Defence research should be coordinated with civil research to avoid duplication.

(3) Coordination with State Governments should be on a more detailed and participatory basis. Within the States, coordinating machinery for research needs to be strengthened.

(4) Government research should be coordinated with research in private organisations. For this purpose, more formal modes than mere meetings are necessary.

CONCLUSION

Our discussion suggests the need for a more sober assessment of the role and responsibilities of research organisations. The frontier of science is endless and research vistas are vast but given a realistic appraisal of the capabilities of science and a sense of priorities of development within the national context, there is no reason why the scientific estate should fight shy of responsible collaboration with other estates of the realm, *viz.*, professional, administrative and political, in the common task. As Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi observed in her address before the Indian Institute of Management, Bangalore, in October 1973 : "The present controversy raised over the relative importance of generalists and specialists in the country is somewhat sterile. The important issue is to evolve a system by which we are able to get the best out of our personnel and to ensure that the entire administration and specially the level at which the administration comes in direct touch with the people are imbued with a sense of service and understanding."

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PROBLEMS INVOLVED IN DEVELOPING INDICATORS OF ADMINISTRATIVE PERFORMANCE

G. Sivalingam

THE need for increased *qualification* of administrative variables has been pleaded for by various scholars and even by the United Nations. As part of its programme in the Second Development Decade, the United Nations had developed 40 indicators to measure quantitatively growth and development at the international level. However, while quantitative indicators could be easily developed for various sectors of the national economy it was not an easy task to develop indicators of administrative performance. To date, there has been no comprehensive indicator developed. Despite the difficulties, there are partial and proxy indicators which lend themselves to easy measurement and use in certain services. However, in the areas of values and policy-making it is extremely difficult to formulate indicators unless, of course, one intends to be naive and push the idea of a value free and pure social science.

The problems involved in developing indicators are not new problems. They involve problems related to the clear and accurate identification and definition of problems; the conflict between fact and value; the problems of gathering data and analysing non-parametric data; the problem of measuring administrative activities such as coordination, control and feedback; the problem of developing cross-culturally valid data gathering instruments and lastly the problems involved or related to political or social change and the ever-changing needs of people.

PROBLEMS OF DEFINITION

It is a well-known fact that in the social science there is very little conceptual clarity, social scientists lack a common set of concepts and even a common language.¹ There has been little attempt to identify the operational variables which could be clustered around a concept. Unless things are broken up to the simplest possible unit, measurement and clarity are difficult to attain. Words are value laden and so are concepts but to seek agreement on concepts is to take the value of the component in concepts and this is perhaps equivalent to having concepts that do not describe

¹ Milton J. Esman, "Indicators for Development Administration: A Summary Review", *Philippine Journal of Public Administration*, July 1973, p. 369.

situations adequately in administration. If conceptual clarity is difficult to obtain, then it may be suggested that unambiguous definitions of problems and situations are also difficult to obtain. This is stated because concepts are the building blocks in any definition.

FACT AND VALUE

Fact and value are useful analytic distinctions. They lend themselves to useful abstract philosophical thought. However, to operationalise this dichotomy would be extremely difficult in the real world situation. In the real world of the administrators the constant need to list down priorities and make choices is a fact of life. Choices imply value judgements but these value judgements are based on facts which have evolved out of some ethical propositions. Every decision-making process has to begin with some assumptions and, therefore, the factual statements arising therefrom have a value component because of the initial ethical statements made. It becomes a very complicated process to trace and differentiate factual from value statements. This complication becomes more serious in periods of rapid social change. Therefore, doubts may be raised as to whether facts themselves can be measured since it is extremely difficult to separate fact from value in any decision. Facts can be tested and verified but values are not amenable to scientific verification. To verify facts, values have to be eliminated and this cannot be done. On the other hand, it is not realistic to ignore values on the ground that they are not amenable to measurement.

THE PROBLEM OF MEASUREMENT

The problem of measurement revolves itself around the issues of conceptual clarity, and the refinement of the data gathering instruments. There is a dearth of cross-culturally valid data gathering instruments which could be used as a standard to measure administrative performance cross-nationally. Instruments developed in the West unless validated in various cultures are often culture bound. Culture boundness introduces biases and results in errors in measurement. The objectives and functions of government administrations vary to a great extent and if we utilise any one we could be accused of measuring performance according to one's standards and values and not according to other's standards and values. It would also be difficult to decide the best or most correct or most beneficial of the various objectives and functions of government administrations.

PROBLEM OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CHANGE

As stated earlier, one is not able to decide often what one's needs are. Man's behaviour is a product of the interaction between his personality

and environment. When the political and social environments change his behaviour also changes. His needs differ, his aspirations rise or fall and so do his reactions and attitudes towards the administration change. Government administrations are supposed to be development orientated and supposed to interact with the environment goals, objectives and functions as administrations change too. In countries where there is a rapid change, or even a change, it is more difficult to identify and measure the needs of people than in a static environment; where there is a problem of people not understanding their needs. Definition of needs, responses and participation of people has to be more tangible and objective, before they can be amenable to measurement.

ATTEMPTS MADE TO DEVELOP INDICATORS

However, there have been attempts made to develop indicators even though the problems involved appear to be insurmountable. The rough indicators developed so far may be classified as macro and micro-indicators.

Macro-Indicators

The macro-indicators developed cannot be termed direct measurements of administrative performance, efficiency, effectiveness or efficacy. They are merely indirect or proxy variables. The reasons advanced for the use of proxy variables centre around the old argument that a second best solution is better than no solution. This is, however, a sufficient reason to consider them seriously.

Oscar Oszlak² has developed six macro-level indicators: (a) indices of supervision, (b) the number of newly created para-state organisations, (c) incidence of double or multiple employment, attendance and strikes, (d) employee's personal traits, (e) salary levels and policies, and (f) allocation of resources by item of expense. To him these proxy variables seem to provide some useful basis for evaluating inputs and processes in administration. For example, the indices of supervision express a quantitative relationship between the number of officials at two different levels in an organisation and are useful to deduce the extent of control in the organisation. The number of newly created public enterprises may denote the flexibility of governments in implementing developmental programme. Incidence of strikes, absenteeism and active employment both inside and outside public administration would indicate to some extent morale and motivation of workers. Some indicators would help in the planning process in specific areas such as promotion, retirement and training needs.

² Oscar Oszlak, *Diagnóstico de la Administración Pública Uruguaya Technical Report*, New York, United Nations, 1972.

Such type of indicators would be the age, sex, education, years of service. By themselves these may not be useful but if they are not related to what Oszlak calls the structural variables (*i.e.*, rank, functional class, sector and unit), they may generate useful information for developing a career development system. Salary levels and policies if correlated with structural variables may help in identifying and reducing discrimination, law motivation and general frustration or dissatisfaction. As stated earlier, objectives are rarely defined clearly but, however, if we examine the allocation of resources by item of expense we may have an approximate measure of the objectives of an organisation.

Another set of macro-indicators, which are not necessarily opposed to or complimentary to the first set, are more remote proxy variables than the first set. The rationale in the use of the second set of macro-indicators is derived from the study by Beckerman and Bacon.³ The argument is that if there is greater socio-economic change, in quantitative terms, in one country than in another, then one cause of this may be greater administrative capabilities in the country, which records greater socio-economic growth.⁴ While administrative capabilities are not quantitatively measurable, some indicators of socio-economic growth are measurable and these are: (a) average annual rate of growth of gross product, (b) unemployment, underemployment and employment, (c) improvement in quality of education, (d) improvement in levels of health facilities, (e) expansion and diversification of exports of manufactures, (f) strengthening and streamlining tax administration, (g) containment of current expenditures, (h) improvement of efficiency of public enterprises, (i) inventory of natural resources, and (j) reform of land tenure.

Hudson⁵ has suggested some indicators, whose weaknesses are self-evident but nevertheless could be of help as candidate or proxy variables. These indicators are: (a) the number of government employees per square kilometer/mile, (b) the ratio of government budget to government employees, (c) the ratio of government budget to gross national product, (d) tax efficiency defined as the ratio of revenue collected to taxable income, (e) government allocations to various functions, (f) length of the budget process, and (g) number of computers and similar technology available to a government administration.

³ W. Beckerman and R. Bacon, "International Comparisons of Income Levels: A Suggested New Measure", *Economic Journal*, Vol. 76, 1972.

⁴ Gerald Schwab, "Indicating Improvements in Development Administration," *Philippine Journal of Public Administration*, July 1973, p. 312.

⁵ Michael C. Hudson, "Developing Indicators of Administrative Productivity: The Cross-National Perspective," *Philippine Journal of Public Administration*, 1973, p. 333.

Micro-Indicators

Micro-indicators are relatively easier to define and measure. This is because at the micro-level concepts can be broken up into minute definable units. For example as an index of efficiency we may be able to count the number of papers shuffled, the time taken to reply to letters of inquiry and delay in terms of manhours in making per diem payments to employees. However, the use of such indicators is also wrought with problems especially when we go into the realm of appropriateness of the various actions taken. We have to make value judgements and value judgements are not objectively measurable even at the micro-level.

It becomes apparent that indicators, whether representative, candidate, direct, indirect or proxy, are still at an infant stage of development. The trouble with proxy variables is that they are not able to fully explain all statistical variations and at the most they can state relationships but they cannot establish cause and effect to any reasonable degree of certainty. More time and effort is needed if measurable indicators such as we have for economics are to develop.

BOOK REVIEWS

Public Administration and Public Affairs by NICHOLAS HENRY, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, Prentice-Hall Inc., 1975, pp. 380, \$ 16.50.

The Minnowbrook Conference on Public Administration 1968 (of which unfortunately very little is known in this country), sponsored by the distinguished Prof. Dwight Waldo, Albert Schwertzer, Professor of Humanities at Syracuse University, resulted in giving a new focus to public administration.¹ The new public administration, as it emerged from the conference deliberations, is disinclined to examine such traditional phenomena as efficiency, effectiveness, budgeting, and administrative techniques. Conversely it is very much aware of normative theory, philosophy and activism. Its over-riding tone now is a moral one, and the questions that it raises deal with values, ethics, the development of the individual member in the organisation, the relation of the client with the bureaucracy, and the broad problems of urbanism, technology and violence. The field is thus appearing to be emerging as a synthesis of three dominant concerns : (a) the techniques of administration, with an added emphasis on the more recent purpose

of analysing and measuring the human effectiveness of public policy impacts, (b) organisational and political analysis, in order that social system may be more fully comprehended from the viewpoint of the public administrator, and (c) ethical and normative theory, as represented by some aspects of organisation theory and by the developing awareness of the public interest as it relates to public affairs.

As a sequel to the emerging trends in the discipline of public administration, there has been a dramatic growth of various kinds of public policy centres in many universities in America (e.g., urban and regional research centres, policy analysis units, government institutes, etc.) The number of these centres in America alone has more than doubled between 1970-72, and some of these, specifically those concerned with the policy sciences (e.g., John F. Kennedy School of Government Program in Public Policy at Harvard University), are offering doctoral degree for professional public bureaucrats,

¹ For details of the findings of Minnowbrook Conference see Frank Merini (ed.), *Toward a New Public Administration: The Minnowbrook Perspective*, Scranton, Pa. Chandler, 1971.

and many are developing rather extensive, independent and identifiable curricula.² The growth of such institutional homes of public administration in America and their activities have demonstrated the need for the development of new material and literature, which should reflect the modern thinking in the field. The book under review is one such attempt in this direction.

Starting with the three basic premises, *viz.*, (1) "Muddling through decision-making in government is no longer adequate in a society characterised by "future shock" and more rational policy-making is

administration, the author surveys the literature of organisation theory to get an insight into the political dynamics and motivations of public bureaucracies and their members. In another section, he describes the applied techniques of public administration, including the more advanced "methodologies" stemming from systems theory and policy analysis as well as the more traditional tools of budgeting and public personnel administration. And in a final section on "Public Affairs", the author considers ethical theory and public interest by analysing certain social dilemmas facing the Government of the United States in the modern

CORRIGENDUM

Vol. XXI, No. 4, October-December, 1975 (Book Reviews), p. 798:

Please read "*Cost of Living Index Numbers* by KALI S. BANERJEE", as "*Cost of Living Index Numbers* by KALI S. BANERJEE, 1975, New York, Marcel Dekker, pp. xiii+179, \$ 13.75".

Nicholas Henry, in his present book, has reviewed the various paradigms of public administration over the last eighty years. After considering the various reasons, why they have waxed and waned, he urges that public administration he designed as an intellectual and professional endeavour that synthesises pertinent elements of political activity, administrative techniques, and ethical theory. In the background of such a paradigm of public

scholars in the field and has presented relevant supplementary readings he has provided the earlier and the modern perspective to the subject under discussion, and (2) by including a section on the use of "System Approach and Management Science as techniques of public administration, he has given the subject a more practical and professional orientation. Further, despite the emphasis of the author on a discussion of the modern social issues like

² Happily, with the establishment of the Centre for Policy Research at New Delhi we also seem to have made a good beginning in this respect in our country. The outcome of the efforts of centres and institutes like this would largely determine the emerging focus of public administration in India.

the urban experience, federalism and the environmental administration in the context of the background of the United States, it may still be found to be relevant for other countries as well, as these problems are becoming universalised phenomena in all industrial societies. The fact that the author has been able to condense a good deal of new thin-

king in this direction, in a span of some three hundred and odd pages, speaks of the brevity, compactness and simplicity of his style. Whether or not one agrees with the paradigm of the discipline as projected by him in his book, it should for long remain to be a basic text in the field of public administration.

—R.B. JAIN

Parched Earth—The Maharashtra Drought 1970-73 by V. SUBRAMANIAN, Bombay, Orient Longman Ltd., 1975, pp. 640, Rs. 75.

The Maharashtra drought which lasted almost for over three years from 1970-73, was indeed a real trying time for the people of the State. The volume under consideration narrates graphically the story which, according to the then Chief Minister, "is one of dedication on the part of the administration, and of forbearance and courage on the part of the people of Maharashtra in the face of a very great adversity". Shri Subramanian, the author of this study, was intimately associated as a senior functionary of the State Government in working out the measures to combat the crisis and in overseeing their implementation. Written in a lucid style—emotional at times due to the author's personal involvement as well as sensitivity—the book is an authoritative and documented study of the situation in all its ramifications.

The book has broadly been divided into four parts. The first covers not only the state of the agricultural economy of Maharashtra

and the nature of the crop condition during this period in brief but also provides a historical survey of the previous famines in the area. In the second part, the author deals with the policies and procedures and the organisational and financial management of the crisis administration. This portion is of particular importance as it underlines the fact as to how the effectiveness of administration depends on attending to even minor details. It also outlines the appropriate flexibility and resilience that was inducted in the operational procedures in response to the requirements of the developing situation. Part three covers in detail the nature and extent of the field operations carried out in as many as twenty-five districts of the four divisions in the State. It was not an isolated phenomenon, as the calamity had struck this State in its entirety. The far flung mammoth operations bear testimony to the organisational and administrative effort made by the Government, supported by voluntary agencies.

The next part is concerned with the assessment of the impact of this fairly prolonged crisis situation on the preservation of law and order, mobilisation of voluntary effort and public participation, the public relations aspect of famine management and the socio-economic effects, both short as well as long term. In the concluding chapter called 'Panorama' Shri Subramanian not only provides a bird's eyeview of the totality of the picture but also tries to identify the salient factors mainly responsible in meeting the tragic situation so very successfully as to evoke considerable appreciation from different quarters. The positive response and guidance of the leadership, the effective role of the decentralised sector of administration, *viz.*, the zila parishads and the panchayat samitis, the flexibility and pragmatism of approach in formulation of policy and programmes, the spirit of innovativeness and experimentation in all segments of public servants, the coordinated functioning of the State and Union Government agencies, the wide spread public cooperation and voluntary effort, etc., constitute some of the main planks of this successful administrative strategy. The author has also pointed out that "some of the attitudinal changes and the difference in behavioural patterns which the Maharashtra drought generated are not only interesting in themselves but offer excellent material for sociological study and inquiry in depth." There is no doubt that the Maharashtra

famine will continue to be of interest for purposes of study and analysis due to its pervasiveness and wide ramifications.

The volume has some very striking photographs covering different phases of the relief operations in the field. The appendices contain a wealth of statistical material useful for further study and research. This is a study of famine administration in depth and in detail. It is not only a historical narrative but a penetrating analysis of administrative operations and their effectiveness. Despite its wealth of factual detail and statistical support, the profound story of agony and ecstasy of the human endeavour and spirit never gets relegated in the author's presentation. The author has undoubtedly made a significant contribution to our understanding of the complex and varied parameters of what has come to be called 'the crisis administration'. The book is of use and interest not only to students of public administration and field officers but also to leaders of public opinion and citizens in general. It is of particular relevance to field officers in the districts. It is doubtful if such a massive study with such an imaginative width of coverage of famine administration in any area of the country has so far been made. Elegantly printed and reasonably priced, the book will be a worthwhile acquisition by libraries in India and abroad.

— T.N. CHATURVEDI

The Central Executive by S. S. KHERA, New Delhi, Orient Longman, 1975, pp. xii + 334, Rs. 28.

The history of India is replete with instances of Hindu and Mughal kings vying to establish their hegemony over the entire sub-continent. In some cases they achieved considerable success but in every instance the authority flowed from a central point to the far corners of the domain. However, it was only with the advent of the British that this land, from the *Himalayas* to *Kanyakumari* and the mountain fastness of the north-west to the rain forests of Burma, was brought under a central control. The central executive, as we know it today, is essentially a creation of the British raj in India. There is no denying that "different historical streams have contributed to the evolution of the system of government" in our country. However, the influence of the British system supersedes those of the earlier times. In this perspective, this volume by an eminent civil servant is a useful and interesting one.

The author studies the central issue from the standpoint of constantly changing relationship amongst the different parts of the Government. This naturally leads him to discuss at length the constraints and pressures, often diverging, which influence decision-making in the central executive from time to time. In our system of parliamentary democracy, a study of the central executive is actually a study of the power and functions of the Prime Minister. The author, therefore,

rightly feels that any discussion of the structure and functions of the central executive necessarily resolves into the question of the power, the relationships and the manner of functioning of the Prime Minister. In the chapter on the Prime Minister, the factors which are contributory to making the Prime Minister's position pre-eminent and as the acknowledged head of Government has been discussed in detail.

There is no denying that the chapter on the Prime Minister is one of the most interesting in this book. However, the picture is not complete. Nehru, during his long prime ministership, had exerted considerable influence on the central executive. Many of the institutions that we know today had been sculpted during his time. The author has not touched upon this aspect of Nehru's influence on administration. Students of Indian administration will perhaps have to wait for a detailed treatment of Indian administration as shaped and refined by Nehru during the 17 years of his dynamic stewardship.

In the chapter on the President, the position of the President under the Constitution, including the emergency provisions of the Constitution, have been elaborated. There are comments on the various interpretations of the position of the President, his powers and the relationship between the President and the

Prime Minister. The manner and mode of functioning of the four Presidents, their relation with the Prime Minister and other members of the Council of Ministers is a part of our history. The author brings into focus the well known differences of opinion between Rajendra Prasad and Nehru and the political context of the election of V.V. Giri as the President. In the end an important question has been posed: What type of President is best for India ?

In the introductory part the author has briefly touched upon the provisions of the Constitution with regard to the legislature, the executive and the ideas underlying the Directive Principles enshrined in our Constitution. The evolution of the system of government in our country and how it compares with the systems in Britain and the United States have also been discussed. The chapter on parliament briefly examines the relationship between the executive and the legislature. The other aspect of the central executive that has been discussed in depth is the cabinet secretariat. The author feels that while secrecy is essential to the functioning of the cabinet and its committees, the tradition of executive and cabinet secrecy appears to be somewhat overworked. He advances two valid reasons to support this view. Firstly, the need of the people at large to know and to be informed about the matters of public interest, as democratic government means people's participation, even at one remove, in the processes of governmental planning

and decision-making. Secondly, the need for training and research in public administration. He points out that to the students of public administration, Indian experiences are available through the writings of the foreigners who often fail to develop empathy with the national ethos and are thus deprived of a clearer understanding of the processes in India. If the veil of secrecy is removed from the wealth of material available, it will spur greater interest in and better understanding of Indian administration.

After discussing the working system, the public services, secrecy, press and freedom of expression, the judiciary and the executive, the author moves on to certain illustrative examples. There are 9 case studies to illustrate how the cabinet system functioned when it was called upon to tackle an unusual situation.

While sharing the author's prejudices against footnotes, the reviewer has only one more point to make. The Prime Minister's secretariat has not been discussed. How this institution has evolved and changed since its inception under Nehru nearly three decades back and what its role has been would be a worthwhile study from the angle of the developments and administrative innovations in the country.

All in all, this is a readable and useful book to those interested in Indian administration.

— AJOY BAGCHI

Municipal Administration in India—Some Reflections by S.K. SHARMA and V.N. CHAWLA, Jullundur, International Book Agency, 1975, pp. 439, Rs. 60.

At the time when the municipal government in the country has been passing through a period of a series of crises—crisis of leadership, crisis of administration, crisis of finances and, above all, crisis of public confidence—any effort to bring together ‘the research findings and reflections of the distinguished scholars’ on the vital aspects of these ‘grass-roots of democracy’ should be most welcome. In the post-Independence era, more over, when the city administration has been relegated into background and when all limelight has been stolen by ‘rural’ India, such an attempt should, besides filling the existing gap in literature, help in highlighting the role, resurrecting the importance and identifying the problems of the self-governing institutions of the city dwellers. The exercise is, therefore, timely and praiseworthy.

The introductory article makes a rapid but thought-provoking assessment, and sets the tone for fruitful discussion, of the issues concerning this important level of government. A sedate endeavour, the compendium is an impressive collection of basic papers from experts on a topic of contemporary value. It would, however, have been better if the articles had been arranged aspect-wise to provide continuity of thought and understanding. Moreover, some of the articles are too lengthy and spread out so that the focus in them

gets diluted and some others, too short, touching only the fringe of the problem. For instance, the paper on property tax, though intended to cover ‘arrears and difficulties in collection’ traverses an unwieldy course dealing with its history definition, role, system of valuation etc. The paper on ‘O & M service’ has devoted about two-thirds of its contents to demography, urbanisation, etc., so that the main subject has been treated in a small paragraph at the end. Similarly, the article on ‘financial administration’ has deviated from the main theme and speaks about extraneous aspects like Gorewala’s recommendations, Appleby’s remarks, rural-urban controversy, public participation, etc., with the result that financial administration has received scant attention. Again the articles in ‘dimensional analysis of urban leadership in Bihar’ and ‘productivity services in municipal administration’ are too theoretical for inclusion in such a volume. In their place, perhaps, papers on some other subjects of topical interest such as planning and development, sanitation, environmental cleanliness, etc., would have been more useful and valuable.

In a volume of papers by different authors it is customary that the editor adds his own paper also. This compilation also contains a dissertation by the learned editors on ‘some basic issues of municipal government

in India'. May be out of modesty, they have put their article at the end. It may be conceded that in their piece the editors have attempted to bring to light, in a fairly thorough manner, certain vital aspects and raised issues which call for serious attention of all well-wishers of this most accessible level of democracy. It would perhaps have been better if this paper had been made the starting point as a number of articles by other experts have dealt with the issues raised in it. This would also have been logical as some of these articles contain answers to the questions raised by the editors. It may perhaps be relevant to point out that the report of the Mukharji Committee set up by the Government of India on budgetary reform in municipal administration has dealt, at length, with some of the problems covered in this article. The Committee submitted its report in June 1974. Even though this book was published much later, the article has not

taken any notice of that report. Thus a very useful and relevant information has been left out.

Another aspect which this key-note paper has not dealt with adequately is the structure of the form of the municipal government. The present crisis of leadership and that of public confidence, to a certain measure, flow out of the weakness on this account. The authors could have devoted a little more and closer attention to it and put forward some specific and innovative suggestions, even if for public debate.

On the whole, the attempt is a rich fare and would no doubt attract attention of all for whom the book is intended. It has been brought out reasonably well, a few editorial and printing lapses notwithstanding. The price may, however, keep the book out of reach of most of middle level intelligentsia.

— SATISH KUMAR

Resurvey of Matar Taluka by VIMAL SHAH AND C. H. SHAH, Bombay, Vora and Co., 1974, pp. 336+viii, Rs. 40.

This study is a micro-level survey of the matrix of rural socio-economic changes, over time, with some significant *sui generis* features. The same taluka was surveyed 35 years ago by Dr. J.C. Kumarappa, primarily to find out the impact of land revenue on the agricultural economy of the region, but, in general, also to explore the socio-economic landscape of the taluka. A

resurvey affords an excellent opportunity to study and gauge the changes which took place over this period. Since the study concerns not a village but a whole taluka it is a sub-regional or meso-regional study which not only can show the impact and extent of the operation of many diverse forces temporally, but can be used to co-relate the broad, national trends to specific spatial trends.

The coverage of the resurvey (1965-66) is not only extensive but is wider than the 1929-30 survey. The resurvey sets out to answer three specific questions, *viz.*, (a) whether there has been development in the taluka?; (b) what are the sources of this development?; and (c) what has been the impact of growth on the various aspects of economic life in the taluka." (p. 260).

Though the questions asked are undoubtedly significant and the right of a researcher to delimit the scope of his study is not sought to be questioned, one wishes that the pattern of development of the taluka was placed in the context of the overall national development and of the development of the surrounding larger region, like the State. For one thing, such an exercise would provide a better framework to appreciate the answer to the three questions asked by the authors. For example, the rate of growth of agricultural output, or the change in the cropping pattern, by itself, can only show the extent and direction of development. However, change need not be synonymous with development, even if it is a positive change in the chosen index. How does this rate of change compare with that experienced in the immediate larger region and with the overall, national performance? Such a contextual placing might indicate whether there was a relative stagnation in agriculture or in the regional national product (RNP) or whether, in the overall context, the change in cropping pattern was progressive

or retrogressive. A change in the cropping pattern in a sub-region might be more than offset by changes taking place either in the surrounding region or in the whole economy. It might or might not be in conformity with the pattern of market demand. Hence, growth in physical output may be accompanied by loss in total value, less than proportionate gain in value or just offset by a fall in prices. Then, the purpose of such studies need not be confined to reporting and explanation. Important policy implications are inherent in such studies and a comparative and contextual framework helps in bringing these implications to the fore. A regional contrast of the development profile, for instance, has straight forward implications for policies designed to bring about regional balance. The point concerning the scope of the study seems all the more relevant because the inputs for extending the analysis were there for the taking.

The authors show that development has taken place largely in terms of agricultural output, levels of income and expenditure, debts, assets, education, productivity, infrastructure facilities, etc., over the period 1929-30 to 1965-66. Agricultural output is the major component of the income of the region. Whereas agriculture accounted for nearly 69 per cent of the working population for Gujarat, in Matar taluka it accounted for about 80 per cent. The importance of agricultural output in growth calculations increases because of the decay

of village crafts that has taken place over these three and a half eventful decades. The authors give two estimates of the growth of agricultural output—148 per cent and 94 per cent. Since the population of the area almost doubled during the period, either the per capita agricultural production has increased over the period at a rate of around one per cent per annum or it has just stood still.

Similarly, looking at the rate of growth of consumption, we find that over this period, the per capita expenditure in real terms increased by about 26.5 per cent, meaning that there took place a less than 1 per cent increase in expenditure per capita per person. If account is taken of the increase in savings, reflected in the increased investment over the period, the increase in incomes would be a little more than what is indicated by the expenditure figures. On such bases the authors conclude that "during the past 35 years, the economy of the taluka has been on the path of progress but the progress, however, has been mainly on traditional lines." (p. 265)

It is apparent that increase in the total and in per capita output is taken as an index of development by the authors. Consequently even such imperceptible growth as at around 1 per cent is taken as a sign of progress. The inadequacy of such growth apart (the impact of which fails to be noticed by the people), it does not square with the notions of growth of even such quantitative

growth theorists as Simon Kuznets who define it as a sustained and substantial increase in per capita incomes. Moreover, broadly similar rates of growth had been obtained during the first half of the current century for the country as a whole.

It is a situation which is better characterised as one of relative stagnation. Growth, if it is sustained and substantial over such a long period as 35 years, would not fail to show some structural shifts in the economy, of which there are hardly any signs in this taluka.

Nevertheless, it must be mentioned that the profile of change and its specific shades, contours and angles must make one sit up. Apart from its undoubtedly analytical significance, its feedback for policy and administration are no less valuable. In the present resurvey, mid-way between the time period, there occurs a big change—the dawn of Independence and the consequent change in the socio-economic life. For example, irrigation is considered the major factor responsible for agricultural "growth". Much of the expansion in canal and well irrigation is attributable to the role of the State. It is also pointed out that most of the canal and well irrigation came about during the "planning period" and "the conservative policy of the Government regarding irrigation, probably restricted the expansion of canal irrigation *in the past*." (p. 77 emphases added). Even when supporting data is available, only subdued statements are made and, in isolating 'growth'

factors', the role of the colonial regime is not given its due place clearly and directly. Though only data for terminal points are available from primary sources, enough indirect evidence is available for holding the pre-1950 performance principally responsible for the overall poverty of the growth record.

The findings concerning inequality, or the inequitable impact of the process and outcome of economic change, are revealing. Land holdings below 5 acres continued to be around 71-72 per cent, between 5 to 25 acres were around 25-26 per cent and above 25 acres holdings were below 1 and 2 per cent. Most of the cultivators tried to maintain the same size of holding, and the burden of the big population spurt mainly manifested itself in the increase in landless labour, the increase which constituted 26.14 per cent of the total working population. Of the agricultural labourers, 57 per cent were harijans, 21 per cent *Dharla* (a backward community) and 19 per cent Muslims. Only 4.5 per cent agricultural landless labour families could report unemployment of only one month; 34.5 per cent reported that it would be over six months. While the extent of agricultural growth could not improve the lot of agricultural landless workers, there was also lack of close linkages bet-

ween the growth of agricultural production and non-farm activities. The traditional crafts experienced a decline. Skewed distribution of income and production resources led to the export of the multiplier effects of the growth of output to outside regions. Since the taluka does not have any urban area, its capacity to generate its own growth centres remained circumscribed.

In our country, measures for improving the lot of the worse-off sections did not always yield intended results. Concerning the effects of tenancy reforms, for instance, the resurvey records that, taking note of concealed tenancy, the extent of tenancy has increased to about 15 per cent of cultivated area, and because of the provision for resumption of land for personal cultivation by landlords, the proportion of agricultural workers in the taluka is much higher than that of the district and the State. There are a number of areas in which very interesting facts, leaning an important theoretical and policy issues, are presented in this volume. Like farm management study data, these should be further analysed and debated. In sum, it can be said that it is an important study deserving wide notice and response.

—KAMAL NAYAN KABRA

Indian Government and Politics by J. C. JOHARI, Delhi, Vishal Publications, 1974, pp. 488, Rs. 35.

This is a guide to the study of the Indian Constitution which has been

written primarily for the benefit of university students at the under-

graduate and post-graduate levels, but is also accessible to the general reader because the presentation is lucid and free from the taint of pedagogic bombast. The author ably brings out the salient features of the constitutional systems in the context of the political ideas that inspired the founding fathers and the controversial issues which have arisen in the course of political evolution during the last two decades. The observer of current affairs will find here a lively discussion of such topical questions as legislative supremacy vs. judicial review; the basic framework and the scope of constitutional amendment; the character of fundamental rights and their

inviolability or otherwise; the discretionary powers of the President; centralism vs. federalism; the dichotomous role of the Governor as Presidential agent and constitutional head of the State executive; and a "committed" civil service. The discussion is well supported by citations from leading cases (e.g., Golak Nath, Keswanand Bharati) decided by the Supreme Court. There is an interesting chapter on the development of the party system in India and its fragmentation and inadequacies. For the benefit of the student there are useful charts and tables, and an index at the end, but no bibliography.

—R. N. MADHOK

Local Administration & Politics in Modernising Societies : Bangladesh and Pakistan by DR. NAJMUL ABEDIN, Oxford University Press (Bangladesh), 1973, pp. 458, TK. 45.

This study is primarily based on the author's Ph.D. thesis submitted to the University of Durham. For the purposes of publication, he has revised all the chapters "in the light of the recent changes and developments to make it up-to-date". Dr. Abedin has made an incisive and scholarly analysis of the changing pattern of local administration and politics in Bangladesh from 1947 to 1973. To provide the necessary historical perspective, Dr. Abedin has referred to the development of local administration and its motivating factors at various stages. Besides useful appendices and a select bibliography, the author has dealt with the subject in six chapters. The chapters

relating to bureaucratic behaviour and attitudes and the politico-social environment, problems of coordination, district administration and politics are particularly interesting.

The author in a concluding chapter has summed up the prevailing position and the emerging trends. The book is of interest and use to the students of comparative politics and administration in developing societies. Due to the impact of certain cataclysmic events, the book may seem somewhat dated but that in no way detracts from its scholarly merit. The book has been published under the auspices of the National Institute

of Public Administration, Dacca. One can only hope that more and more publications of this kind from Bangladesh would become available to scholars in this country and there

would be greater exchange between the two institutions engaged in the same kind of endeavour.

—T. N. CHATURVEDI

Justice by Tribunals : A Study in Methods with Reference to India by M. M. SINGH, Calcutta, World Press, 1972, pp. 374, Rs. 30.

This is a doctoral thesis which has well-merited publication in book-form to reach the reading public at large. Dr. Singh breaks new ground in presenting a broad survey of the growing area of adjudication by tribunals whose significance tends to be obscured by the more visible and ubiquitous apparatus of regular courts.

His definition of 'tribunal' is quite wide and includes all public agencies other than courts which are required by law to act judicially in settling issues between citizen and citizen or between citizen and state. Subsumed under this broad category are multitudinous officials performing administrative, revenue and regulatory functions; autonomous boards and commissions; fullfledged tribunals with the trappings of judicial courts; and courts proper which are at times named to perform tribunal functions as *persona designata*. Paradoxically, the rise of the judiciary in public esteem has coincided with an increasing dissatisfaction with the judicial process because of its cost and time-consuming pace.

As a way out, the author makes a reasoned plea for a greater resort to tribunals which administer justice according to law and fact, follow flexible, expeditious and inexpensive procedures, and are staffed by people who inspire confidence in their integrity, competence and impartiality. The advantages of specialised forums of adjudication are obvious. The members of special tribunals can be chosen as to have a blend of judicial acumen and technical expertise, which latter is not available in the judiciary. Such tribunals can also evolve policy norms which are not susceptible of legal formulation in the legislative process.

The author views tribunals as positive instruments for the advancement of social policy in a rapidly industrialising society. The various suggestions he has made for improving the working of tribunals deserve the attention of those concerned with the reformation of our legal system.

—R. N. MADHOK

Computers in India : An Overview by P. GOPALAKRISHNAN AND K. S. NARAYANAN, Bombay, Popular Prakashan, 1975, pp. viii+160 Rs. 45.

The Administrative Staff College of India needs to be congratulated for bringing out a good compilation of data on 'Computers in India'. Answers to questions such as who owns computers, which computers, how they are distributed in the geographical regions of the country, and what is the extent of their use is indicated in the book in the form of tables. This seems to be the only book available in the market which gives a reasonably good picture of the various aspects of the use of computers in the country. The price of Rs. 45 probably indicates its monopoly position and seems to be on the high side.

The analysis on page 17 is a very important contribution which highlights, contrary to a common belief, that trade union interference has not been considered as a key problem by many organisations. On the same page, the analysis highlights the sales tactics used by salesmen of the computer manufacturers.

There are, however, a few shortcomings and a fairly large number of typographical errors as also errors in diagrams/charts. The survey, which forms the basis for the book, was first conducted in 1969 and a re-survey done in early 1974. But no comparison has been made

on the changes that have taken place during the intervening period. Another aspect which has been disturbing the computer professionals is that there is not much data available regarding computer users, although a few publications have come out which give a picture of the various computer installations. The effort involved in collecting data from users would, no doubt, be formidable.

In the foreword by the Principal of the Staff College, there is a mention of the appointment of the Committee on Automation in 1972. This seems to be a mistake; the Committee submitted its report in May, 1972. The compute: map of India is full of mistakes. It seems Mughal-sarai and Gorakhpur have been inter-changed and Aligarh, which is in Uttar Pradesh, has been shown near the border of Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh.

If the educational background of the EDP Personnel, particularly the managers and the system analysts had been given, it would have been of great help. Similarly, the position of the EDP manager *vis-a-vis* the executive to whom he reports has not been analysed in the book. Studies carried out abroad reveal the position of the EDP manager to be a very important parameter contributing to the success of the systems.

The section on development of computer personnel is very well written and highlights the need for the training of these personnel. The information given in section 6.1 regarding the 'training facilities' gives a very incomplete picture. Surprisingly, IIPA's name is missing

although, even at the last annual conference of the Computer Society of India held in Hyderabad in January, 1976, IIPA was paid rich tributes for creating computer awareness amongst the Government officers.

— VIRENDRA GUPTA

ATTENTION : PUBLISHERS/AUTHORS

Books are reviewed in our columns by competent scholars. Publishers are requested to send *two copies* of new publications to facilitate early attention.

BOOK NOTES

Centre-State Relations in India by T. S. RAJAGOPALA IYENGAR, Prasaranga, University of Mysore, 1974, pages 105, Rs. 13.

The present work is a revised and enlarged version of the two lectures delivered by the author under the auspices of the University of Mysore. The series of special lectures delivered by him earlier on the 'creative role' of the Supreme Court and on the parliament in India have been well received. After expanding in the first chapter the main features of our federal polity which the author characterises as "a federation with centralised features", he deals with the legislative relations. In the third chapter he covers the wide ground of financial and economic relations and tries to assess the role of the Finance Commission, the Planning Commission and the National Development Council. The two subsequent chapters deal with trade, commerce and intercourse and the inter-State river disputes which are happily now on way to resolution. Chapter VI deals with administration and political relations where questions regarding the role of Governors, law and order,

the language of the Union, and all-India services etc. assume considerable importance. Before giving a final 'summing up', the author also devotes a chapter to the provisions relating to the amendment of the Constitution since it "affects not only the individuals but also the constituent States forming the federation" and pleads that "any change in such a basic document should be brought about only with the maximum consensus". The author has made appropriate use of the already available literature on the subject and has referred to the relevant case law relating to federal-State relations in this country and elsewhere. While it may be difficult to agree with the author all along either with his approach or interpretation and conclusions, there is no doubt that he has made an erudite survey of a vast area in a style that will appeal to the common citizen besides students of constitutional law or administration.

—T. N. CHATURVEDI

Life and Letters Under the Mughals by Dr. P. N. CHOPRA, New Delhi, Ashajanak Publications, 1976, pages 439, Rs. 60.

The cultural and social history of India during the Mughal period

presents a rich fare for the scholars. The author is quite well-known for

his contributions on the different aspects of the cultural and social life during this period. In the volume under consideration, he gives a clear picture of the daily life of the people; their food and drinks, festivals and fairs, custom and ceremonies, modes and nature of education, travel, position of women, language and literary pursuits etc. during the Mughals in India. The book so very well points out that the more peaceful pursuits of daily life were as much important in the days as the stirring exploits of some glamorous rulers. The book is based on original and contemporary sources. It is the author's insight which has enabled him to glean the relevant from the diverse sources so as to weave a connected and colourful pattern of the socio-cultural history of a period of great political vicissi-

tudes and also of social and cultural sophistication. The author very rightly claims that "this volume will be useful not only to the scholars and litterateurs interested in the past but also to students of contemporary social affairs by indicating elements in our rich and composite heritage that have stood the test of time and deserve to be preserved." Dr. Chopra has made a valuable and scholarly contribution on a subject which has not so far received a comprehensive treatment with such historical sensitivity and perception. The notes after each chapter and the bibliography, along with a detailed index, add to the usefulness of the volume to scholars. The printing and get-up of the book are excellent.

—B.C. MATHUR

State Legislatures in India by Dr. C.M. JAIN, Delhi, S. Chand & Co., pages 263, Rs. 30.

The present work is a revised version of the thesis originally approved by the University of Rajasthan for doctoral degree. The author has made a comparative study of the evolution of the Rajasthan Legislative Assembly. Apart from the structure and membership patterns as well as the rules of procedure and legislative functions, the author examines critically the working and structure of committees as well as the role of the speaker. The author has devoted an interesting chapter to the role of the opposition and he calls it "a search for self-

identity". He has also dealt with the relationship of the Assembly to the Head of the State (Governor) and the Council of Ministers. He has also tried to assess the impact of the legislature as an instrument of social change in terms of the nature of its enactments in the background of a feudal society. In the final chapter, the author recapitulates the developing trends. The author's approach to the subject is 'analytical, comparative and interpretative'. Apart from availing of all the available published materials, he has also tried to gather

information through questionnaire and personal interviews which naturally lend a greater realism to the presentation. A work of this kind

underscores the need for increasing research in this important area of our political system.

—S. N. SWAROOP

All the Bank's Men by S.L.N. SIMHA, Bombay, Vora & Co, 1975, pages 140, Rs. 15.

This slim volume carries the subtitle the 'Management of the Reserve Bank of India'. It is the tenth publication of the Institute for Financial Management and Research, Madras. Mr. Simha is not only well-known for his History of the Reserve Bank but also for his writings on subjects of current economic interest in general. In this book Mr. Simha has dealt with the statutory provisions with regard to the appointment of the Governors and Deputy Governors and the Constitution of the Board. He dilates on the principles that ought to be taken into consideration while making the top appointments both in the interest of efficiency and also as the incentive to the internal staff to rise to the top. The author also concerns himself with the increase in the areas of responsibility of the Reserve Bank, especially in the promotional field, and refers to the proposal for the delinking of the IDBI which has

actually been implemented recently. He also makes some observations about the modernisation and improvement of the internal functioning of the Bank in general. The book is full of human interest when the author gives pen-portraits of the high functionaries who have been associated with the Bank from its inception. The author makes some caustic remarks about what he calls the 'neglect of administration' in the Bank and says that "the Bank has believed in numbers rather than quality and efficiency". While concluding the book and referring to the appointment of committees with a view to improve the financial, credit and banking practices the author poses the question : "Is it not time that the Bank and the Government gave attention to the better management of the Reserve Bank itself ?" It is a readable book both for its contents and style.

—T. N. CHATURVEDI

Law Relating to Government Servants by D.S. CHOPRA, Calcutta, Eastern Law House, 1975, pages 295, Rs. 40.

The volume deals with the various aspects of the law relating to Government servants in India with reference to the constitutional provisions on the subject. The first

chapter gives a comprehensive exposition of the constitutional position of civil servants, the historical background and the reasons for constitutional guarantees. The subsequent

chapters deal with subjects like the right to equality and the Government servants, civil servants and fundamental freedom, recruitment and conditions of service, doctrine of pleasure and security of service in relation to Article 311 of the Constitution. The extensive case law as has been developing in this field has been suitably referred to. A table of cases cited has been provided. The appendices contain some of the important Service Acts and Rules. The author has made good use of the literature on administration and civil service which has been listed in a bibliography. Among the

topics of interest, the author comments on the right to transfer which exclusively vests in the Government and, with a view to avoid civil service litigation, he advocates the taking away of the writ jurisdiction in service matters through constitutional amendment and the appointment of tribunals to look into the grievances of civil servants. The volume is of use to civil servants, lawyers as well as the students of public administration and of constitutional law. Reasonably priced, it makes a substantial contribution to an important area of public concern.

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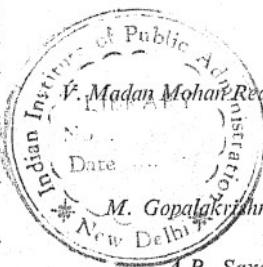
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EDITORIAL

The management of the personnel aspect of any organisation presents many complex issues. Prof. Muttalib in his article develops a theory, which he calls the 'LGS theory', of the inter-relationship among functionaries that should prevail in any governmental organisation. He identifies the three segments of functionaries as the lay (L), the generalised (G) and the specialised (S). There will be constant inter-action amongst these, ideally in the form of a circle, the function of one smoothly merging into that of the next. Conflicts and angularities may, however, develop but these arise mainly because of the lack of identification of the respective roles and the inadequacy of recognition that each is an agent of the totality of organisation within one's allotted sphere. The author makes some perceptive observations about the problem of organisational conflict, the question of vertical and horizontal coordination and the need for role-perception and mutuality of relationship while building up his theoretical formulation.

The import control policy constitutes an important area of economic administration, which somehow has received limited attention as part of public administration. The policy is not something negative or restrictive but positive and promotional. The factors or considerations that go into the making of the policy and the machinery devised as well as the procedures worked out for its implementation have wide repercussions. In the context of a federal system and planned economy dedicated to the larger social purposes, the role and working of the policy assume great significance and the manifold administrative issues are of interest to the students of administration as well as economic development. Shri Chaturvedi traces the course of development of the import control policy in our country briefly, describes the current import procedures in some detail, and stresses its importance to the economy in terms of its various objectives. He brings out the nature of administrative responsibility that devolves on the Government machinery in properly implementing the policy which has grown to be not only more comprehensive and sophisticated as integral to the strategy of planning but which seeks to satisfy a multiplicity of objectives which sometimes seem to be apparently conflicting. This goes to highlight the need for long-range thinking, wider administrative perspectives and an informed judgement in administration.

Pakistan was a member of the Commonwealth till 1972 and Canada and Pakistan have had more or less the same background in their civil service set-up as both had borrowed heavily on the British pattern to start

with. But the Canadian civil service has come to have by now a functional identity largely missing in Pakistan's. Shri Madan Mohan Reddy compares the civil services of the two countries to point out how and where their respective civil service cadres differ from one another. The comparison covers recruitment and promotion processes, scope for lateral entry, their broad functional organisation, etc. Though largely sharing the common origins, how the ecological and political factors make for different orientation, is well brought out. Shri Reddy's contribution will be of interest to students of comparative administration.

Shri M. Gopalakrishnan takes a hard look at the recruitment scheme of the higher civil services in India, especially the personality test by the UPSC. Taking a few recent years, Shri Gopalakrishnan, in the light of his experience, points out that the UPSC method of personality test suffers in comparison with the prolonged evaluation scheme by the Lal Bahadur Shastri National Academy of Administration, Mussoorie, where the civil service recruits get their foundation training. On this issue, Shri Gopalakrishnan makes an interesting suggestion by which the two institutions—the UPSC and the NAA—can share the responsibility more directly of assessing the civil service candidates so as to ensure the best possible selection method for entrants to public service.

Shri A.P. Saxena, in his article 'Measuring Productivity in Government' raises and attempts to answer the question whether the size and output of Government operations are measurable at all. Difficult but not impossible, says Shri Saxena, giving an instance of the studies of the U.S. Bureau of Labour Statistics in regard to preparing productivity indexes of selected Government organisations in that country. Admittedly, the task is complex, for Government apparatus is vast and pervasive and there cannot, in any case, be a common denominator to help its productivity measurement. A clean input-output model may not thus be possible. But some sort of measurement of task accomplished against goals is quite necessary in order to answer the charge that non-productive expenditure of Government in terms of establishment charges is mounting. The concept is also important from the angle of the fixation of administrative responsibility and performance of appraisal. Productivity measurement should, in any case, help to dispel the notion that task performance is just raising queries and displaying one's skill in noting on files, both not always relevant to the achievement of goals in administration.

What is the contact point between poets and operations researchers? The latter can turn to the poets for inspiration, according to Shri Dhir, especially to a poet like Robert Frost who has, according to him, almost prepared a model for them in his poem 'The Road Not Taken'—a model

that operations researchers will find useful to apply to the situations they are called upon to tackle. The poem is not merely a piece of literary beauty; all the elements of decision theory, according to the author, are recognised in the Frost decision model. Writers have tried to identify administrative problems and situations in short stories and novels. Here is an imaginative attempt to bring poetry and management together. All in all the article is worth our attention for the freshness of the author's approach.

The Western Nigeria Development Corporation in Nigeria was set up in 1949 with the overall purpose of helping to develop the economy of the region. Whatever be the original object, which itself was nebulous, the Corporation seems to have drifted and Dr. Akinsanya takes the occasion to present a 'management audit' of the Corporation. Analysing the use of funds by the Corporation between 1949 and 1962 and citing other evidence, the writer brings out the points of weakness in the Corporation: the imprecise nature of the objectives; political patronage; lack of suitable qualified personnel; lack of coordination of the objectives etc. Most of these, according to Dr. Akinsanya, are true of several other Corporations in Nigeria which taken together call for some quick and drastic remedial measures. The article almost constitutes some sort of a case study as to why and how the Government sponsored efforts for economic development go awry in developing countries.

Dr. Thimmaiah, in his article 'Plan Grants in India: A Critical Evaluation', raises the doubt whether these grants, in spite of their being in vogue for over twenty-two years, have received the critical evaluation they require in terms of their economic justification and whether their economic, political and financial implications have been studied with the attention they deserve. According to the author, the plan grants are discretionary in nature and though provided for development purposes only, the Union Government is largely guided by the Planning Commission, an extra constitutional body, in disbursing them to the States. Basically, the grants are provided to meet the gap between the State plan outlay as approved by the Planning Commission and the State's own resources available for plan purpose. While the plan grants can thus be used as an effective means for achieving the objects of planning, in terms of national priorities, as against the local, there have been grievances from the States both in regard to the quantum and the criteria of allocation of these grants. Both of these have, no doubt, undergone modifications from time to time, but Dr. Thimmaiah feels there is scope for further sophistication in their allocation principles. While one may neither agree with the author's approach nor his conclusion, yet his argument merits attention by the students of planning process and distribution of resources in a federal system.

Writing on plan implementation in India, Dr. Kabra evaluates the

experience obtained thus far and suggests that, for an altogether better planning hereafter, plan and plan implementation should go together as one integrated whole of the planning process. Planning by itself, without due emphasis on its implementation, results in serious gaps and failures and the inevitable shirking of responsibility. We may add, however, that the importance of the implementation aspect has always been stressed by every plan document. The difficulty lies in devising the requisite structure and procedures. With the experience the country has gained over five plans, according to Dr. Kabra, it should be possible to have a plan implementation apparatus which would take its proper share of responsibility in showing results. It is widely recognised that any sound and scientific system of planning must take into account the factor of administrative capability of men and machinery, but the difficulty arises in working out an adequate implementation set-up, not in general terms, but at micro level. This is an aspect which deserves continuing attention on the part of policy-makers, administrators and technical experts.

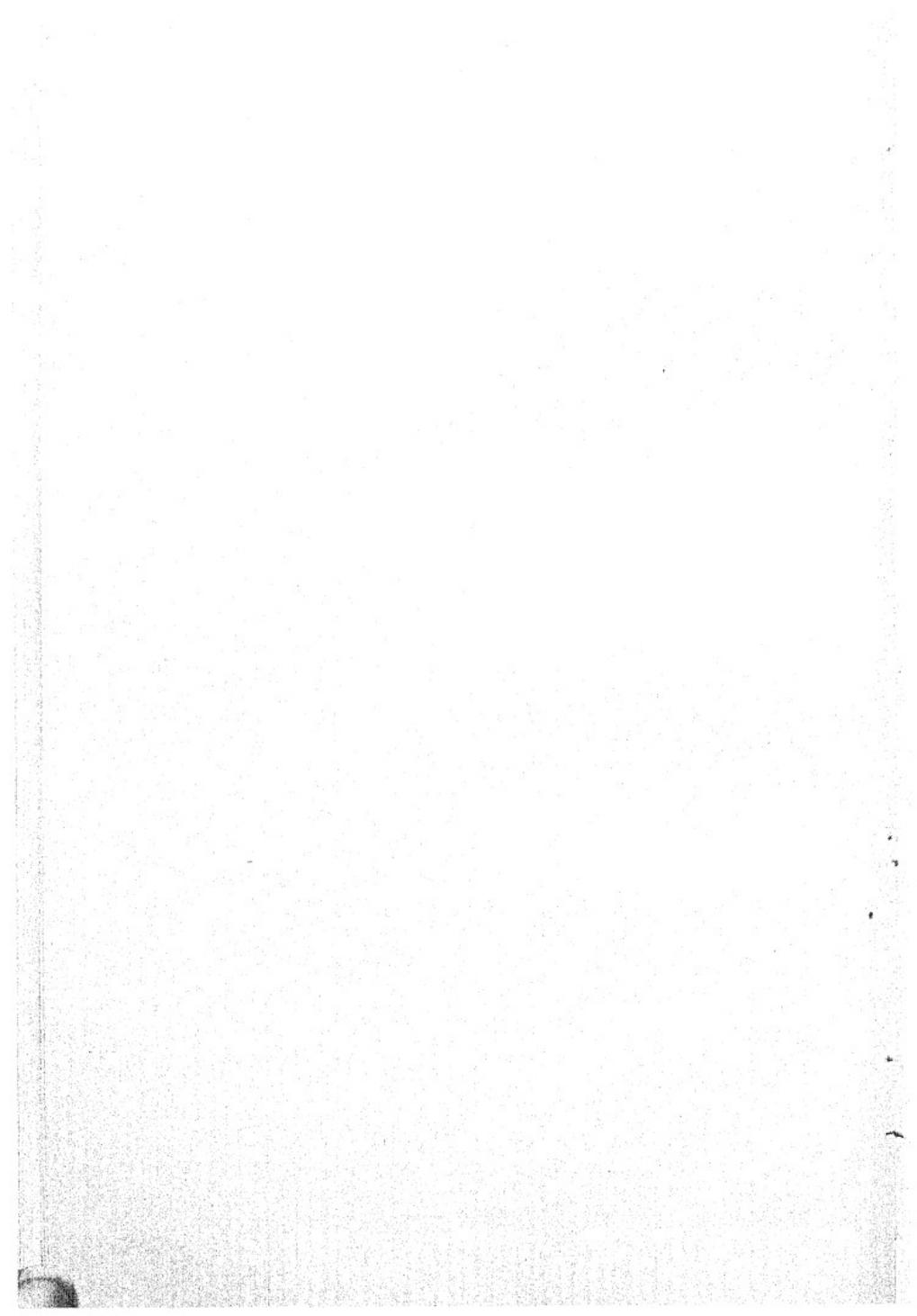
Shri S.R. Gokhale covers more or less the same ground as Shri Gopalakrishnan, namely, the recruitment policy for higher civil services in India, but is critical of the need for additional papers for IAS/IFS. Besides, Shri Gokhale's article has an approach and a perspective different from that of Shri Gopalakrishnan's. The author has also coined the term 'adminocrat', stressing the type of the functionary required in the Government at present and in the times to come. Both articles are relevant in view of the report of the Kothari Committee which enquired into the civil service selection policy and methods at the instance of the UPSC for consideration of the Government.

Shri K.G. Agrawal, writing on patient satisfaction in hospitals, extends the sampling technique to a quantitative measurement of this highly subjective area. His sample is confined to five Delhi hospitals classified into large, medium and small, according to the number of beds in each. Both the out-patient and in-patient wings are covered and patients, their escorts and hospital staff members have been questioned. While the standards of the sample hospitals do vary, and while not all opinions can be said to be above personal predilection or prejudice, the patient reaction, as given by Shri Agrawal, is without exception true, namely, that they want the adequacy of facilities to be cured and sent back to normal life as quick as possible. The nature and quantum of patient satisfaction are the basic considerations not only for hospital administration but also from the larger view point of the health programmes of the Government and the wider angle of the administration and citizen relationship. Many more studies of this nature and of allied areas are undoubtedly necessary as an aid to better policy-formulation as well as programme implementation.

The sea bed, of late, is attracting the attention of both the small and big maritime countries, not only because of its military but of its economic potential. The ocean covers over seventy per cent of earth's surface and its full economic riches, especially the minerals, have only recently been known to man. Shri Naresh Dewan analyses the international implications of the rights of exploitation of these resources and points out the groupings that arise among the world states on account of the identity of interests in regard to retention or expansion of ocean rights about which the U.N. also is deeply concerned. This is a field of international administration which merits attention of Indian scholars.

As already announced the next issue will deal with some of the areas and problems of State level administration.

—Editor



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THE LGS THEORY

M.A. Muttalib

A N organisation is a body of persons and a complex of functions organised for and engaged in the accomplishment of certain objectives. The attainment of the objectives entails an organisation of efforts, triune in character. The functions of a hospital—diagnosis of disease, prescription of and administering of medicine—largely illustrate the universality of the thesis.

If these functions are carried out severally by three sets of functionaries in a bigger hospital, all the three are combined in the same person in a smaller clinic manned by a single physician. In other words, the bigger the organisation and more complex its activity, the larger it shows the characteristics of 'separation of powers'. The smaller the organisation and less complex its activity, the greater the diffusion of these functions.

Every organisation is engaged in the use of skills and tools on a tri-furcated basis not only irrespective of its size but also its nature—whether the organisation is structured on a uni-functional or multi-functional basis. For instance, an educational institution like a college which is largely concerned with the process of learning may be categorised as a uni-functional organisation. The management of the college identifies the needs of its clientele. The principal and the senior faculty members prescribe courses while the individual teachers are engaged in imparting actual instruction. Similarly, it is true of a multi-functional organisation like a local authority or a public

enterprise. The elected council of the local authority is charged with the diagnosis of the needs of the local area. The managerial personnel prescribe the course of action, if the operating staff is charged with actual execution. Their counterparts in a public enterprise are the legislature, the minister concerned and the managing board, which are responsible for the determination of its aims and objectives; the general manager who is concerned with prescriptions of the course of action; and the heads of departments, along with their staff, with the operational aspects.

THE TRIFURCATED FUNCTIONS OF A GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATION

On the analogy of the hospital organisation, these functions may be characterised in a governmental organisation as diagnosis of public needs, prescription of ways and means, and fulfilment of needs of which the legislature, the Government (along with the secretariat) and the heads of departments are respectively in charge. These functions may be denominated as: lay (L), generalised (G), and specialised (S) functions.

The diagnosis of the needs of an organisation presupposes conversance in the ultimate objectives of the organisation and its role in the society as a whole. In a governmental organisation, the practising politicians who serve as the barometer of public opinion, would have developed articulation to identify the public needs. They constitute a vital link between the organisation and the outside world—between microcosm and macrocosm. They show directions in which the organisation is to move and have magni-competence to oversee the organisation as a whole. Their function, in concrete terms, is to formulate aims and objects in the form of laws and public policy that determine the efforts of the other two sets of functionaries. Therefore, the lay functionaries, and not the other functionaries, are ultimately held responsible for every act of omission and commission of the entire organisation.

The role of the generalist functionary is largely in the nature of the role of a physician in charge of prescription of medicine keeping the diagnosis of disease in view. The vague promises of the lay functionaries to the clientele, assume abstract form at the hands of the generalist before they are translated into concrete form by the specialists. The generalist is 'a hyphen that joins the buckle that binds' the lay functionary and the specialist together. On the one hand, they share with the lay functionaries, on the other, with the specialists, the twilight zones of activity. It is not surprising that often it is alleged they encroach upon the lay and/or the specialist.

The specialist is the transmitter of the fruits of science and technology to the clientele. He is actually in charge of the actual delivery of goods,

hence, a vital link between the organisation and its clientele. To the clientele he is the organisation personified. No wonder that its performance is judged in the light of the services rendered by him. His proximity to the clientele may enable him to convey their impulse to the organisation. In sum, the diagnosis of the needs of the clientele requires the eye of the lay functionary, the prescription of the ways and means, the mind of the generalist, and the fulfilment of the needs, the hand of the specialist.

From the microtomy of the organisation it may be discerned that every unit is its epitome. While in a sizeable organisation one may discern largely three sets of functionaries, every functionary in the organisation is expected to be in possession of the requisite knowledge and skill of the three functionaries, depending on the situation. If the functionary presides over an organisation, or its unit, he discharges lay functions. But within the organisation of the unit he will be performing the role of a generalist in relation to lower levels. If he is to be related to a higher level, he will be emerging something like a specialist. Thus the vice-chancellor in an Indian university performs all the three roles depending on the situation. As the head of the institution he is a channel of communication between the university and the outside world and he has to play a vital role in the formulation of the academic policy, something like a minister. But so far as the internal operation of the university is concerned, he acts like a generalist when he is called upon to coordinate the activities of the various faculties in the university, the deans serving as specialists. But so far as higher education in totality is concerned, he will be acting something like a specialist in relation to the Education Minister, acting as the generalist, with the Chief Minister, as the head of State administration and hence a lay functionary. Thus these three typologies are relative terms, relative to the situation.

From the spheres of action of these functionaries one may notice that they are wheels within wheels. A lay functionary may have one or more generalists in charge of one or more units comprising several specialists. But in an organisation where there are more than one line of hierarchy, running parallel to one another, a specialist's area of jurisdiction may intersect the boundaries of the generalist under whose supervision he functions in certain respects. In other respects, he may look to another functionary as his generalist with a common lay functionary at the top. Thus in the University College of Arts & Commerce, Osmania University, the heads of departments of the various disciplines regard the principal of the College as their generalist with the vice-chancellor as the lay functionary. But the area of jurisdiction of each head of department is extended to the entire University and hence in that respect he is not under the principal but under the dean of the faculty who directly reports to the vice-chancellor in academic matters.

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THE ORGANISATIONAL CIRCLE

The organisation functions in a circular form. The lay functionary diagnoses the needs of the organisation and its clientele. The generalist prescribes ways and means for meeting them. The specialist delivers the services. The lay functionary picks up the results and redetermines the direction in which the organisation should move. Thus it is an unending process operating in a circular form. But it operates in a reverse direction when the specialist serves as a feedback to the generalist, and he, in turn, to the lay functionary.

The higher the level, the wider the area of operation and, hence, the greater the worry and concern about the organisation. In the same way, the higher the level, the more intangible are the efforts of the functionaries; the lower the level, the more concrete and visible are the efforts of the organisation.

Among these three functionaries, the lay functionary and the specialist are exposed to constant public gaze, and hence, they are likely to become the target of public criticism in a public agency. The generalist who operates behind the scene and escapes public gaze, enjoys better public image and, therefore, becomes an eye-sore to both the lay functionary and the technocrat.

However, the three functionaries may claim to be experts in their respective fields. It is not, therefore, surprising that although they are professionals in their own right, they are inter-dependent in the accomplishment of their common goals. None may claim to be in possession of knowledge superior to that of others. Diagnosis of the disease is as much important as prescription of remedy and administering of the medicine. Until the lay functionary sets the ball rolling, others will find themselves in a state of suspended animation. Likewise, the former is power in vacuum without the others. If knowledge is power, that power is shared by all, for, they are in possession of different segments of knowledge which are so essential for the attainment of the common goal. Hence, functionally, their relationship is triangular and more or less on equal footing. Just as a triangle is incomplete, short of any one of the angles, the organisation cannot attain its ultimate objectives without mutual cooperation of the functionaries.

There are serious constraints in their attaining corporate identity. Thus a government organisation may be encountered by the dichotomies of the elected *vs.* the permanent functionaries and of the generalist *vs.* the specialist. The dichotomies persist, as in Indian administration, when they are drawn from different socio-economic background, when their operational

relationship emphasises too much the principle of hierarchy and when there exists wide gaps between them in respect of remuneration and conditions of service.

Moreover, one can identify conflicting approaches of these functionaries in their mental processes (as Chester I. Barnard characterised), often reflected and expressed by such phrases as difference in 'mental attitude', in 'the way the mind works', etc. The lay functionaries' role is marked by the non-logical process. Reasoning is little evident with them with the 'high-pressure' in their functioning. They mostly go by what we call intuition, 'good judgement', 'inspiration', 'stroke of genius', 'common sense', 'bright idea'. They generally deal with 'material of a speculative type which consists of impressions and probabilities not susceptible of mathematical expressions and purely contingent uncertainties, including the possibility or the probability of the existence of unknown factors and their possible effect.' On the other hand, 'rigorous logical reasoning is a major characteristic of the work of the specialist, scientist and technocrat who deal with material that consists of precise information and observations from which a conclusion may be drawn by scientific method, and propositions or facts previously established or widely accepted as true to which formal logic can be applied'.

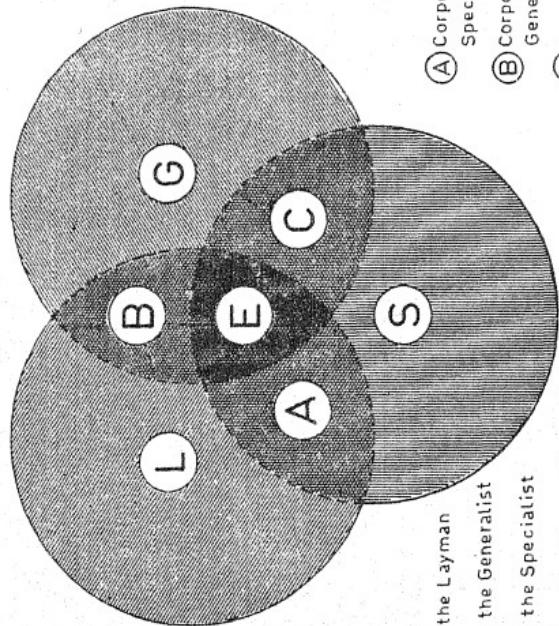
If the former work in the 'world of affairs', the latter do so in that of the mind. If with the latter, two and two make four, it is not so with the former.

In between are the generalists who deal with 'material of hybrid character which consists of data of poor quality or limited extent, propositions recognised as of doubtful validity or of tentative character and qualitative facts which cannot be expressed numerically, requiring such adjectives as good or poor, bright or dim, stable or unstable, fine or coarse. As its quality decreases, reasoning applied to it becomes more and more hypothetical and is quite speculative. The form of logical inference may be preserved but the premises become more and more mere verbal expressions, without definable content and the reasoning more rationalisation judgements and intuitions in the verbal form of thinking'. In other words, the generalists share a twilight zone between those of logical and non-logical reasoning. Hence, sometimes, they are seen with the lay functionary and at other times with the specialist. However, since every functionary finds himself in the roles of the others at some time or other, enabling him to have an appreciation of their approaches, the problem of their conflicting approaches may get reduced.

EACH AN AGENT OF THE TOTAL ORGANISATION

However, sometimes conflict may arise because of lack of identification of their essential role. It should be recognised that each of them is the agent

PROFESSIONAL AND CORPORATE ROLES



References

- (L) Professional Role of the Layman
- (G) Professional Role of the Generalist
- (S) Professional Role of the Specialist
- (E) Corporate Roles of Lay functionary, Generalist and Specialist
- (A) Corporate Roles of Lay functionary and Specialist
- (B) Corporate Roles of Lay functionary-and Generalist
- (C) Corporate Roles of Generalist and Specialist

of the total organisation within his own particular sphere. There are few, if any, major decisions which can be made in isolation without some impact upon the other areas of responsibility. Yet, each functionary has a fund of knowledge and experience which is not only relevant to problems within his own field, but to the solving of problems of others' fields as well. The functionary draws upon his own expertise to perform his dual role; but the professional role very often cannot be performed effectively without its interaction with the corporate role of one or two other functionaries. Hence, their inter-dependence for their effective functionary. In other words, they play the dual roles of professional and corporate team members, the former has a bearing on their own spheres of action, the latter relates to involvement in others'. (See the diagram for professional and corporate roles).

If the professional role has a binding effect, the corporate role is advisory. But the corporate role of the lay functionary, in relation to the generalist, and of the generalist, in relation to the specialist, is likely to assume virtually a mandatory form. It may be a consequence of the principle of hierarchy on which they are related to one another. It will be a clear encroachment of others' legitimate role and competence, sometimes detrimental to the organisation. For instance, the principal of a college can be a great help to a newly appointed teacher through his advice on the question of maintenance of discipline and the mode of teaching. But if he tries to advise him on the subject itself, of which he is not an expert, he will not only cut a sorry figure with him but he will also be acting prejudicial to academic standard. What is true of the principal is also true of the college management in relation to the former.

Indeed, every functionary has a distinct role to play in an organisation. One cannot be a substitute for the other. In short, the philosophy of the triumvirate of functionaries is akin to the keeping of the ship afloat by the technocrats, being steered by the generalists towards the destination chosen by the lay functionaries.



IMPORT CONTROL IN INDIA POLICY AND ADMINISTRATIVE PROCEDURES

T.N. Chaturvedi

IMPORT trade control is now recognised as a vital policy instrument for planned economic development. It contributes towards the acceleration of the rate of economic growth in two important ways. First, by not allowing altogether or permitting only limited imports of such items as are already manufactured in the country, it contributes towards the creation of market opportunities for the national industries. The demand which otherwise would have been met by imports is diverted to the indigenous products. This familiar phenomenon of import substitution not only reduces the pressure on the balance of payments but also helps in generating demand, thus providing opportunities for the expansion and specialisation of the local industry. Secondly, by permitting imports of such commodities which are not available in the country or by helping in the production of new products and the introduction of new technology it contributes towards widening the base of the local industry for further development. As the local industry grows it extends its market beyond the national frontier thereby resulting in increasing the country's exports. Thus the import control rather than being restrictive has a positive orientation contributing towards a quicker and a faster development of the country's economy.

The formulation of policy and programmes as well as the process of their implementation raise many significant administrative issues for the students of public administration. In a federal system of government, with planning institutions as well as implementing agencies of the States as well as the Central Government having their own role and points of convergence and capabilities, the policy and administrative procedures assume significance of their own. The policy and procedures, though directly the responsibility of one particular Ministry, have impact and repercussions on the entire economy, not only in the immediate present but also in the times to come, and thus become the concern of the totality of the Government as such. According to many perceptive commentators, the adequacy of the machinery entrusted with this complex task bears testimony to the seriousness of intent and effort of the Government towards the achievement of a self-sustaining and self-reliant economic future for the country. It is in this context that a brief historical and analytical review of the development of policy and administrative procedures of import control in India has a much wider significance for

the students of developmental planning and administration. In an international economy, the import control policy of the country is only the obverse or the reverse of the export promotion policy due to the very nature of the economic compulsions.

In India import trade control was introduced for the first time in the wake of the Second World War with the objective of conserving foreign exchange resources and to restrict physical imports so as to reduce the pressure on the limited available shipping space. Initially starting with only 68 commodities, the import control was gradually extended to cover a very wide field of imports. After the war, the Defence of India Rules, under which the import controls were imposed, lapsed and the Emergency Provisions (Continuance) Ordinance, 1946 was promulgated to continue the import trade control provisions. In 1947 an Imports and Exports (Control) Act was passed initially for a period of three years. The validity of this Act was successively extended for varying periods till, in 1971, it was extended for an indefinite period. Import trade control has now become a regular feature of the country's development strategy.

A brief review of the pattern of import licensing since the end of the Second World War brings out the shifts in the import policy that have occurred from time to time depending upon the availability of foreign exchange, the need for import substitution, the rapid growth of industrialisation and the need for the promotion of exports. In the years immediately following the end of the war the foreign exchange position was rather comfortable, because of the availability of the accumulated sterling balances. The economy, on the other hand, was facing inflationary pressures in view of the shortages that had occurred due to the restrictions imposed on imports during the war period. In the years immediately following the war, the import licensing was done on a liberal scale with a view to meet the pent up demand and, in 1948, licences of the value of Rs. 1,836 crores—a level which was crossed for the first time only in 1966-67—were issued. This policy, however, soon caused a strain on the country's foreign exchange resources, and in the following two years some select restrictions had to be imposed on the import of non-essential goods. The total value of import licences issued during the years 1949 and 1950 was only about four-fifths of the value of licensing done in 1948.*

As the First Five Year Plan was launched, the import policy was again liberalised and in addition to higher import quotas, supplementary licences were also granted in respect of certain essential items of raw materials and

**The Decades of Import, Licensing January, 1971, Ministry of Foreign Trade, Government of India.*

consumer's goods. The import policy for obvious reasons became part and parcel of the planning process. The total value of licences issued in 1951 was of the order of Rs. 1,731 crores which was only slightly less than the value of licences issued in 1948. In 1952, however, there was an acute dollar gap in Central reserves of the sterling area and in consequence import licensing on dollar area had to be restricted to essential items only. It was only towards the end of the plan period that the restrictions on imports were liberalised. Several items were brought under the Open General Licence and greater provision was made for the 'new comers', so that the benefit of import control might not be monopolised by a few importers only.

The Second Five Year Plan placed emphasis on the rapid industrialisation of the country and the import policy was also geared to achieve this objective. Imports of capital goods were permitted on a liberal scale and in 1957-58 the value of import licences issued for this purpose accounted for nearly one-third of the total value of licences issued during the year. (see Annexure on p. 154) In the following years there was a slowing down of the imports of capital goods and licences were granted only in cases where the import of machinery could promote exports or save imports or were financed by foreign aid loans or overseas investments. Greater emphasis was, however, placed on the import of maintenance goods so that the newly created industries might not be starved of raw materials. The share of import licences issued for raw material imports increased from 22 per cent in 1956 to 46 per cent in 1960-61. The emphasis in the import policy on rapid industrialisation continued throughout this period and more than 80 per cent of the total value of licences issued was for the import of capital goods and raw materials.

In 1966-67, in the wake of the devaluation of the rupee, the import policy for industrial raw materials and components was substantially liberalised. Fifty-nine industries were selected as priority industries and it was provided that the maintenance needs of the units engaged in these industries would be met in full. The value of licences issued in 1966-67 was the highest achieved till that year. The policy of allowing for liberal imports of raw materials, components and spares has continued to be in force even till now with such minor variations as may be dictated by the availability of foreign exchange resources from year to year. The promotion of exports has been another important objective of the import licensing policy. During the Third Five Year Plan period a number of schemes were introduced under which import licences were issued liberally for the promotion of exports. These schemes were, however, abolished in 1966-67, following the devaluation of the rupee, and were replaced by an import replenishment scheme under which bona fide exporters were issued import licences to enable them to replenish the imported inputs which were used in the manufacture of products exported by them. The value of import licensing done to promote exports has

almost doubled during the last ten years from the level of Rs. 84 crores in 1964-65 to Rs. 166 crores in 1974-75.

The other important objectives of the import trade policy have been the gradual restriction of the role of intermediaries in the import trade of the country and an increasing role of the state trading agencies in this vital sector of the country's economy. The value of import licences issued to Established Importers—a term which applies to trader importers who import for stock and sale—has come down from Rs. 340 crores, which was nearly one-third of the total value of licences issued in 1955, to only about Rs. 42 crores in 1974-75 accounting for only 1.6 per cent of the total value of licensing done in that year. The value of import licences issued to the state trading agencies, on the other hand, has increased from Rs. 109 crores in 1964-65 to Rs. 935 crores in 1974-75 representing an increase of almost 900 per cent over the last ten years.

It may thus be observed that unlike the limited purpose which it was required to serve when it was first introduced, the import trade control over the years has acquired a more positive and wider role in the economic development and the industrial growth of the country. In the present context the objective of the import trade control policy is not merely to eliminate the non-essential imports or the imports of such items which are already being manufactured in the country but also to facilitate the availability of such imported inputs which are needed to widen the base of industrial production and its sustained growth. The policy has also been oriented to make important and significant contribution towards the promotion of exports. It has also been instrumental in delimiting the role of the intermediaries in the import trade of the country and in widening the area of operation of the Government agencies in this vital sector of the country's economy. Further, as we shall see, import trade control policy has lately been geared to also contribute towards the achievement of other goals of the country's economic policy such as the development of the small scale sector, the development of the backward areas, provision of employment opportunities to the unemployed scientists and engineers, etc., creation of avenues for employment of ex-service-men and the upliftment of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, etc. From the implementation angle, it has to be noted that the import policy and procedures for its effectuation have to take note of the changing socio-economic objectives of the Government. Moreover, the strength and the resilience of the economy also condition the nature and the mechanics of the import policy.

SCOPE AND COVERAGE OF IMPORT TRADE CONTROL

At present the import trade control covers practically all commodities except for a few items which are put on the Open General Licence. The

OGL is a general permission to all persons in the country to import without an import licence such items as are covered under the scheme. The items so far covered were certain materials required for the tanning and processing of hides and skins. The import trade control policy for 1976-77 has further liberalised this scheme and 79 items of machinery which are required by the leather industry and certain other items such as some ferro-alloys in the powder form and a few special categories of wires have also been put on the OGL. The imports of raw materials, components and spare parts of machinery will now also be freely permitted in the Free Trade Zones. For the import of any other commodity, an import licence has to be obtained from the Government. The Government in its import trade control policy every year, publishes the detailed lists of items the import of which will be totally banned; the items which can be imported through public sector agencies only; the items the imports of which will be permitted on private account only on a restricted basis and the items which can generally be imported by those who are eligible to import. Such commodities the import of which is not considered necessary or which are already being manufactured in the country in sufficient quantity or for which indigenous substitutes are available are placed on the banned list. Other items which are being manufactured in the country but the indigenous production is not sufficient to meet the local demand are allowed for import only on a restricted basis. The import of such items which are required in large quantities and for which the bulk purchases help in improving the terms of trade is canalised through the state trading agencies.

CATEGORIES OF IMPORTERS

"For the purpose of licensing importers are divided into 3 broad categories: (a) the Established Importers, (b) the Actual Users, and (c) the Registered Exporters. The Established Importers are defined as those who had been engaged in the import trade during at least one financial year in the period from April, 1951 to March, 1974. The term actually denotes trader importers who import goods for stock and sale as distinct from those who require imports for their own use. The latter category of importers are known as Actual Users. In the case of industrial Actual Users the imports may be in the form of raw materials, components, accessories, machinery and spare parts which are required for use in an industrial manufacturing process. The non-industrial Actual Users include institutions like hospitals, research organisations, etc., who may need various types of imported equipments to carry on their day-to-day activity. The third category, Registered Exporters, covers such individuals or organisations engaged in export business who hold valid registration certificates issued to them by the registering authorities concerned, namely, the Export Promotion Councils, Commodity Boards and Export Promotion Authorities at the ports. There are three different categories of Registered Exporters, namely, (i) Merchant Exporters,

(ii) Manufacturer Exporters, (iii) Export Houses. Imports by public sector organisations, Government undertakings, etc., can also be made only on the basis of a valid import licence issued in their favour.

SPONSORING AUTHORITIES

Import licences are normally issued after a detailed scrutiny of the eligibility and the requirements of the importers made by certain designated Government agencies which are called the sponsoring authorities. The categorisation and authorisation of sponsoring agencies keeping in view the segmental requirements of the economy becomes a matter of keen administrative judgement. The administrative principles of centralisation, from the standpoint of unified approach, and decentralisation in the context of operational expedition and efficiency become very relevant. For the purpose of such scrutiny the industries have been classified into various categories. There are industrial units which are borne on the registers of the Directorate General of Technical Development. For all these units the sponsoring authority is the DGTD. In the case of small scale units, i.e., the units in which the total investment in fixed assets is not more than Rs. 10 lakhs (Rs. 15 lakhs if they happen to be ancillary units) the sponsoring authorities are generally the Directors/Commissioners of Industries of the respective States in which such units are located. For other industries various agencies have been designated as the sponsoring authorities such as, the Textile Commissioner in the case of textile industry and textile engineering industry; Chairman, Tea Board for the tea industry; Chairman, Coffee Board for the coffee industry; Chairman, Coir Board for the coir industry; the Jute Commissioner for the jute and rope industry; the Ministry of Petroleum and Chemicals for the petroleum industry, etc. For all other industries for which no specific agency has been designated, the sponsoring authorities are the State Directors/Commissioners of Industries of the State where the factory is located.

LICENSING AUTHORITIES

The principal authority for the issue of import licences is the Chief Controller of Imports and Exports, who has overall responsibility for implementation and overseeing of the policy. However, for the convenience of importers in a vast country a number of Regional Licensing Authorities, Joint Chief/Deputy Chief/Controller of Imports and Exports have been appointed in different parts of the country. Each one of these Regional Licensing Authorities has a territorial jurisdiction. But in the case of certain industries, where import licensing has been centralised, certain Regional Licensing Authorities have been made responsible for the issue of import licences to all the units in that industry irrespective of their location. Thus, the

licensing authority for all the units registered with the DGTD is the Chief Controller of Imports and Exports; for textiles (other than jute and hemp) and textile engineering it is the Joint CCI&E, Bombay; for the tea industry, collieries and the jute and rope industry, the Joint CCI&E, Calcutta; for coffee, the Joint CCI&E, Madras; for coir, the Deputy CCI&E, Ernakulam, and so on. Where no licensing authority is specified, applications for import licences are to be submitted to the licensing authority under whose jurisdiction the business is established. In the case of Actual Users the determining factor is the location of the factory and not of the management.

CATEGORIES OF LICENCES

There are two broad categories of licences: the General Area Licences and the Specific Licences. The General Area Licences are valid for import from all countries whereas imports against the Specific Licences can be made only from the specified country or countries. The latter category of licences is generally issued for the import of capital goods from the Rupee Payment Area or for import of such goods against certain credits where the origin of the goods to be imported has been stipulated. No licence is, however, valid for import from South Africa, South West Africa and Rhodesia with whom the country's trade relations no longer exist.

The import licences are also classified according to the categories of importers. Thus the licences issued to Established Importers are known as E.I. licences; those issued to the Actual Users as A.U. licences; while the licences going to the Registered Exporters are known as R.E.P. licences because such licences are meant for replenishing the imported raw materials and components that have gone in the manufacture of goods exported by them. The term A.U. licences applies to the licences issued for the import of raw materials, components and spares only, while the licences issued for the import of plant and machinery are given a separate nomenclature, *viz.*, the C.G. licences.

GENERAL LICENSING PROCEDURE

All applications for issue of import licences are required to be submitted on prescribed forms. Separate forms have been prescribed for the following categories of importers:

- (1) The Established Importers.
- (2) Actual Users borne on the registers of DGTD.
- (3) Actual Users not borne on the registers of DGTD and small scale industries.

- (4) Public sector projects/undertakings.
- (5) Import of capital goods and heavy electrical plants.
- (6) Registered Exporters.
- (7) Educational institutions and hospitals.
- (8) Establishments located in the Kandla Free Trade Zone and the Electronic Export Processing Zone, Santa Cruz.

Application forms have also been prescribed for newspaper establishments, for imports by the state trading agencies, for replacement licences, for import licences for spare parts and for revalidation of import licences.

An application for import licence is to be accompanied by a fee in accordance with the prescribed scale. The fees that are leviable at present are Re. 1 for every Rs. 1,000 of the value of goods to be imported subject to a minimum of Rs. 50 and a maximum amount of Rs. 10,000. In the case of certain categories of importers, such as the small scale Actual Users, the Actual Users in the free trade zones and the Registered Exporters, the amount of fee payable is Rs. 50 only irrespective of the value of the licence applied for. No fee, however, is payable if the imported item is required by an individual for his own personal use not connected with trade or manufacture. Newspaper establishments who want to import newsprint, not exceeding 40 tons, are also not required to pay any fees.

Each application for import licence is also to be accompanied by the income tax verification certificate or registration/exemption number from the appropriate authority wherever relevant.

An applicant while filling in the application is advised to ascertain the correct import trade control classification of the goods that he intends to import. In a licensing period only one application in respect of goods falling under the same serial or sub-serial number of the ITC schedule will be entertained except for the following items and the categories of importers:

- (1) Machinery items required by Actual Users;
- (2) raw material, components and spares required by Actual Users; and
- (3) applications for licences made under the import policy for Registered Exporters.

Every licence has to be registered with the customs authorities at a specified port. The licence will be valid for import only at the port of registration specified on it.

POLICY/PROCEDURES FOR DIFFERENT CATEGORIES OF IMPORTERS

Established Importers

Each Established Importer is issued a quota certificate on the basis of the actual imports made by him in any one financial year of his choice during the period from April, 1951 to March, 1974. These certificates, in a way, establish the eligibility of the importer for the import of the items up to the value limit actually imported by him during that year. The import trade control policy, however, allows for only a few items which can be imported by the Established Importers and also prescribes a value limit, as a percentage of the value of the quota certificate, for each item of import*. The maximum value of the import licence that can be issued to an Established Importer is not to exceed Rs. 4 lakhs irrespective of the value of the quota certificate held by him.

Some of the items that the Established Importers are permitted to import under the current import trade control policy are spare parts of various types of machinery; motor vehicles and agricultural tractors; drugs and medicines; books; wine, beer and brandy etc.; hearing-aids; photographic equipment; etc. The percentage of the value of quota certificate up to which the import licences are issued generally ranges between 5 to 10, though in the case of some items like books and hearing-aids, it is as high as 100. Relaxation in the items of import as well as the quota licences is permitted whenever considered necessary. The 1976-77 ITC policy thus provides that in the case of motor vehicle parts, spare parts of agricultural tractors, spare parts of diesel engines and spare parts of machine tools, the value of the quota licences to Established Importers will be enhanced by 20 per cent for the current year.

The Established Importers have to submit their applications to the Regional Licensing Authority in whose jurisdiction their business is located. Only one application can be made during a licensing period. The application should be accompanied by the valid quota certificate issued on security form and treasury/bank receipt showing payment of the application fee on the value applied for.

*Section IV of the *Import Trade Control Policy*, Vol. I, Ministry of Commerce, Government of India, 1976.

Actual Users : Import of Raw Materials, Components, etc.

Import licences are issued to Actual Users to meet their requirements of imported raw materials, components and accessories required in the manufacturing process. Section II of the ITC policy, Volume I, contains a very detailed list of items that are allowed to be imported by them generally or on a restricted basis. For certain industries such as the manufacture of watches, air-conditioning and refrigeration equipment, electric wires and cables, electrical equipment, electronic items, etc., the lists of items that are permitted for import have been separately specified.

The requirements of the Actual Users as indicated by the applicants are scrutinised in detail by the sponsoring authorities keeping in view various factors such as stocks in hand, expected arrivals, availability of indigenous substitutes, actual production in the preceding year and expected production in the year for which the imports are required, past imports/past consumption of the items applied for, the overall availability of foreign exchange, etc. The sponsoring authorities who have to undertake this scrutiny have been designated separately for each industry.

In the past, licences were naturally issued only when the scrutiny had been completed and recommendations made by the sponsoring authorities. This quite often, according to Industrial and business circles, involved a lot of delay and created bottlenecks in the production programme. From 1975-76, however, a system of automatic licensing has been introduced under which the Actual Users are given the import licence on the basis of past consumption or past licensing, whichever is lower, without a detailed scrutiny of their requirements by the respective sponsoring authorities. There has been some further liberalisation in the policy for the year 1976-77. The industrial units can now exercise their choice between past consumption and past licences.

Besides the automatic licences, supplementary licences for raw materials and components can also be issued in the case of certain specified industries called the 'select industries' and the 'IDA industries', i.e., the industries which have been selected for financing from the funds received from the International Development Association of the World Bank. The list of the select industries, which may be revised from time to time, covers all such industries which are considered as important for the country's development, where an increase in production is urgently called for and/or which have good export potential. The list of 'select industries' may be revised from year to year. The current list of 'select industries' includes 37 broad groups of industries.*

*Appendix I, *Import Trade Control Policy*, Vol. I, Ministry of Commerce, Government of India, 1976.

Certain items such as tea, coffee, jute textiles, cotton textiles, cashew, coir products, sugar and unmanufactured tobacco which have been identified as having high export potential have been added to the list only from this year. The supplementary licences for these industries are, however, issued after a detailed scrutiny by and on the recommendation of the sponsoring authorities.

Supplementary licences are not to be issued to the non-select industries. However, in the ITC for 1976-77, a provision has been made that such units can also apply for supplementary licences in case there was an undue decline in their production during 1975-76 and consequently their consumption of imported raw material was unduly low.

The facility of automatic licensing is also available to the small scale units. In their case, as a measure of further liberalisation and simplification of procedure, a supplementary allocation of 20 per cent over the value of automatic licence is to be added at the initial stage itself. This concession has been extended to all units in the small scale sector whether they fall under the 'select' or 'non-select' category. It has also been provided that in their case if the value of licences/release orders issued during the period 1974-75 or 1975-76 was Rs. 50,000 or less, automatic licences will be granted on a repeat basis without reference to past consumption. In the case of units where the value of licences issued in earlier years was more than Rs. 50,000 and the consumption was less than Rs. 50,000, the automatic licence on a repeat basis will be given for a value of Rs. 50,000 without reference to the previous low consumption. The units falling in these two categories are also allowed an increase of 20 per cent in value of their automatic licence in lieu of supplementary allocation.

The mode of financing the import licences issued to industrial units in the large and the medium sector is to be the same as in the preceding year. The ITC policy for 1976-77, however, gives some concessions to the small scale units in the mode of financing of their import licences. Licences up to Rs. 50,000 will be in free foreign exchange; in the case of licences above Rs. 50,000 and up to Rs. 1 lakh, 50 per cent, subject to a minimum of Rs. 50,000 will be in free foreign exchange, and the balance will be under UK credit. If the value of the licence exceeds Rs. 1 lakh, financing to the extent of 50 per cent will be in free foreign exchange, 30 per cent under UK credit and 20 per cent under RPA. In the case of small scale units, engaged in IDA industries, import licences, to the extent of 75 per cent with a minimum of Rs. 50,000 will be in free foreign exchange and the balance under UK credit.

The import trade control policy also gives a preferential treatment in the matter of issue of import licences for the import of raw materials,

components and spares and machinery for the industrial units set up in the backward areas; units set up by engineering graduates, science graduates and diploma holders in engineering and service personnel; and units set up by persons belonging to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. The mode of financing of import licences issued to such units is in free foreign exchange, if their total entitlement is Rs. 50,000 and 75 per cent GCA and 25 per cent under UK credit if the entitlement exceeds Rs. 50,000. Such units are also eligible to preferential pricing, such as is given to units which export 20 per cent or more of their production, in regard to the supply of raw materials by canalising agencies.

With a view to encouraging exports, the facilities and concessions for the import of raw materials, etc., have also been linked with the export performance. Any unit falling in the list of 'select industries' which exports 20 per cent or more of its production during the preceding financial or calendar year is eligible for preferred sources of financing for the import of raw materials and components. Even units which are not covered by the list of 'select industries' but whose export performance is more than 20 per cent of their production, become eligible for such preferred treatment. Units engaged in the manufacture of stainless steel products, nylon fabrics, cellulose fabrics, blended fabrics, etc., however, will not be eligible for this facility.

While these incentives are given to the units who show good export performance, penalty by way of a cut in the allocation of imported raw materials and components is also imposed in the case of units engaged in the manufacture of items which have been identified as having good export potential but who fail to show the prescribed export performance. The extent of the cut will depend upon the extent of short fall in export as compared to the prescribed export obligation for each industry. Small scale units and other units who have not completed 5 years in production are, however, exempted from this penal provision.

The applications for the issue of automatic licences for the import of raw materials and components on repeat basis are required to be submitted directly to the Chief Controller of Imports and Exports, except in the case of units in the small scale sector and the IDA industries who have to apply to the Regional Licensing Authority in whose jurisdiction their unit is located. The applications have to be made on an annual basis for each end product separately by way of claiming replenishment of imported raw materials and components consumed in the preceding year. The applications should be accompanied, besides the receipt for having deposited the fees and income tax verification certificate, etc., by a consumption certificate on a prescribed form duly certified by a chartered accountant/cost accountant as also the

particulars of A.U./R.E.P. licences and release orders obtained in the preceding year.

For supplementary licences, the applications have to be routed through the prescribed sponsoring authorities, who would recommend the case after due verification of the requirements. Such applications should also indicate the reasons for additional requirements and give information on such aspects as the export performance, production programme relating to the end product concerned, the requirements of raw materials and components for such production, stocks in hand, stocks in the pipe line, value of automatic licences/release orders obtained or expected to be obtained in the current year and the value of unutilised licences/release orders, etc.

In the case of small scale units no separate application has to be made for a supplementary licence as a supplementary allocation of 20 per cent, over and above the automatic licence, is added at the initial stage of the issue of automatic licence.

Actual Users : Import of Capital Goods

As in the case of raw materials and components, an import licence is also required for the import of capital goods comprising of such items of plant and machinery as are required for new installations or replacement or for the expansion of the existing projects. Applications from Actual Users for the import of capital goods are considered as and when received. However, an existing unit, applying for replacement/balancing/modernisation/expansion/diversification/testing/quality control equipment, etc., can make only one application in a half-year except that applications to meet emergent situations like breakdown or in response of a specific foreign credit may be permitted at any time.

The applications for the import of capital goods for a value below Rs. 10 lakhs for import, from countries, other than the Rupee Payment Countries, or below Rs. 20 lakhs for imports from the Rupee Payment Countries have to be made direct to the Chief Controller of Imports and Exports. Applications for a value in excess of these limits have to be submitted to the Secretariat for Industrial Approvals, Ministry of Industry and Civil Supplies. Industrial units not borne on the registers of the DGTD, and units in the small scale sector are, however, required to submit their small value applications for CG imports (not exceeding Rs. 50,000 if the imports are to be made from the Rupee Payment Countries or under UK credit and Rs. 25,000 for imports from other countries) directly to their respective Regional Licensing Authorities. Applications for import of capital goods by the export oriented industries have also to be made direct to the Secretariat for Industrial Approvals.

The applicants, along with their applications for CG imports, have also to submit a photostat copy of the industrial licence or the registration certificate as may be applicable. Parties who hold valid Letters of Intent can also apply for the import of capital goods but in their case the import licences will be issued only after the Letter of Intent has been converted into a valid industrial licence. In the case of units where foreign collaborations are involved the import application for capital goods is to be accompanied by a photostat copy of a letter containing the approval of the foreign collaboration terms issued to the applicant.

The licensing authorities—the CCI&E or the Regional Licensing Authority as the case may be—forward the applications to the sponsoring authorities concerned for further processing. The CG applications are examined from two angles: (*i*) essentiality of import, and (*ii*) indigenous clearance, *i.e.*, whether the item required to be imported is available from indigenous sources. The essentiality of imports is verified by the respective sponsoring authorities but the indigenous clearance in all the cases is given by the Directorate General of Technical Development. In the case of small value applications, however, both the essentiality certificate and the indigenous clearance are given by the sponsoring authorities concerned. In the issue of essentiality certificates, the knowledgability, the nature of information and the proper perspective of the policy are very important as the immediate and sectional pressures have to be harmonised with long term public interest and industrial needs of the country.

A provision has also been made that the Actual Users intending to import machinery of a value exceeding Rs. 7.50 lakhs have to advertise their requirements according to a prescribed procedure so as to ascertain that such items are not available from any local manufacturer. Certain items have now been identified for the import of which the advertisement procedure will no longer be applicable. The CG applications, after these have been processed by the sponsoring authorities and the DGTD, are further considered by the licensing authority in terms of the import policy in force and subject to the availability of foreign exchange resources. In the case of high value applications and applications from export-oriented units which are received directly by the Secretariat for Industrial Approvals, the final approval has to be obtained from the CG Main Committee.

The mode of financing that may be permitted for capital goods depends upon the sources of supply and the availability of foreign exchange from different sources.

With a view to encouraging non-residents of Indian origin, who want to set up industrial units in this country, some special facilities have been provided for the import of plant and machinery. Such non-residents

are now permitted to import plant and machinery up to the limit of foreign exchange brought in by them without having to obtain indigenous clearance from the sponsoring authorities. This facility, however, cannot be availed for the import of plant and machinery for setting up certain specified industries.*

Registered Exporters

Special facilities are provided to exporters for the import of materials required in the manufacture of products exported by them. Exporters who want to avail of these facilities have to register themselves with any one of the Export Promotion Councils, Commodity Boards or the Export Promotion Authority at the ports. Any person who has a past export performance and has a good record and experience as an exporter, is eligible for registration. The registration facility is available to all categories of exporters, viz., the Merchant Exporters, Manufacturer Exporters and Export Houses holding export house certificates in the private and public sectors. The Export Houses Scheme has been revised under the ITC policy for 1976-77. The minimum qualifying export performance for registration in their case has now been fixed at Rs. 50 lakhs in respect of a select list of export products or Rs. 3 crores in respect of other products. In the case of a consortium of small scale units, the minimum limit of export performance has now been fixed at Rs. 25 lakhs and Rs. 2 crores respectively. For public sector corporations, engaged in export trade, the minimum export performance criterion is not to apply at the initial stage while granting Export House Certificates.

The value of replenishment (REP) licences that are issued to the Registered Exporters is fixed as a percentage of the f.o.b. value of their exports and the items that can be imported against these licences are those which are used in the manufacture of the exported products. The ITC policy lays down in detail the import replenishment percentages for each item of export and the materials that are permitted for import against the export of each individual item.† With a view to strengthening the base for export production, certain facilities for additional allocation of imported raw materials have also been provided. In the case of such export products where the rate of import replenishment is less than 50 per cent, an additional allocation for an amount equal to 10 per cent of the normal replenishment will be allowed against exports made on or after 1st April, 1974. In the case of exports of engineering goods, chemicals and allied products, leather and

* *Facilities for Non-Residents of Indian Origin*, published by the Indian Investment centre, May 1976.

† Section II of the *Import Trade Control Policy*, Vol. II, Ministry of Commerce, Government of India.

leather goods, sports goods, handicrafts, cotton textiles and readymade garments, a further allocation of 10 per cent will be permitted against exports made on or after 1st April, 1975.

The Government has also instituted a scheme under which certain raw materials manufactured by indigenous manufacturers will be supplied for export production at international prices. Such items will not be allowed to be imported even though these may have been permitted for import under the relevant section of the ITC policy.

Import replenishment licences are generally issued to Registered Exporters after the exports have been made. However, in order to facilitate the timely supply of goods to overseas buyers, the licensing authorities may consider applications for import replenishment on merit even before the exports have taken place. The licences issued under this provision may be either Advance Licences or Imprest Licences. Advance Licences are issued to meet the requirements of specific export orders which are already in hand whereas Imprest Licences may be given where the Manufacturer Exporter may not be in a position to produce evidence of a firm export order but has an organised or phased programme of export. Automatic Imprest Licences may be issued to such Manufacturer Exporters or Export Houses who had obtained REP licences in the preceding year against their own exports; the value of these Automatic Imprest Licences may be equal to the value of REP licences issued in the preceding year. An applicant is eligible to get both the advance and the Automatic Imprest Licences at the same time. A new scheme has also been introduced under which the materials imported against advance licences may be exempted from the customs duty leviable on such imported materials.

The applications for import replenishment licences have to be made to the Regional Licensing Authorities concerned within a period of 3 months from the end of the period of export. Such applications can be made on a quarterly or on a six monthly basis. The eligible Export Houses can make their applications on a monthly basis, if they so desire. Along with the applications, the applicants are required to furnish, besides the receipt for having paid the application fee and the IVC, a statement of exports in a prescribed form indicating the particulars of exports as certified by their banks. To facilitate the speedy processing of these applications the exporters are also advised to get the statement of exports certified by a chartered accountant. Under the ITC policy for 1976-77, a simplified procedure for processing of applications from Registered Exporters has been devised. Exporters who want to avail of this facility have to enrol their names with the respective licensing authorities under whose jurisdiction their business is located. The application for enrolment should be supported by a statement in the prescribed proforma, duly certified by a chartered accountant indicating the f.o.b. value of exports made

by the applicant in respect of products covered by the import policy during 1975-76 and the total value of the REP import licences received by him. If the applicant is found eligible an Enrolment Number will be allotted to him by the licensing authority. Exporters who have been so enrolled will be issued import licences after a preliminary scrutiny and processing of the applications subject to the condition that the licences so issued will be adjusted, if necessary, against the applicant's future import entitlement.

Applications for Advance Licences should be made to the Regional Licensing Authorities if the value of the licence applied for does not exceed Rs. 25 lakhs and to the Chief Controller of Imports and Exports if the value exceeds this limit. In the case of export orders for textile machinery, applications for Advance Licences have to be addressed to the Joint Chief Controller of Imports and Exports, and routed through the Textile Commissioner. The export order, for the execution of which the Advance Licence is required, should be backed by an irrevocable letter of credit. If there is no letter of credit at the time when the application is made, but the letter of credit is to be opened before the goods are exported, it should be stated in the application for Advance Licence. If the exports are to be made on a deferred payment basis, the applicant should enclose a copy of the Reserve Bank of India approval for the deferred payment terms. The items for the import of which the Advance Licence is to be issued are to be those considered essential for the manufacture of the products. The import of such items should also be permissible in terms of the import policy in force or a special relaxation should have been allowed if they happen to be banned items. Before the clearance of the goods imported against Advance Licences, the applicant will be required to execute a bond with bank guarantee for an amount equal to 50 per cent of the c.i.f. value of the licence.

Applications for the grant of import licences under the Automatic Imprest Licensing Scheme have to be made directly to the Regional Licensing Authorities. Such applications should not be for a value of more than Rs. 5 lakhs or 50 per cent of the total value of REP licences received in the preceding year, whichever is higher. If the export obligation on the first Imprest Licence has been discharged, the applicant can apply for a second Imprest Licence. The clearance of goods imported against the Imprest Licence will be allowed only after the execution of the bond as provided for in the case of Advance Licences.

Free Trade Zone

The procedure of imports in the two free trade zones, *viz.*, the Kandla Free Trade Zone, Gandhidham, and the Santa Cruz Electronic Export Processing Zone, Bombay, has been considerably liberalised. The imports of

raw materials, components and spares into these zones have been placed on the Open General Licence and no import licence is required for such imports. However, the importers are required to maintain an appropriate account of the material imported and their consumption and utilisation in the prescribed form and submit these accounts on a quarterly basis to the authorities in charge of these zones. The importers are also required to regulate their imports in such a way that they adhere to the value added criterion on the basis of which their projects were approved. Any imported material which cannot be used for export production for any valid reasons can be disposed of only with the prior written permission of the licensing authority.

For the import of capital goods by the industrial units situated in these zones, applications have to be made to the concerned licensing authorities through the sponsoring authorities. The procedure for advertisement is not applicable for the import of capital goods in these zones. The sponsoring authorities consider these applications against the foreign exchange allocation placed at their disposal and forward their recommendations to the licensing authorities who will issue the necessary import licence.

The supplies of capital goods, raw materials, components, tools, packaging materials and spare parts, made to the units located in these zones from the Domestic Tariff Area, are treated as exports and suppliers of these goods are entitled to the import replenishment licences in accordance with the provisions of the import policy. It is, however, essential that the supplies should have been made at international prices and the goods supplied should have been manufactured in India.

State Trading Organisations

State trading organisations are now playing an increasingly important role in the import trade of the country and in the last four years they accounted for nearly one-third to 40 per cent of the total imports. The import of nearly 200 items of various types of raw materials has been canalised through these agencies.* A number of agencies have been set up which have specialised in the import of specific items. The non-ferrous metals are being imported by the Minerals and Metals Trading Corporation of India (MMTC); steel items by the Sail International Ltd.; chemical and pharmaceutical items by the State Chemical and Pharmaceutical Corporation of India (CAPCO); and a number of other items such as copra, mutton-tallow, soyabean oil, palm oil, DMT, etc., by the State Trading Corporation (STC). Imports of cotton are made by the Cotton Corporation of India while cashewnuts are being imported through the Cashew Corporation of India Ltd.

*Section III of the *Import Trade Control Policy*, Vol. I, Ministry of Commerce, Government of India.

Apart from the canalised items, the state trading agencies are also required to import such items, the import of which is normally not permitted but which at times fall in short supply due to any setback in indigenous production. The state trading agencies also arrange for the import of raw materials on behalf of the Actual Users against the Actual Users Licence. There is also a proposal under which the state trading agencies will be enabled to import in bulk certain other raw materials which are commonly in demand. For the purpose of organising the import of such items the state trading organisation has set up an Industrial Raw Materials Assistance Centre for arranging off-the-shelf delivery to Actual Users and also function as an indenting house. The MMTC are also gearing themselves to make similar arrangements.

The state trading agencies get a bulk allocation of foreign exchange from the Government for the procurement of items which have been canalised through them. An assessment about the requirement of individual items is made by them on the basis of past experience and in consultation with the sponsoring authorities and the Actual Users.

The state trading agencies make the allotment of imported raw materials to Actual Users on the basis of release orders issued by the licensing authorities concerned or by the sponsoring authorities. With a view to simplifying the procedure, a provision has been made in the ITC policy for 1976-77 under which the allotment of certain specified items of raw materials will be made directly by the canalising agencies without any release order from the sponsoring or the licensing authorities. In the case of Actual Users who have registered their requirements of these raw materials, covering a period not exceeding 12 months, with the canalising agency concerned, the latter would communicate to the Actual Users, within a period of 45 days, the arrangements that have been made to supply the required materials. If, however, the canalising agencies fail to make these arrangements, the Actual Users can approach the licensing authorities concerned for the issue of a licence in the name of the canalising agency with a letter of authority in their favour for direct import. With a view to ensure the smooth working of this new arrangement, a Monitoring Committee has been set up under the chairmanship of the Chief Controller of Imports and Exports. The Committee will review the working of the arrangement from time to time and will devise solution of any problem that may arise in its successful implementation. In the case of items which are allotted by the canalising agencies against the release orders, it has been provided that such release orders should be registered with the canalising agencies concerned within a period of 90 days along with a phased programme of delivery. If the canalising agency is not in a position to arrange for the supply of the material according to the phased programme or within a period of six months from the date of registration of release order,

whichever is later, the canalising agency will recommend for issue of a letter of authority for direct import.

At the time of the registration of release orders, or for the purpose of registering the annual requirements of the items which are now to be directly allotted under the new scheme, the Actual Users have to deposit with the canalising agency as earnest money two per cent of the value of the item or Rs. 50,000 whichever is less.

The import trade control in India as may be noted from the foregoing account is a detailed exercise in regulating the flow of imports in keeping with the foreign exchange resources and the developmental needs of the country. Imports of items which are non-essential or which are manufactured in the country or for which indigenous substitutes are available, are completely banned while the items of which the indigenous production is not adequate to meet the total requirement are allowed to be imported only on a restricted basis. In the case of items which are permitted for import, the requirements of each individual importer are scrutinised in detail by the various sponsoring authorities which are conversant with the working of the industries allotted to them and are also familiar with the problems and requirements of the individual manufacturers. By fixing up the norms for the allocation of the imported inputs to various categories of Industrial Actual Users, the import trade control policy contributes towards increasing industrial production according to national priorities and also in promoting exports. The policy also helps in the achievement of other objectives of the country's socio-economic policies such as the development of the small scale sector, the development of the backward areas, provision of self-employment opportunities to the unemployed scientists and engineers, creation of avenues of employment for ex-servicemen and the upliftment of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. The policy also seeks to assign a prominent role to the state trading agencies in the import trade of the country and restricts the field of operation of the private import traders and the intermediaries in this vital sector of the national economy.

The implementation of the policy which is designed to achieve such varied objectives is a fairly complex exercise and calls for a constant review of not only the policy constraints but also the administrative procedures from time to time. The Government is well alive to the situation and procedural changes and innovations are made from time to time to remove such bottlenecks as may appear in the successful implementation of the policy. The procedure of automatic licensing on a repeat basis to the Actual Users and the advance and Imprest Licensing to Registered Exporters have been introduced to cut down the delay involved in the detailed scrutiny of the requirements before the issue of import licences. Another innovation, which

is being introduced from the current year, is that the Actual Users will now be able to get supplies of certain specified raw materials directly from the state trading agencies without having to obtain a release order from the licensing or sponsoring authorities concerned. The import of raw materials and components required by the manufacturers in the two free trade zones of the country has from this year been put on the Open General Licence and no import licence will be required for importing these materials. These relaxations, it is felt, will go a long way in giving a fillip to industrial production and help in the promotion of exports.

Apart from the importance of the policy and its operation to the overall development of the economy, the subject has wide ramifications from the administrative angle. Many principles or problems of administrative theory come into play in its actual working. It is a matter not only involving Centre-States relationship but also between the headquarters and the field agencies of the Government. It is an area where the play of interest groups and pressures that they try to exert through their associations before policy formulation or for modification of the policy and procedures by making representations, holding of seminars, presentation of studies, etc. becomes a subject of study by itself for the students of public administration. Again, it is an area of economic administration where the policy-making is very infinitely concerned with the question of trying to reconcile the multiple and sometimes seemingly conflicting objectives and compulsions of development. Inter-institutional and inter-Ministerial consultation and coordination of a very high order are called for during policy formulation and implementation. It is an area where the relevance of a comprehensive information system and monitoring and feedback procedures are obvious. This is important not only for the scientific working of the policy itself but also because this is an area where all vigilance against abuse of authority, scope for venality and outright corruption has to be exercised. The subject has, therefore, received the attention of the Administrative Reforms Commission as well as the Committees of the Parliament.

Another aspect of the subject is the Government-business relationship and collaboration for the policy and procedures to yield optimum results for the economy. Many State-sponsored organisations, as well as agencies floated by the concerned groups and individuals, have also very specific roles to play and responsibilities to discharge. Here again is the problem of both vertical and horizontal coordination. The time span of policy or its continuity over a period in the context of perspective planning is a function of informal administrative judgement. This area of economic administration, therefore, requires a good deal of not only ad hoc studies and long-range thinking but also continuing research—both at the official and academic levels. In working out the policy, a judicious mix of stability and flexibility is required for optimum

impact. Again it also necessitates an adequate balancing of procedural rectitude and propriety in the background of administrative responsibility with result-orientation and expedition in implementation as well as decision-making. Reference has already been made to the imperatives of a federal system besides the problems of delegation, centralisation, decentralisation, authority and responsibility in administration. That is why the continuing review of the policy and procedures, with broad objectives of simplification and rationalisation, and according to the changing objectives of the policy and trends of development of the economy acquires a vital significance. It may also be worthwhile to observe that this is an area of administration where the regulatory and developmental angles converge and the conceptually restrictive dichotomous approach to operating administration no longer holds good.

Annexure

Trends in Import Licensing

(Rs. in crores)

Year	Established Importers	Actual Users	Value of licences issued to					Total
			Registered Exporters	Capital Goods	State Trading Agencies	Others		
1955	340.0	283.2	—	—	—	—	397.9	1021.1
1956	343.5	338.6	—	—	—	—	857.9	1540.0
1957-58	205.5	367.3	—	362.9	—	—	190.9	1126.6
1958-59	117.2	290.7	—	126.7	—	—	297.5	832.1
1959-60	116.6	518.8	—	229.8	—	—	327.1	1192.3
1960-61	136.5	570.6	—	286.4	—	—	252.1	1245.6
1961-62	121.8	823.7	—	294.6	—	—	109.3	1349.4
1962-63	77.1	785.3	—	571.3	—	—	114.0	1548.0
1963-64	69.0	638.9	—	451.3	—	—	67.1	1226.3
1964-65	71.3	630.9	84.2	520.3	108.8	—	151.8	1567.3
1965-66	24.1	497.3	77.4	268.1	95.6	—	133.7	1096.2
1966-67	44.0	833.3	81.6	435.7	163.9	—	335.3	1898.8
1967-68	41.8	580.2	51.9	164.7	116.3	—	155.5	1110.4
1968-69	44.5	511.2	63.7	83.8	150.5	—	90.8	944.5
1969-70	43.8	641.5	86.7	73.2	242.8	—	115.7	1203.7
1970-71	41.8	780.2	94.7	127.1	444.6	—	145.5	1633.9
1971-72	40.8	739.0	93.4	252.2	587.6	—	140.7	1853.7
1972-73	55.3	633.6	136.0	268.0	620.9	—	141.9	1855.7
1973-74	38.5	764.5	151.3	261.6	984.4	—	133.5	2333.8
1974-75	42.3	1031.9	166.4	269.3	935.6	—	190.5	2636.0

Source : 1. Two Decades of Import Licensing, January 1971, Ministry of Foreign Trade, Government of India.
 2. Economic Survey, 1975-76.

ROLE OF HIGHER CIVIL SERVICE IN CANADA AND PAKISTAN—A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF TWO COMMONWEALTH COUNTRIES *

V. Madan Mohan Reddy

THIS paper seeks to make a comparative study of the public services of Canada and Pakistan. It attempts to show how the bureaucracies of these two Commonwealth nations which have their political and administrative institutions, patterned after the British prototype, contrast with one another. An attempt has been made to focus the dominant internal operating characteristics of the bureaucracy in each nation reflecting its composition, hierarchical arrangements, patterns of specialisation and behavioural tendencies. The study deals with only the central government bureaucracy in each nation, and seeks to make a survey of the class structure, recruitment, selection and promotion of the civil service.

Canada has a federal form of government. Pakistan began as an independent nation in 1947 with the British parliamentary system under a federal constitution. Both nations are governed by the cabinet form of parliamentary government. The constitution of the First Republic in Pakistan was federal in character, the federation being composed of East Pakistan and the province of West Pakistan. Instability of government was the striking feature of the political scene in Pakistan. From 1947 to 1958 there were seven cabinets.¹ In 1958 the military government took over the administration as parliamentary government failed to work successfully. From 1962 to 1971 Pakistan had a presidential form of government, and hence there was little change in the administrative set-up of the country. The 1971 war led to the division of Pakistan into two separate countries—Pakistan and Bangla Desh. In April 1972 Pakistan adopted a new constitution which provides for a parliamentary form of government—Islamic Republic of Pakistan—with Prime Minister Bhutto as the real executive, the President having the role of a nominal executive.

ORGANISATIONAL SETTING

The organisational setting of the public services in Canada and

¹Ali Ahmed, *Role of Higher Civil Servants in Pakistan*, Dacca, National Institute of Public Administration, 1968, pp. 113-15.

*Pakistan was a member of the Commonwealth till 1972.

Pakistan would appear to be quite similar. The public services of both of these countries have been patterned after the British institutions and principles. At the apex of bureaucracy in Canada is the Prime Minister and his cabinet. In Pakistan the Prime Minister and his cabinet form the apex of bureaucracy. The public service in Canada and Pakistan is divided into a number of departments (called ministries in Pakistan) each headed by a member of the cabinet subordinate to the head of the State. These department (ministry) heads are assisted in both the nations by a senior public servant, called a permanent secretary in Pakistan and a deputy minister in Canada. Every department or ministry is further divided into a number of smaller divisions, and each of these divisions into a number of sections and units. The administrative heads of each of these organisational structures are assisted in their direction and control functions by a large number of clerks and assistants.

These superficial similarities do not give us a clear picture of the organisational setting of the public services either in Pakistan or Canada. In fact a closer study would reveal the unique characteristics of each system.

Pakistan is a newly created nation, the product of partition which took place just twenty eight years ago. Anyone acquainted with Pakistan's brief history cannot fail to be impressed with the fact that, despite starting almost from scratch, an administrative system has carried on. The allocation of functions among operative departments and the grouping of departments for purposes of administrative control are for the most part haphazard.² Unrelated activities have been brought together in a single ministry or department while, on the other hand, certain functions have been split unnecessarily between various agencies. The results have been splintering of responsibility and the scatterisation of units of government, results which make delegation and clear-cut assignment of authority very difficult to achieve. Different aspects of one subject are often dealt with in different departments and unrelated development departments are often lumped together under one secretariat department or ministry. Coordination is the responsibility of the upper echelons of the civil service.³ Anomalous combinations of this kind create unnecessary strains and result in an inequitable distribution of burdens among ministries and secretariat departments. The arrangement contributes to the fragmentation of responsibilities and blurs any clear-cut responsibility for decision-making. The cabinet secretariat, now renamed as Prime Minister's Secretariat, functions as the agency of final administrative coordination in Pakistan.

²*Report of Public Administration Survey Team on Pakistan, 1959*, pp. 12-14.

³Rowland A. Egger, "Ministerial and Departmental Organisation and Management in the Government of Pakistan", *Public Administration*, London, Vol. XXXIX (Summer, 1961).

In Canada, the minister has undisputed authority over his department. The departmental functions have become varied and complex and the minister has very limited opportunity to exercise this authority. It has become increasingly necessary for the minister to delegate most of his powers to his subordinates. The fact is that no minister can hope to make the decision for all the numerous operations and activities being carried out by his department. Thus, the minister's responsibility has largely become a responsibility for overall results and honest effort rather than for the details of administrative operations. Nor can the deputy minister in the performance of his dual role as general manager of the department and adviser to the minister, do little more than keep himself well informed on the activities and attempt to coordinate the work of the subordinate administrative officers actually directing the department's operations.

In Canada, as the agency of final administrative coordination, the cabinet's ability to coordinate the operations of the government is greatly strengthened by the adherence of its members to the conventions of unanimity and collective responsibility characteristic of the British system. The existing cabinet system functions smoothly in Canada. The various departments of the Canadian federal government, comparable to the ministries in Pakistan, function as integrated and well-coordinated governmental units. Most of these departments have extensive field operations and have had to develop effective channels of communication between field offices and the central administration in Ottawa. This has led, in most of the federal departments, to a highly centralised decision-making machinery which, in recent years, has been criticised for fostering a lack of initiative in the field offices and a referral of far too many decisions which could be settled in the field to the central offices.⁴

The history of Pakistan has been marked by political instability. The politician has been weak or inept or altogether absent from the scene because of the frequent suppressions of constitutional machinery. This situation has enabled the civil servant to step in to fill the vacuum. In Pakistan, services were no longer to implement policies formulated at levels from which they were excluded but were themselves to participate in their determination. Their views were certain to be treated with respect by politicians who had little or no familiarity with the problems of administration.⁵ Due to political instability, cohesive cabinet leadership was found to be difficult. With the establishment of a responsible government—Islamic Republic of Pakistan—

⁴U.K., *Report of the Royal Commission on Government Organisation—Part I: Management of the Public Service*, London, 1962, pp. 26-28.

⁵Mushtaq Ahmed, *Government and Politics in Pakistan*, New York, Frederick A. Praeger, 1963, pp. 89-90.

under a strong and stable political leadership of Mr. Z.A. Bhutto, the civil servant is now placed at the tap and not at the top. The civil servant has always been the leader of the people. The civil servants are not only the leaders and motivators of the particular agency in which they are working; they are and will continue to be, for some time to come, the leaders of thought and action in all spheres of life. There is a very noticeable lack of coordination between departments carrying out government programmes interrelated in their total effect upon the public or other government operations. There is also a large amount of overlapping and duplication in government operations. Coordination in the true sense of administrative leadership continues to be a major administrative bottleneck.

In Pakistan an increasingly significant amount of government work is being performed by government corporations. Expanded reliance on public statutory corporations as an instrument of rapid development is a major phenomenon in the development of bureaucracy.⁶ The First Five Year Plan (1955-60) which considered the inadequacy of Pakistan's administrative apparatus as "the most serious single impediment to development" suggested the corporate device for implementing programmes requiring a "commercial ... or multipurpose approach".⁷ The major posts in most of these concerns have been filled with government administrative officers because of the scarcity of managerial and technical skill in the private sector. A number of important government corporations in Pakistan are headed by C.S.P. officers.

The number of semi-commercial government corporations in Canada is also very large. In recent years as the work of government became more complex, greater reliance has been placed on public corporations as the appropriate instrument for administering and managing many public services in which business enterprise and public accountability must be combined. The government corporations in Canada have been given somewhat greater administrative independence and initiative than the regular departments kept under ministerial control.

Thus, in both Canada and Pakistan the semi-commercial government corporations have come to play an increasingly important role. An extensive use of the corporation form of organisation is being made in both countries. The concept of government by corporations has now superseded reliance on comparatively inflexible and slow-moving departmental executive agencies. A marked departure from routine administration has taken place with the creation of these corporations.

⁶Ralph Braibanti, *Research on Bureaucracy of Pakistan*, Duke University, Commonwealth Studies Centre, 1966, pp. 236-38.

⁷Pakistan, *First Five Year Plan—1955-60*, Government of Pakistan, Karachi, p. 100.

THE GROWTH OF BUREAUCRACY

Recent years have seen a vast increase in the activities of the State all over the world. The functions of government are being re-interpreted to meet the requirements of social and economic changes and the administrative apparatus reorganised and reshaped to meet the challenge of these developments. This process has assumed a crucial significance in both Canada and Pakistan and has profoundly affected the public services in these two countries. The greatly expanded administrative apparatus, often called 'bureaucracy', has become the dominant element of modern government. There is a general acknowledgement today that the bureaucracy is the core of modern government.

The public service in Canada has grown and changed to reflect the growing and changing needs of the country and the demands of its people. The most striking change in the civil service of Canada is the enormous increase in size. Since 1936 the average rate of increase in the strength of civil service has been nearly 7 per cent a year.⁸ The statistics on the increase of federal government employment in Canada reveal that the Canadian public service is largely the product of the last three decades. Today's civil servant in Canada is found side by side with his fellow citizens in nearly every area of endeavour and accomplishment. One feature of the personnel picture that has remained relatively unchanged has been the effective resistance of the crown corporations and other 'exempt' agencies to being brought under the provisions of the Civil Service Act.⁹ The increase in federal employment is a response to the expanding activities of the federal government.

Administration in Pakistan had to be built up from the bottom upwards. A new Government was set up in Karachi where no central government existed before. The best tribute paid to the competence of the higher civil servants in Pakistan is the fact that the government did not collapse in its first 90 days.¹⁰ Despite personnel deficiencies the government succeeded in establishing itself in a very short period. The order of magnitude of the total bureaucracy is more difficult to estimate for Pakistan than for any other developing State. The total employment in government now is probably about a million persons.¹¹ Initially the functions of the government were

⁸J.J. Deutsch, "Some Thoughts on the Public Service", *The Canadian Journal of Economic and Political Science*, Vol. 23, No. 1 (February, 1957), pp. 83-85.

⁹Taylor Cole, *The Canadian Bureaucracy and Federalism*, University of Denver, Monograph series in world, Monograph No. 3, 1965, pp. 11-12.

¹⁰Albert Gorvine, "The Civil Service Under the Revolutionary Government in Pakistan", *The Middle East Journal* (Summer 1965), pp. 321-22.

¹¹Ralph Braibanti, *op. cit.*, p. 238.

confined to the maintenance of law and order, the collection of revenue and the administration of justice. The government has now assumed responsibility for a wide range of activities which elsewhere still continue to be undertaken by the private sector. Pakistan is committed to the ideal of building up a welfare State. The success of economic and social planning is a matter of urgency in Pakistan. The high quality of the civil servants is one of the vital factors to achieve success in this field. There is a dearth of trained civil servants with managerial skills capable of conducting large-scale programmes of development in Pakistan. A large section of the public servants in Pakistan is engaged in the task of mobilisation of the resources of the country for various development programmes. The limited skill available is found to be inadequate to face the uphill task of rapid socio-economic change.

A close study of the distribution of employees under the public service in Canada and Pakistan highlights an interesting variation. Governmental activities of a defence nature engage a fairly large proportion of federal employees in Canada, while in Pakistan because of the emphasis on social and economic development, over half of the employees in the public service are in departments carrying out activities and services of a social, cultural or economic nature.

HIERARCHICAL ARRANGEMENTS

Since comparison of the occupational distribution of government employees in Canada and Pakistan allows a very general view of the composition of bureaucracy in each country, it is necessary to examine the hierarchical arrangements of the bureaucracy in each country. Pakistan is a bureaucracy-dominated country. Not only does the government perform all of the usual functions of government but it is also the well-spring of most of the social change that is likely to come about.¹² There is a remarkable difference in the occupational composition of the bureaucracies of Canada and Pakistan. The work of the government has become very complex in Canada and a greater reliance has been placed on employees who hold positions of an administrative, professional and technical nature. Over 75 per cent of the federal service in Canada is composed of administrative, professional, technical and clerical personnel.¹³ In contrast, the public service in Pakistan is yet to achieve a high degree of specialisation. As a result, the recruitment of professionally equipped administrators and technical personnel is on a minor scale.

¹²David S. Brown, "Bureaucracy : Pakistani and American", *The G.W.U. Federalist* (Fall 1962).

¹³Government of Canada, *Canadian Yearbook*, 1969, Ottawa, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, pp. 109-110.

The high proportion of specialised personnel in the public service in Canada may be directly attributed to the extensive specialisation that has taken place in the economy. The scope and complexity of government operations in Canada require highly specialised public bureaucracy. The Canadian public service is particularly strong in the professional and expert categories and in the field of policy-making. In these respects the Canadian service is unmatched anywhere else.¹⁴

Public employees in Canada are representative in the sense that they constitute a fairly good cross-section of the Canadian people. They have not been confined to a single class or creed and they have not been a class-conscious or a power-hungry elite.¹⁵ Thus, one of the most important characteristics of the Canadian federal bureaucracy is its reflection of the relatively open class system which marks the Canadian society. The higher administrative officers are not exclusively recruited from the upper stratum of the society, and it is possible for a person to rise up through the ranks of the federal service from a low level position, solely on the basis of merit. Moreover, there is a considerable amount of lateral entry of individuals from a diversity of occupations at all levels of the federal service.

The members of the top level of bureaucracy in Pakistan are drawn exclusively from Pakistan's small number of university graduates and represent the narrow social stratum of the wealthy English-speaking elite. The gap between the administrative elite and the rest of the service was maintained and even enlarged.¹⁶ This small group of administrative officers at the uppermost level of the bureaucratic hierarchy actually constitutes a bureaucratic aristocracy, separated by a broad social gulf from not only the rest of the public service but the predominantly agrarian population which it helps to govern.

The structural organisation and classification of the public services of Pakistan is one of the most complicated aspects of the personnel system. The division of services into almost completely autonomous cadres subject to no overall unifying central control is its most prominent characteristic.¹⁷ The members of the public service in Pakistan do not belong to a unified public service with uniform rates of pay, promotions and benefits. In fact, these different services have their own rates of pay, methods of promotion and other benefits. They tend to operate as a closed system. The classification

¹⁴Taylor Cole, *The Canadian Bureaucracy—A Study of Canadian Civil Service and other Public Employees, 1939-47*, Durham, Duke University Press, 1949, pp. 270-75.

¹⁵*ibid.*, pp. 278-279.

¹⁶Albert Gourvine, *op. cit.*, p. 321.

¹⁷Ralph Braibanti, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

of services in Pakistan is as follows : (1) There are the central superior services which include such services as the Civil Service of Pakistan, the Police Service and Audit and Accounts, (2) the Provincial Civil Service which staffs, largely, the lower level general administrative posts at the provincial level, and (3) the technical services. Among these various categories of services there has been very little exchange of membership and only slight overlapping exists for a few selected posts at different levels of the hierarchy. Where there is overlapping there are great inequalities.¹⁸ In addition to functional cadre divisions, there are class divisions of rank (I, II, III, IV) and spatial divisions (central and provincial) which do not always lend to any rational analysis. In general, the public servants of class III perform clerical duties while class IV employees perform the functions of messengers, janitors and the like. The officers of class I and II occupy posts of higher responsibility in the government and are entrusted with responsibility for decision-making in some matters.

The Canadian system is based on the British pattern, but it follows the United States in its classification plan of public services. There is a civil service for the federal government as well as one for each province. The object of classification of positions by duties is to facilitate equal pay for equal work. The Canadian procedure enables to develop an accurate, detailed specification of duties of each class of positions to determine the scales of pay for such positions and then to allocate each job to its proper class. There are numerous classes of positions in a given jurisdiction. The systematic description and arrangement of positions by duties has facilitated many personnel functions.

The Pakistani civil service maintains an incredible distinction between superior and inferior services, central and provincial services, gazetted and non-gazetted officers, technical officers in technical services and technical officers in non-technical services. The organisational structure of the services has contributed much to the conflict within the bureaucracy of Pakistan. All attempts to make major changes in the services have been rejected.¹⁹ Thus, most of the civil servants who make up the bureaucracy are divided into classes or cadres which make it virtually impossible for a man regardless of his ability to move from one to the other or in many situations even to advance in rank.²⁰ The higher public servants, in general, represent the middle class. Those who belong to the cadres which are better paid and enjoy higher public esteem form part of the upper middle class in the social hierarchy, while those with lower pay scales represent the lower middle class.

¹⁸Albert Gorvine, *op. cit.*, pp. 327-28.

¹⁹*ibid.*, pp. 328-29.

²⁰David S. Brown, *op. cit.*

A vast majority of the higher public servants are drawn from the group of people with an urban background. As compared to the general population, the educational attainment of the higher public servants is very high. Besides the bleak opportunity for advancement, the salaries paid to government clerks and other lower class employees fall drastically short of supporting the middle-class urban standard of living to which they aspire. The bottom-heavy base of the bureaucratic pyramid in Pakistan consists of that class of public employees who are classified as class IV employees. The social and cultural distance that separates these class IV employees from the rest of the employees is so great that it is immediately made obvious not only by their difference in dress and manner but by the office relations that take place between these groups. The economic gap that exists between the different bureaucratic levels is very wide.

The pay scales applicable to individuals in different bureaucratic classes reveal the disparity in terms of standard of living and economic status which exists between the different levels in the Canadian and Pakistani bureaucracies. For example, the salary paid to the highest public servant in Canada is approximately six times that paid to the lowest public servant.²¹ The disparity ratio between the highest and the lowest paid servants in Pakistan is also very high.

A proper recognition has not been given to the urgent need for attracting high technical talent to meet the expanding requirements of a modern administration in Pakistan. A sharp line is drawn between non-technical and technical superior services and technical personnel. The technical personnel is placed in a distinctly inferior role in respect to pay, promotion, rank and status. The extension of State activities in social and economic fields requires the services of a large corps of officers with professional, scientific and technical qualifications, training and experience. The status and salaries offered by the government to technicians are far below their market value. The Second Five Year Plan (1960-65) noted that if this state of affairs continues, there is a serious danger that the vast development programmes that are being increasingly undertaken in the public sector will greatly suffer in execution.²² The government policy of prohibiting the appointment of technical specialists as the administrative heads of government departments has often invited violent criticism from the technically trained public servants. They complain that they are given a secondary place in the process of policy-making, are granted low rates of pay and are thus condemned to positions carrying a permanently low status as compared to those positions open to

²¹ Report of the Royal Commission on Government Organisation, op. cit.

²² Pakistan, The Second Five Year Plan—1960-65, Karachi, Government of Pakistan, pp. 115-116.

generalists. The technical specialists are not considered qualified to become the administrative head of a government department.²³ The Government of Pakistan continues to pay higher salaries and offer better promotional prospects to administrative officers than to technical and professional officers. This practice discourages the technical and professional personnel to enter Government service and forces them to seek employment in commercial and business organisations. In a way it also promotes the existing shortage of technical and scientific personnel in Pakistan affecting its large scale programmes of development.

The Government of Canada employs a large number of professional and scientific personnel. The Canadian federal service pays very attractive salaries to its scientific and technical personnel. It offers them challenging and rewarding work in an environment fully compatible with professional values. A high degree of recognition and prestige has been accorded to the scientific and technical personnel. The Royal Commission on Government Organisation further recommended that to compete effectively in the market for professional and scientific personnel, recruiting methods must be sufficiently flexible to permit offers to be made speedily as by other employers.²⁴ Efforts are being made by the Canadian government to compete more effectively for these scarce skills.

Anyhow, the Government of Pakistan has been making serious efforts for the elimination of psychological and bureaucratic disparity between the technical and generalist dispositions, of establishing a parity of esteem and privilege between the two, and in admitting the technical point of view to full participation in the formulation of basic national policy.²⁵ Recently an economic pool has been created by the Government of Pakistan into which officers of different services having the necessary aptitude for economic development work have been drawn. This arrangement has been designed to foster specialisation and expertise in problems of economic development.²⁶ This indicates a shift from the generalist to the specialist approach now taking place in Pakistan. The Railway Board is now in sole charge of specialists and the ministries of education and health are manned exclusively by members of the education and health services. This process of 'technicalisation' of ministries is likely to continue, but over a wide sector of the administration

²³Ahmed Munir, *The Civil Servant in Pakistan*, Karachi, Oxford University Press, 1964, pp. 85-87.

²⁴*Report of the Royal Commission on Government Organisations*, op. cit.

²⁵Ralph Braibanti, "The Philosophical Foundations of Bureaucratic Change", in Inayatullah (ed.), *Bureaucracy and Development in Pakistan*, Peshawar, Pakistan Academy for Rural Development, 1962, pp. 80-82.

²⁶B.A. Abbas, "Pakistan's Personnel Administration," *The NIPA Journal* (December, 1968), pp. 219-220.

the generalist's role will still be important.²⁷ In view of the well-established administrative traditions, and partly in the context of the special conditions of the country reliance is continued to be placed on the generalist with his variety of experiences. Such a device as the economic pool is needed mostly because of the inflexibility of the cadre system with its reserved posts. The consequence is a more rational allocation of scarce expertise in economic and financial administration throughout the total bureaucracy.

SENIOR ADMINISTRATIVE PERSONNEL

The federal government is by a wide margin the largest employer in Canada. Its manpower requirements extend from unskilled labour, through trade, craft and technical skill, to the highly trained scientific, professional, administrative and management classes.

The Canadian public service has relied heavily upon lateral recruitment to attract its most highly educated officers originally in the professional and technical departments. A large percentage of top administrators is appointed from business, politics and the professions. It is to be noted that the Canadian public service is not a closed career system. Lateral recruitment helps to produce a bureaucracy which is representative of various occupational, geographical and social groups of the community. Recruitment policies are kept abreast of political and economic trends of the development of education in the community, and of the requirements of the service. The service not only has accommodated but also has come to place a heavy reliance upon the university graduate. A large number of the top administrators in the Canadian public service have university degrees. Canada has unquestionably taken great strides in recent years towards the objective of a strong and efficient public service. Thus, the upper levels of the Canadian public service probably comprise the most highly trained group of people to be found anywhere in Canada.²⁸

The administrative tradition of Pakistan places a high value upon the managerial system developed by the British, in which the top-most ranks of the civil service are occupied by generalists and non-expert administrators. The civil service of Pakistan (CSP) consists of generalist administrators who hold important administrative positions in government. Besides the CSP, there are seventeen cadres of the central superior services in Pakistan. The control, management and organisation of this large number are directly the

²⁷G. Ahmed, "Changes in the Administrative Organisation of the Government of Pakistan since 1953", *Public Administration*, London, Vol. XXXIX, (1961), pp. 153-54.

²⁸John Porter, "Higher Public Servants and the Bureaucratic Elite in Canada", *The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, Vol. XXIV, (1958), pp. 483-492.

responsibility of the members of the superior service.²⁹ By far the most important of these superior services is the CSP. The CSP enjoys an unusual esteem, and even the official nomenclature refers to it as the 'premier service', 'corps d'elite' and 'superior service' while other services are called 'inferior' and 'subordinate'.³⁰ The CSP is the pivotal service around which the entire administrative edifice, central and provincial, is organised. The members of the CSP, who serve both the central government and provincial governments, occupy by far the bulk of the most important and key positions in the central and provincial secretariats. The assignments given to the CSP officers are of a higher and more responsible nature. All these give it a greater prestige than any other service. The reservation of posts for the CSP officers elevates them into a privileged class within the administrative hierarchy.³¹ The CSP has existed as a class apart from the rest of the administrative services and has had different salary grades and promotional prospects than non-civil service administrative officers. The membership of the CSP has continued to be small and exclusive. Many more posts have been reserved for the CSP officers than there are members of this service and the number has been increasing each year.³² The CSP officers, therefore, enjoy greater opportunity for a wide choice of administrative experiences and posts than any other service.

Pakistan has accepted the British concept of an 'administrative class', a group of generalists with superior capacities for administering; while in Canada the concept of an administrative class is not compatible with the relatively open class system and the more technical nature of Canadian administrative operations. Pakistan's bureaucracy is a closed career system and all the top administrative personnel may be considered career public servants. As opposed to this practice, the Canadian public service has relied heavily upon lateral recruitment. Some of the senior administrators are drawn from sources other than a tight career service. Canada has been able to fill its ranks with some of the best talents available in the country. The Canadian Government has been able to compete effectively in the market for these scarce skills.

BUREAUCRATIC RECRUITMENT, SELECTION AND PROMOTION

The history of the Canadian civil service records a continuing interest

²⁹Henry Frank Goodnow, *The Civil Service of Pakistan: Bureaucracy in a New Nation*, London, Yale University Press, 1964, pp. 38-40.

³⁰Ralph Braibanti, "The Civil Service of Pakistan: A Theoretical Analysis", *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, Vol. 53 (Spring, 1959), pp. 258-304.

³¹Chauduri Muzaffar Ahmed, *The Civil Service of Pakistan: The Centrally Recruited Services*, Dacca, National Institute of Public Administration, 1963, pp. 89-90.

³²Albert Gourvine, *op. cit.*, p. 328.

in the improvement of its administration. The early reforms were concerned with the problem of patronage versus merit. The primary aim of the early reforms was to establish throughout the service procedures founded upon the 'merit system'. The major reforms of 1918 and 1919 were accomplished and the civil service had been converted from a patronage-ridden organisation into a career service based upon the merit system.³³ Ever since the beginning of Canadian political history, patronage had been the accepted rule of all governments; henceforth it was to be the exception.³⁴

The Canadian Public Service Commission has extensive powers over the recruitment, appointment, transfer and dismissal of all federal employees coming within its jurisdiction. The Commission continues to perform its important role as the guardian of the merit principle while ensuring the high quality of people within the service. Under the amended Financial Administration Act and the Public Service Staff Relations Act, both of which were proclaimed in 1967, the Treasury Board is made responsible for the development of regulations, policies and standards governing all other aspects of personnel management in the public service including classification and pay conditions of employment, collective bargaining and staff relations, organisation and establishments and manpower development and utilisation.³⁵ The federal service as a whole is characterised by its lack of uniformity in the recruitment, selection and appointment of public servants. While political patronage and political influence in civil service positions are non-existent, in the exempt agencies many positions are filled by patronage.

Government employment in Pakistan has an enormous attraction for the average citizen. Government service is one of the very few sources of employment available to the educated Pakistani. Apart from this consideration the other major reasons which are responsible for the inflow of educated young men to this career are the security of tenure, the benefits of pension and retirement, the prospects of promotion and possession of authority.³⁶ Although public esteem for public service in Pakistan has shown some decline with the increasing prospects of employment in industry and commerce and in independent professions, yet certain positions in the public service continue to confer tremendous prestige. Public service, especially the highly responsible administrative positions, is still the first preference of nearly all educated Pakistanis. Recruitment as well as the entire examining and grading process for the central superior services are carried out by the Federal

³³J.J. Deutsch, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-89.

³⁴Canada Year Book 1969, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

³⁵C.E. Ault, *Building the Canadian Service from Within*, Ottawa, Ottawa Civil Service Commission, 1956, p. 57.

³⁶Ahmed Muneeb, *op. cit.*, pp. 93-94.

Republic Service Commission. Although in Pakistan, the Public Service Commission is an advisory body, its advice in relation to promotion and direct recruitment to higher civil services is generally accepted by the government. The Prime Minister's Secretariat fixes the cadre strength of the All-Pakistan Services. It also deals with the reservation of posts for the members of the CSP and other services. It consults the Federal Public Service Commission on recruitment, promotion, transfer, discipline and several other matters of personnel administration. Thus, in Pakistan under the present regime, the Prime Minister's Secretariat serves as the central personnel agency.

In Canada, the promotion procedure is still based on the merit principle. The authority to promote has been considerably decentralised to departments where a long-range planning of staff is beginning to take shape. A promotion is now less of a crisis in the lives of those who win and those who lose. Regimes do not begin and end on promotion dates.³⁷ There is a greater continuity of policy and methods. A new uniform efficiency rating and appraisal plan is now in use for all employees. A further method used in order to ensure that large areas of staff are fit for advancement is the barrier examination. The successful completion of these tests at a grade level does not ensure promotion but makes the employee as qualified to enter a promotion competition for the next grade when a vacancy occurs.

In Pakistan, the principle of seniority regulates promotions from provincial civil service to higher posts and from one grade to another within the higher posts for several years. Important promotions at the central government level are handled by the Selection Board composed of three members: the Cabinet Secretary, the Finance Secretary and one other Secretary. The Board's decisions are made on the basis of merit tempered by seniority.³⁸ Promotion cannot be claimed on the grounds of seniority alone. The Pakistan Pay Commission suggested that merit or ability must be the primary consideration in governing promotions to higher posts in the administration. In all such cases the relative merit of the candidates will require careful consideration. While experience and seniority will be an important factor, it cannot be the sole or more important criterion.³⁹ The Planning Board has also recommended that promotions to posts carrying higher responsibilities must be based on merit, seniority should only be a secondary factor.⁴⁰ Seniority, despite the vigorous advocacy to adopt merit as the criterion for promotion, is still the determining factor in selecting officers for promotion to higher posts.

³⁷C.E. Ault, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-59.

³⁸Henry Frank Goodnow, *op. cit.*, pp. 150-152.

³⁹Pakistan, *Report of the Pakistan Pay Commission*, Vol. I, Karachi, Government of Pakistan, 1959, p. 57.

⁴⁰*First Five Year Plan*, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

The promotion procedures adopted by the Canadian public service aim at giving due weight to the merit and capability of the candidates while giving some consideration to seniority. It is interesting to note that in Pakistan also efforts are being made to make merit-cum-seniority as the guiding principle.

THE LANGUAGE OF ADMINISTRATION

The public service commission in Canada has responsibilities concerning the requirements for bilingualism and biculturalism in the public service. The language of everyday administration in Canada is English with few exceptions. The English-speaking Canadians have always dominated the positions in the federal bureaucracy. The French-Canadians refuse to be regarded by the federal administration as second-class citizens and have shown little interest in government employment. The French community is seriously under-represented in the federal service. The present state of bilingualism in Canada has come in for criticism by many government commissions. Bilingualism in the federal administration should be a problem of co-existence of two languages, English and French. The policy of the administration regarding bilingualism has moved in this direction. The number of French-Canadian public servants at the higher level of federal administration is gradually increasing. Efforts are being made to use bilingualism as an efficient instrument of administration. The Public Service Commission is developing bilingual skills of senior executives so that they may perform their duties effectively in either English or French. Besides, the Commission also operates language training schools for public servants.⁴¹

In Pakistan there is a babble of tongues—three main categories, Urdu, Bengali and English and many regional vernaculars such as Punjabi and Pushtu. English is the language of everyday administration. This fact itself has a divisive effect between masses and bureaucracy. Within the bureaucracy, therefore, there is a trilingual standard in which English is official but the vernaculars are for popular, oral transmission of policy.⁴² There is a slow but perceptible movement towards the use of vernaculars in government business at lower levels. It may be a trend toward eventual displacement of English by the vernaculars.

The presence of different language communities has had its impact on the governmental administration in both Canada and Pakistan. In Canada serious attempts are being made to correct the under-representation of the French-Canadians in the federal service; while in Pakistan there is an

⁴¹Canada Year Book, op. cit., p. 116.

⁴²Ralph Braibanti, op. cit., pp. 258-304.

increasing use of vernaculars in government business at lower levels. Eventual displacement of English by vernaculars may create more problems in Pakistan.

THE ATTITUDES OF THE PUBLIC SERVANTS

The primary motivation for obtaining a position in the public service in Pakistan has been the desire to attain a socially esteemed and privileged position in the society. The civil service draws its recruits from a very narrow section of the community. Bureaucracy in Pakistan is often accused of authoritarianism. In the short history of Pakistan, there were several occasions when constitutional government was suspended. These constitutional breakdowns saw the disappearance of the politician from the national scene and the transfer of the substance of power to the public servants. The influence of higher civil servants varied from time to time. Except when his personal interests were involved, the politician succumbed to the superior knowledge of the civil servants in allowing them to take decisions on his behalf on major issues of policy.⁴³ The conditions in the country have been such that people themselves expected leadership from the civil servant. As political and sectional pressures increased, conflicting claims for scarce resources developed between various communities, sections and regions—Punjabis and Pathans, Punjabis and Sindhis, refugees and non-refugees all contested for the limited spoils of government. Political retaliation became a way of life and the civil servants were obliged to ameliorate its harshness. Inevitably, the civil servant became enmeshed in politics.⁴⁴ Neutral in theory, the civil service was not non-political in behaviour. It could not, of course, directly participate in politics but its contact with the politicians was almost continuous.

The relations between a superior officer and his subordinates, during the pre-independence period, were a matter of policy governed by the maxim 'familiarity breeds contempt'.⁴⁵ The gap between the administrative elite and the rest of the services was maintained for a long time. There was a degree of reluctance to place confidence in subordinates which affected the process of delegation in governmental administration. In the present administrative set-up the superior officers no longer believe in the policy of keeping the subordinates at arms length. On the contrary, they have been struggling hard to create an atmosphere in the public service which would enable the members of the service to perform their duties with devotion and a sense of personal interest.

⁴³Ali Ahmed, *op. cit.*, "The Role of Higher Civil Servants in Pakistan", pp. 159-60.

⁴⁴Albert Gorvine, *op. cit.*, pp. 321-26.

⁴⁵Ahmed Muneer, *op. cit.*, pp. 142-143.

The members of the CSP who were most experienced in the ways of government have been able to exert a decisive influence over the selection, training, promotion, transfer and disciplining of the CSP recruits and other officers of the public service in Pakistan. By holding the posts of decision-making authority and responsibility, the CSP has been in a strategic position to exert constant pressure over the preservation of its status as an elite group.

The basic character of the martial law regime is that it is a partnership between the army and the civil service.⁴⁶ When policy decisions had to be made and the legislatures and the cabinets failed to make them, decisions went by default to the civil or military services. In reality, the partnership of the CSP with the military came early in the revolutionary regime, though it came after the CSP had submitted itself to military leadership. The officers of the armed forces have always assisted the CSP officers in handling difficult emergency situations. The recent tidal wave disaster in Pakistan provides an example of how the military assisted the civilian authorities in administering the relief operations. If there is to be an extended period of military rule—with military officers moving into many important civilian jobs—the CSP and the higher military ranks might become almost indistinguishable.⁴⁷ But fortunately, this situation was not allowed to deteriorate further.

The public service is finding itself more and more under pressure to adjust its concepts to a changing social and economic scene. Recently, the higher officials of the government have been impressing upon their subordinates the need for increased sensitivity to the public demands.⁴⁸ The change in the relationship between the public masses and bureaucracy will be hastened as the public becomes more politically articulate and exerts its influence over the bureaucracy through an effectively organised legislature. Initially frightened and perhaps still somewhat concerned about the military's power, the CSP has been able to survive during the years of recent turmoil by adjusting itself to the marginal demands and administrative innovations of the revolution.⁴⁹

The federal service in Canada is definitely not the preserve of any one social group or class within the society. Consequently, no particular class interests are held in common by the bureaucracy as a whole, nor are superior-subordinate relations based on 'superior-inferior' concept. The public employees in Canada are representatives in the sense that they constitute a fairly good cross-section of the Canadian people. The Canadian public

⁴⁶Khalid bin Sayeed, *Pakistan: The Formative Phase*, Karachi, Pakistan Publishing House, 1960, pp. 402-404.

⁴⁷Henry Frank Goodnow, *op. cit.*

⁴⁸David S. Brown, *op. cit.*

⁴⁹Albert Gervine, *op. cit.*, pp. 321-25.

servants are a product of a relatively democratic social environment and are continually kept aware of the values that are meaningful in this environment by the lateral entry at all grades of the service of individuals drawn from a diversity of social and occupational backgrounds. The guiding belief in democratic government imposes upon the public servant in Canada a commitment to serve the interests of the public as well as the purposes and policies of the political leadership in office.⁵⁰

CONCLUSION

Thus, the public bureaucracies of Canada and Pakistan have acquired distinctive characteristics of their own. Comparatively speaking, this has been largely due to the fact that the modifications and adaptations these institutions have undergone in each environmental setting have been very different. The Canadian bureaucracy shows a far greater sensitivity to public needs than does the bureaucracy of Pakistan. The bureaucracy in Pakistan does not have the same degree of flexibility and adaptability as found in the Canadian bureaucracy, which is always being modified to meet the changing conditions. The organisational structure of the services has contributed much to the conflict within the bureaucracy of Pakistan. The rivalry is intense between the specialists and the generalists, the CSP and the provincial civil services. All attempts to make major changes have been rejected by the CSP. Essentially the recruitment of top personnel in Pakistan is still limited by the procedures remaining from the past. The attitudes of the public servants in Pakistan, unlike in Canada, have definitely been detrimentally affected by their class interests and self-centredness as well as hostility of the political environment.

The public service in Canada is very well organised. It attracts and retains the best talents, provides adequate training and development opportunities for individuals and the needs of the job, pays and promotes people in accordance with their performance and capacity. The Canadian service gives a wide scope to the specialist, and is founded on a strong and valuable egalitarian tradition. Lateral recruitment in Canada helps to produce a bureaucracy which is representative of the various occupational, geographical and social groups of the community, and one in which the distinction between the behaviour, thoughts and expectations of the officials and those of the citizenry is minimised. Employee morale and productivity are kept very high. The Canadian bureaucracy has remained responsible in the sense that its members have accepted the major economic and political premises upon which a liberal democratic parliamentary system is based. The impartiality of the civil servants in their relations with the public and with the changing

⁵⁰J.J. Deutsch, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-95.

governments has been maintained within the framework of these common assumptions. Canada has unquestionably taken great strides in recent years towards the objective of a strong and efficient public service.

The government bureaucracy in Pakistan reflects the basic inequalities of the social structure. As a result of the division of services into a number of classes, each service attempts to keep every other service, especially the inferior services, at arm's length, though this tendency is on the decline now. The public service is stratified into highly differentiated classes or status groups identified with, and recruited from, specific classes in the social hierarchy. College education is essential for any one aspiring to anything more than the most routine clerical position in the government. Most of the better clerical positions require a bachelor's degree, although the chances of being promoted to the superior service are poor. The civil service, thus, draws its recruits from a very narrow section of the community.

It is, of course, not uncommon for a group of bureaucrats to possess power in a developing country—power so important and evident that it can only be termed political. The CSP is involved in policy-making process all the time. The CSP officers occupy the important secretarial and joint secretarial positions, where daily contacts with the Prime Minister, ministers, and other politically responsible persons give them a direct line to policy. In view of these advantages, it is no wonder that the majority of the CSP officials are not anxious to work for reforms which may radically change their status and that of their services. The present regime in Pakistan has introduced basic social and economic reforms and has started a nation-wide process of appraisal and assessment of the existing conditions and systems. One fact has remained unchanged throughout this period of administrative activity: the civil service of Pakistan has remained intact and no administrative reorganisation has dared attack its privileged position. In Pakistan career development is based mostly on a pragmatic, subjective evaluation of the needs and requirements of public service, on the one hand, and the capabilities and qualifications of individual officials on the other. Career planning in the scientific sense of the term is beginning only now. The placement policies are, therefore, mostly a matter of judgement of a few individuals who happen to be at the helm of affairs at a particular time. An important problem facing Pakistan's personnel administration is to devise a system by which merit can be matched with opportunity.



DIRECT RECRUITMENT TO THE HIGHER CIVIL SERVICES OF INDIA — THE PERSONALITY TEST FOR THE IAS EXAMINATION — SOME OBSERVATIONS

M. Gopalakrishnan

THE interview as a means for assessing personality of a candidate competing for the higher civil service in Britain had a chequered career. It began in 1910. But it came to be established as a regular practice from 1917 on the recommendation of the committee which went into the question of Class I examinations and said: "We believe that qualities may be shown in a *viva voce* examination which cannot be tested by a written examination, and that those qualities should be useful to public servants. It is sometimes urged that a candidate otherwise well-qualified, may be prevented by nervousness from doing himself justice in *viva voce*. We are not sure that such lack of nervous control is not itself serious nor that the presence of mind and nervous equipoise which enables a candidate to marshall all his resources in such conditions is not a valuable quality. Further, there are, undoubtedly, some candidates who can never do themselves justice in written examinations, just as there are others who under the excitement of written competition, do better than on ordinary occasions.... We consider that the *viva voce* can be made a test of the candidate's alertness, intelligence and intellectual outlook, and as such is better than any other We consider that the *viva voce* examination should not be in matters of academic study, but in matters of general interest, in which every young man should have something to say."¹

At that time in England the interview carried 300 marks as opposed to 1,000 for the written papers which contained 3 compulsory papers of essay, English and present-day knowledge, each of a hundred marks.

It was a fact that "for the candidates for the Home (Civil Service) competition in the Administrative group of 1928, seven owed their place in the first thirty to their *viva voce* marks; in the 1929 competition the corresponding number was four."² This continued until 1937 examination when the regulations put out an increase in the ratio of *viva voce* to total performance from 300 out of 1,800 to 300 out of 1,300. The evidence before the Tomlin

¹Report of the committee appointed by HMG to look into the question of Class I Examinations in Britain.

²As given in the evidence before the Tomlin Commission in Britain.

Commission brought to notice the serious doubts on the accuracy of the interview as it then existed. The facts that came to the surface before the Commission were :

- (1) Interviews fulfil a need which written tests could not.
- (2) The oral test ought more to probe the serviceability rather than the personal or class qualities of the candidate.
- (3) Mistakes have been made in such tests in the past.
- (4) It was politically unfair if the test were to be made into a preliminary eliminating test.

And yet the Tomlin Commission was satisfied and expressed itself in its favour and about the need for great care in selecting the Commissioners.

Dr. H. Finer suggested some useful principles as guidelines for such a system. Some of those relevant to the Indian situation are:

- (1) The interview should last at least half an hour on each of two separate occasions and should be almost devoted to a discussion extending to academic interests of the candidate as shown in the examination syllabus, a short report on such subjects of the candidate being given by him.
- (2) It should be a supplementary test and must not filter him out.
- (3) The Board of interviewers must include a business administrator and a university administrator.
- (4) Interviews should be held after and not before the written examination.
- (5) To reduce the element of arbitrariness in the interview to the minimum, the maximum marks should be cut down from 300 to 150.

About the impartiality and indispensability of the institution of Commissioners, who selected the recruits, it was said long ago by Sir Stanley Leathes, a former first Commissioner in U.K. Civil Service Commission : "The candidate who enters for an examination feels that he will have a fair field and no favour; moreover, he feels that if he works hard and uses his capacity to the best advantage he will secure reward for his effort; there

is a measure of luck, a margin of error, but, subject to these and the limitations of personal capacity and opportunity, the fate of the candidate is at his own disposition to make or mar. That is why open competitive examination is trusted and jealously guarded and defended against artificial restriction.”

THE INDIAN SITUATION

Against this background the position of the personality test and its role in the recruitment to the higher civil services of India can now be examined. As the subject matter of recruitment is vast and does not lend itself even to a fair treatment in this small article, one aspect, *viz.*, the “personality test and its utility as a means for selection of the most apt ones among the hundreds of those who appear for the personality test year after year” is dealt with.³

In its second annual report (April-March 1951-52) the UPSC which was established as a constitutional body (though its existence as a selective body dates back to many years previously) dwelt at length on the ‘personality test’.

This august body wrote that “... the expression ‘*viva voce* examination’ or ‘interview’ has been found to be rather misleading and it has actually led to some misconception about the precise nature and scope of this part of the test. The main object of this interview is to test and assess the personality of candidates and it is not an oral examination for testing merely their general knowledge which is the subject of a separate paper in the written test. Personality test is thus a more appropriate description of this form of the test.”⁴

There had been a somewhat trenchant public criticism in India of this test even from the very beginning, as admitted by the UPSC in its second report. It may be recalled in this connection that in its first report (January-March 1950-51) itself the UPSC had referred to a certain criticism in the press and the Parliament against the *viva voce* examination as it was called. The Commission wrote: “There have been cases of candidates scoring high marks in the written test but failing to reach the minimum standard in the *viva voce* test.... There have been complaints that something must be wrong with a system of interview in which candidates scoring high marks in the written examination fail to qualify.” After considering this objection with care and

³The Committee on Colonial Service presided over by Sir Warner Fisher reported as far back in 1930 that “the special needs for the colonial service are a liberal education, a just and flexible mind, common sense and high character and there is no calculus by which those endowments can be accurately assessed”. These remarks are valid even today. It may not be wide of the mark to state here that recruitment to the higher civil services in India after 1947 has continued to be more or less on the same principles as before.

⁴*First report of the Union Public Service Commission (1950-51)*, New Delhi, Government of India, pp. 4-5.

thoroughness, the Commission concluded, somewhat complacently, that this test is "designed primarily to assess those mental qualities which together may be said to constitute 'personality'"⁵ 'brain or intellect' being left to be assessed by written examinations".⁶ The UPSC reviewed this in its second report and said that "after discussing the matter fully with Government, the Commission has, therefore, had to take the decision to retain for the present a compulsory minimum standard in the *viva voce* test for these examinations. The Commission, however, has an open mind on the subject and will continue to review the matter in the light of the results of the examinations in future." The criticism against 'high in theory' boys and girls being rejected (being 'low in interview') continued to be voiced in academic circles but the UPSC consoled⁷ itself with the thought that their own experience as well as that of other bodies discharging similar functions does not support the assumptions that scoring of high marks at the written tests is a decisive proof of the candidate's mental calibre. About the UPSC interviews, Paul H. Appleby, who sat in some of the sittings of the IAS Interview Board of the UPSC, wrote: "The interviewing method is to be applauded and it undoubtedly resulted in more weight being given to human relations aptitude than is possible in most conventional paper examinations. Nevertheless the 'expert' examining approach is the academic one, not the administrative. The general system in use here avoids some of the dangers and difficulties of bogging down in a quantity-output operation but also means that a host of minor public employees is selected too casually and inexpertly."⁸

The Commission proceeded to justify its continuance of *viva voce* test of personality on the ground that the ministries and departments of Government voted unanimously in favour of such a test accompanied by a compulsory minimum standard for passing it. This (as was proved a few years later when the same minimum qualifying percentage of 35 was abolished) was a total negation of the British experience which brought to light (as explained in the foregoing paragraphs) the limited reliability of such personality tests conducted in the absence of the necessary safeguards.⁹ More of this discussion later.

⁵A very pertinent question asked by all critics of selection methods not only in India but also abroad is what the Administration should look for in the personality of the candidate who selects civil service as a career. This question can be answered only after one grasps fully the historical and political milieu in which one finds oneself. Soon after India attained independence the hangover of the 'steel frame' persisted for several years. For a good account of this please read, S.C. Dube's article "Bureaucracy and Nation Building in Traditional Societies", *International Social Science Journal*, 16, pp. 229-236.

⁶*ibid.*, p. 5.

⁷*Fifth report of UPSC (1954-55)*, New Delhi, Government of India, p. 11.

⁸Paul H. Appleby, "Public Administration in India", New Delhi, Government of India, Cabinet Secretariat, 1957, p. 29.

⁹Like what Dr. Finer, *op. cit.*, suggested.

An advantage of the interview method as a filtering process (to eliminate the book-worms and the crammers) was referred to by the UPSC: "As a general rule candidates do not show any real grasp of their subjects and their answers are mainly based on cramming. This lack of grasp is brought out prominently at the interviews."¹⁰ The Commission blamed the education system in India for this and said that it "leaves much to be desired so far as the development of the mind and the attitude of the candidates is concerned."¹¹ This depreciation came to be heard again and again almost as a cry in wilderness in its subsequent reports. In para 6(3) in its eighth report (p. 4) and again in its ninth report the Commission said¹² that 70 per cent of the candidates who appeared from 1951 to 1957 had no reasonable chance of success! The Commission's remarks and review of the performance of the candidates were sent year after year to the universities, the Ministry of Education, the University Grants Commission (UGC), the Inter University Board, the State Directorates of Education, etc., in order to enable them to consider measures to improve the educational equipment of the candidates. A lot of valuable experience that came to light in the past two decades of personality test (against the background of the written performance) should now be enumerated and lessons drawn from it. For the university education in India still follows by and large the general liberal type (till the intermediate or pre-graduate level) of education.¹³ Specialisation follows afterwards in the engineering and medical colleges, the institutes of technology, etc. Even at the degree and post-graduate levels a little of specialisation begins in right earnest and continues in the 'main' subjects. Against this background the UPSC has been having a constant and periodic dialogue with the universities and educational institutions in order to develop and maintain a realistic syllabus for its competitive examinations.¹⁴

A reference was made earlier to the abolition¹⁵ of minimum qualifying marks in interview (personality tests). This happened with effect from the IAS, etc., combined examination of 1957, as per the Government of India's

¹⁰Seventh report of the UPSC (1956-1957), New Delhi, Government of India, p. 5.

¹¹*ibid*, p. 5.

¹²Vide para 6 (ii)

¹³In very recent weeks the powers that we are talking of work experience for the students in schools and colleges.

¹⁴Full details of such a dialogue are not available in the UPSC's annual reports to Parliament. However, a number of very eminent educationists, vice-chancellors and officers in the Inter-University Board have been associated from time to time with the IAS interviews as members of the Personality Board, as revealed in the UPSC's annual reports to Parliament.

¹⁵This was the result of a study undertaken in the Home Ministry about the career effectiveness of selected 'top rankers' and 'bottomers' in IAS from 1948 to 1957. Unfortunately this study has not been published.

decision. The UPSC described the immediate effect of this in its eighth report as follows:

"The number of candidates who failed to obtain the minimum qualifying marks but who were . . . included in the list of candidates recommended for appointment on the basis of total marks obtained by them in the written test and the personality test was as follows: (a) IFS 23, (b) IAS 28, (c) IPS 28, and (d) Other Central Services 158."¹⁶

The Commission stated in the same report that it was studying the effect of this vital change on the efficiency of candidates appointed to the superior services. Further details in this respect do not seem to have been published by the UPSC.

A COMPARATIVE PERSONALITY ASSESSMENT—UPSC AND ACADEMY

At the Lal Bahadur Shastri National Academy of Administration, Mussoorie, a study¹⁷ was made to compare the personality assessment (and marks given) by the UPSC in the personality tests and the Director's assessment marks given at the end of one year of training at the Academy to the IAS officer-trainees who came for training in 1964-70. The statements in the following pages which indicate the correlation between the two (in respect of candidates recruited from 1963 to 1970) are interesting. The statistics have also been graphically represented for each of the 7 years from 1963 to 1969 (the years in which the UPSC examinations were conducted for the IAS, etc., examinations). In the case of recruits awarded marks of 80 per cent and above in their personality test by the UPSC, the correlation with their assessment at the Academy¹⁸ is given in Tables 1 to 7.

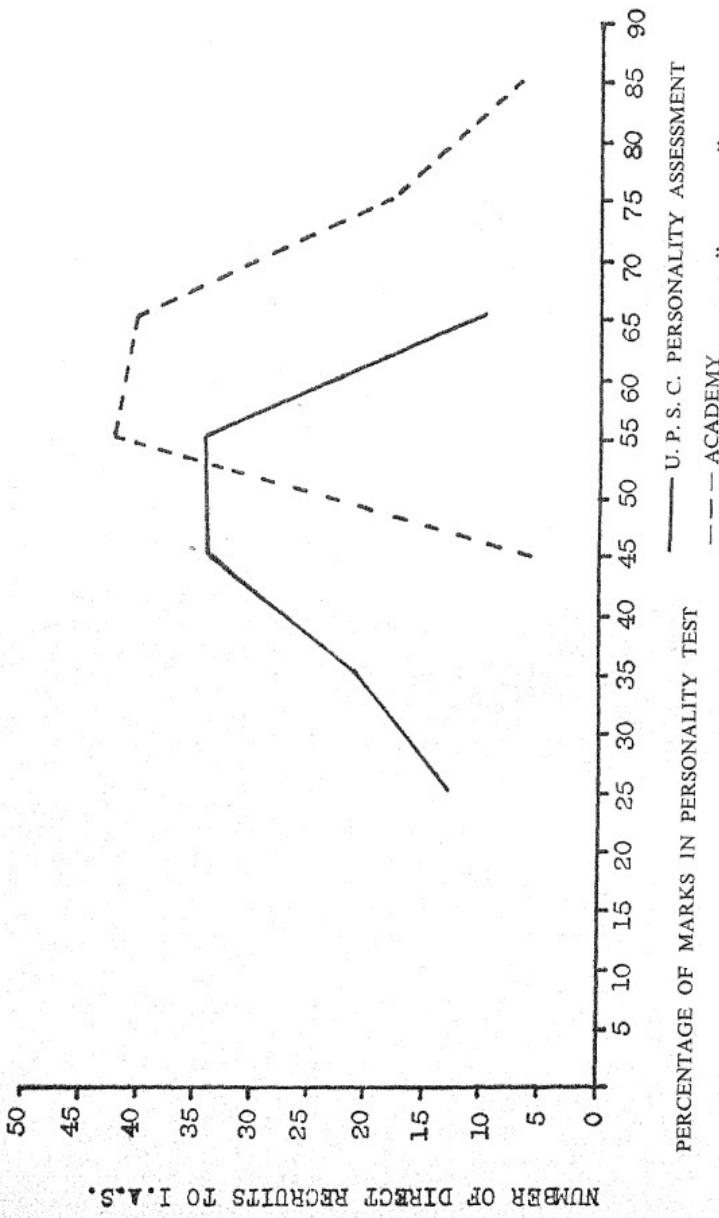
Table 1 thus shows that none of the 19 recruits who got 80 per cent and over in UPSC personality tests in examinations held in 1965 to 1969 was found to be good enough to deserve the same grading after one year of training at the Academy and also that none of those eight recruits from 1963 and 1964 examinations who was rated highest at the Academy had earlier got similar rating from the UPSC—strange correlation indeed!

It is not the aim of this article to find fault with the UPSC method of interview. Nor does it purport to extol the virtues of the method of personality

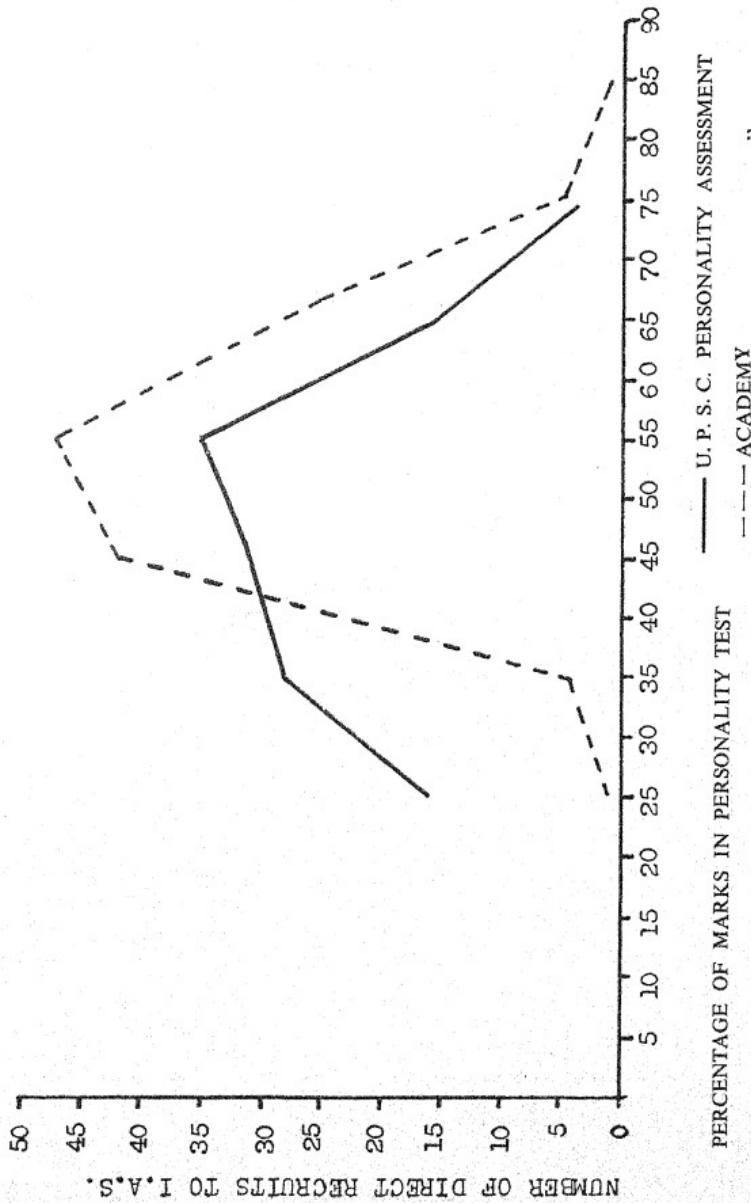
¹⁶A substantial figure indeed! (722 candidates were interviewed, of whom, 30 belonged to scheduled castes and 2 to scheduled tribes, against 280 posts for which recruitment was made. For IAS only the trend of recruitment of candidates who got less than 35 per cent in *viva voce* but got into IAS on the basis of total marks showed an interesting rise and fall in subsequent years as shown in Table 2 on page 187.

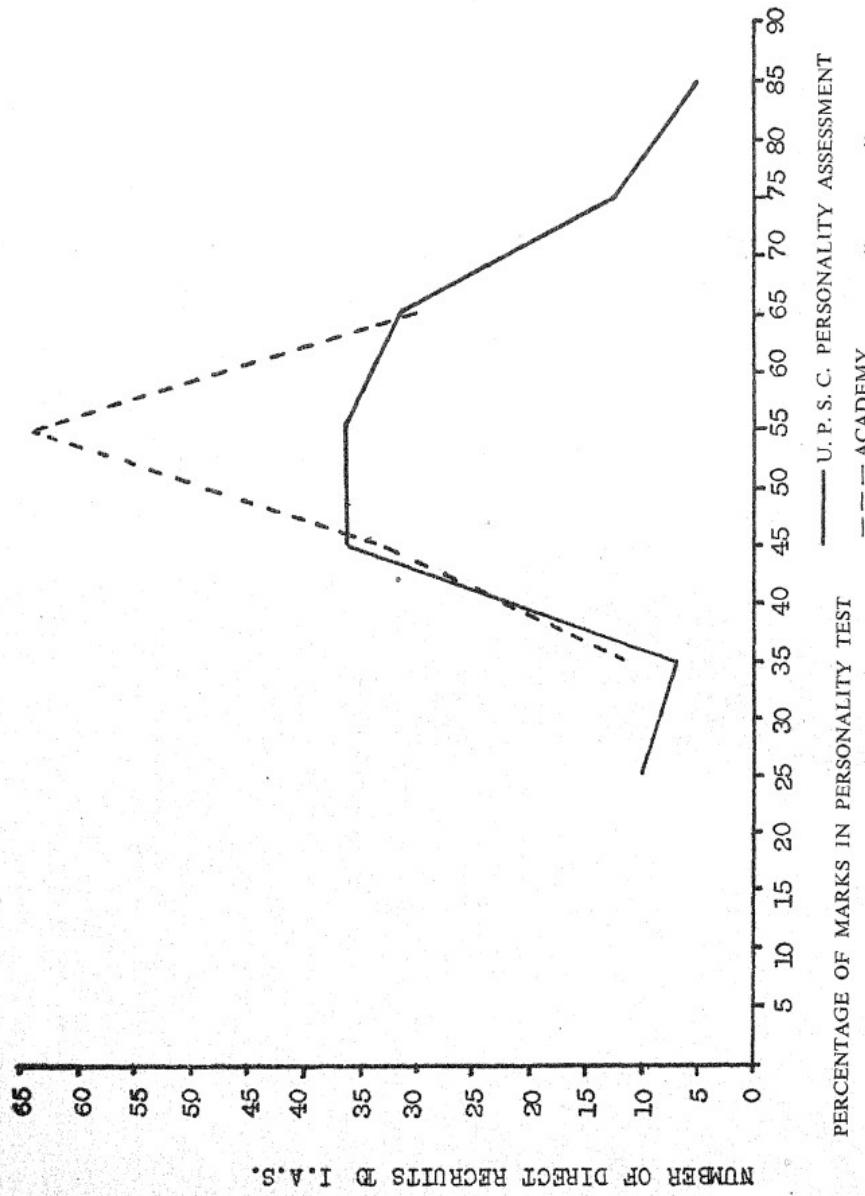
¹⁷What follows is the first attempt at publication of the results of this study.

¹⁸N.B. : Describe briefly the assessment at N.A.A. (1964 to 1969—1969 & 1970).

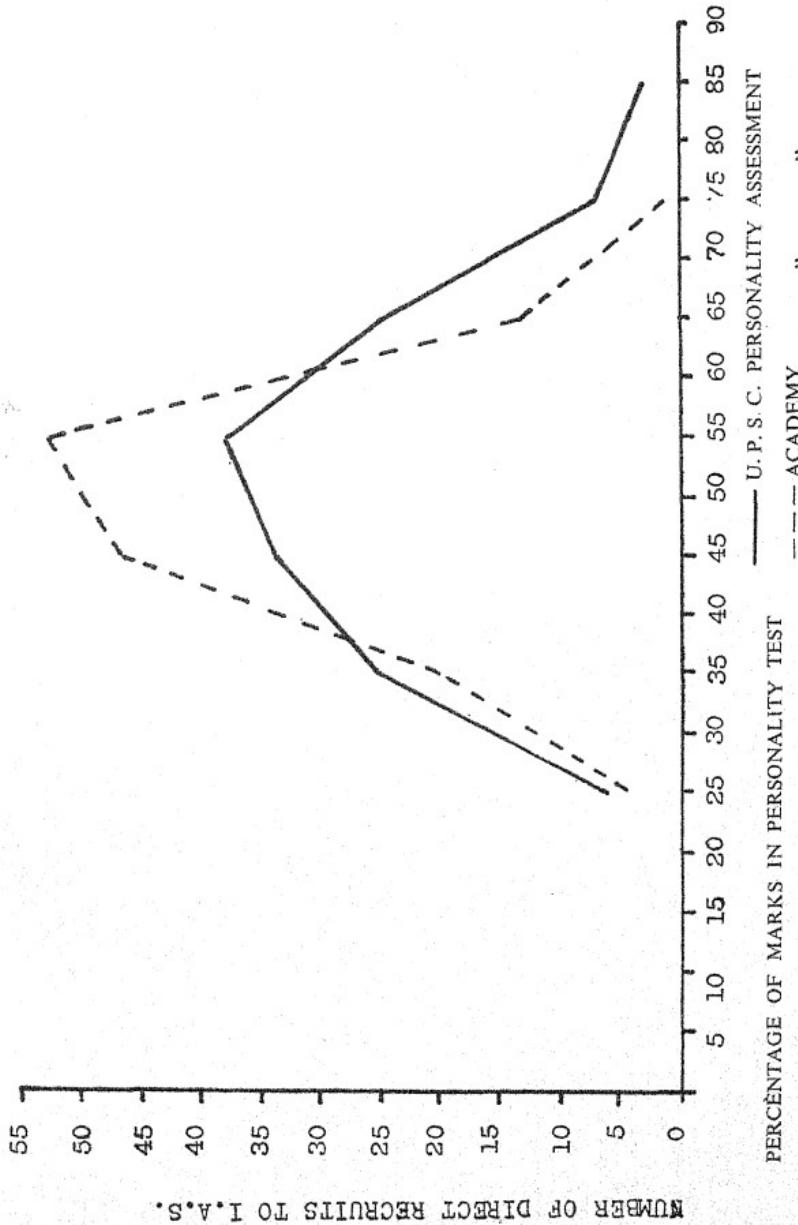
1964 BATCH OF I.A.S. PROBATIONERS

1965 BATCH OF I.A.S. PROBATIONERS

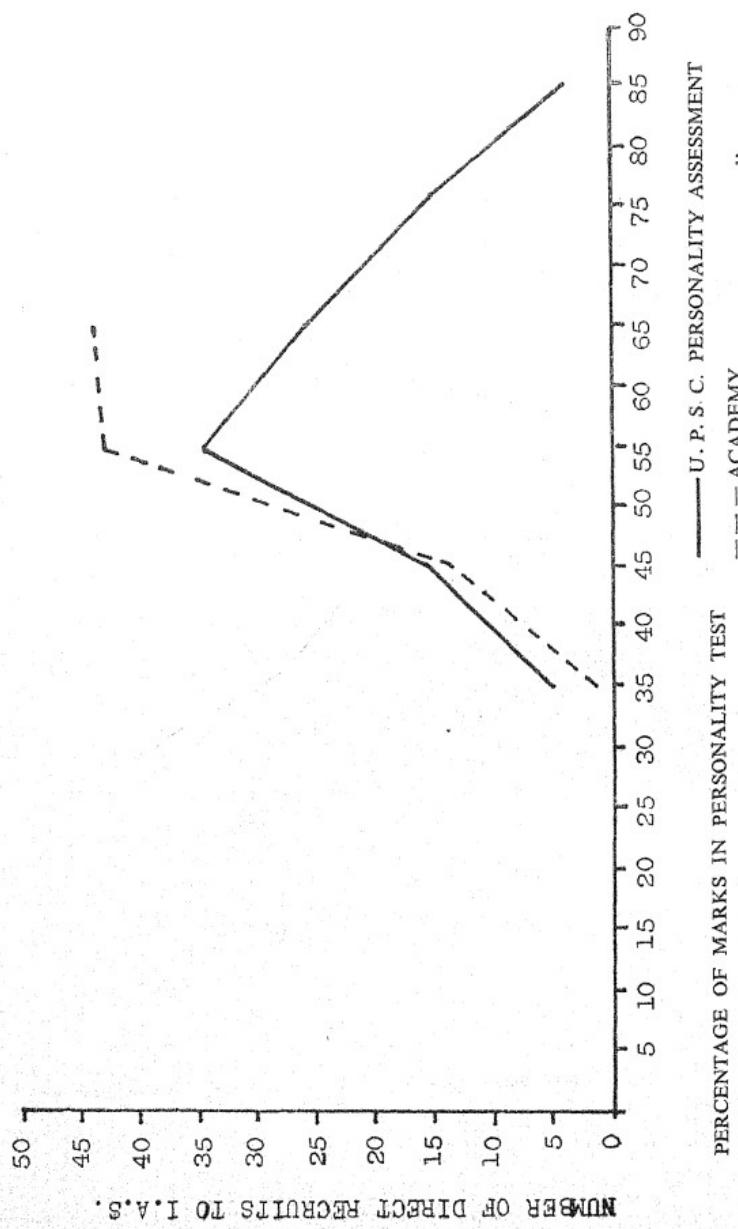




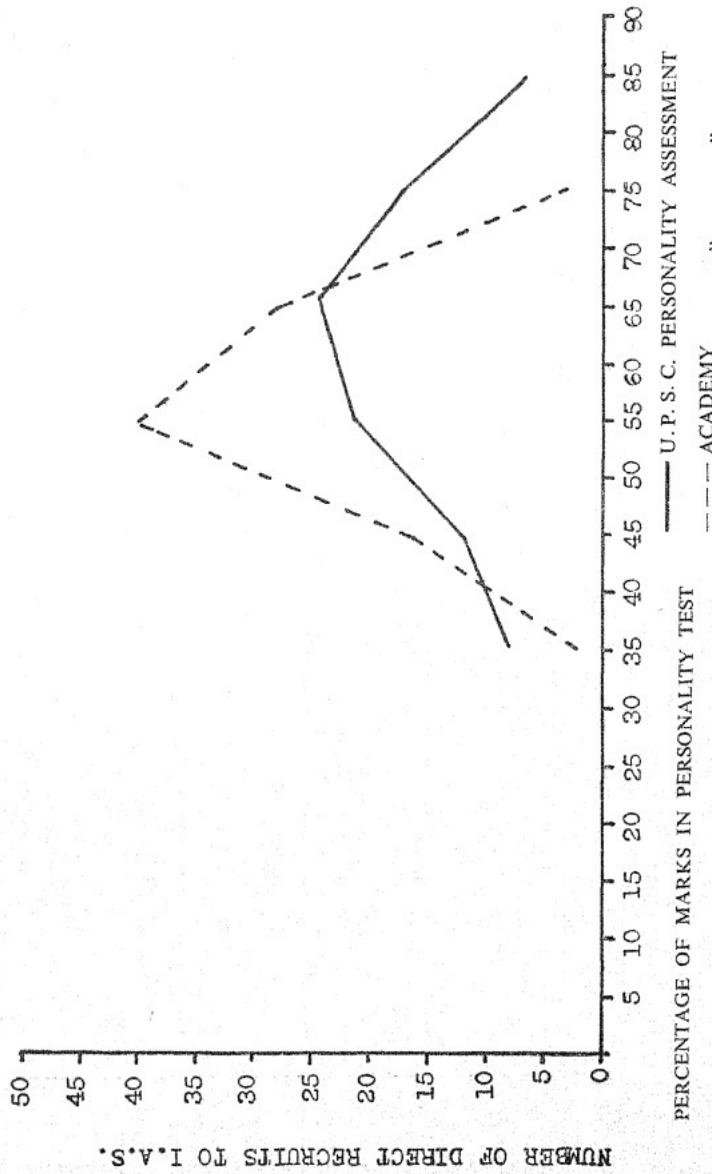
1967 BATCH OF I.A.S. PROBATIONERS



1968 BATCH OF I.A.S. PROBATIONERS



1969 BATCH OF I.A.S. PROBATIONERS



1970 BATCH OF I.A.S. PROBATIONERS

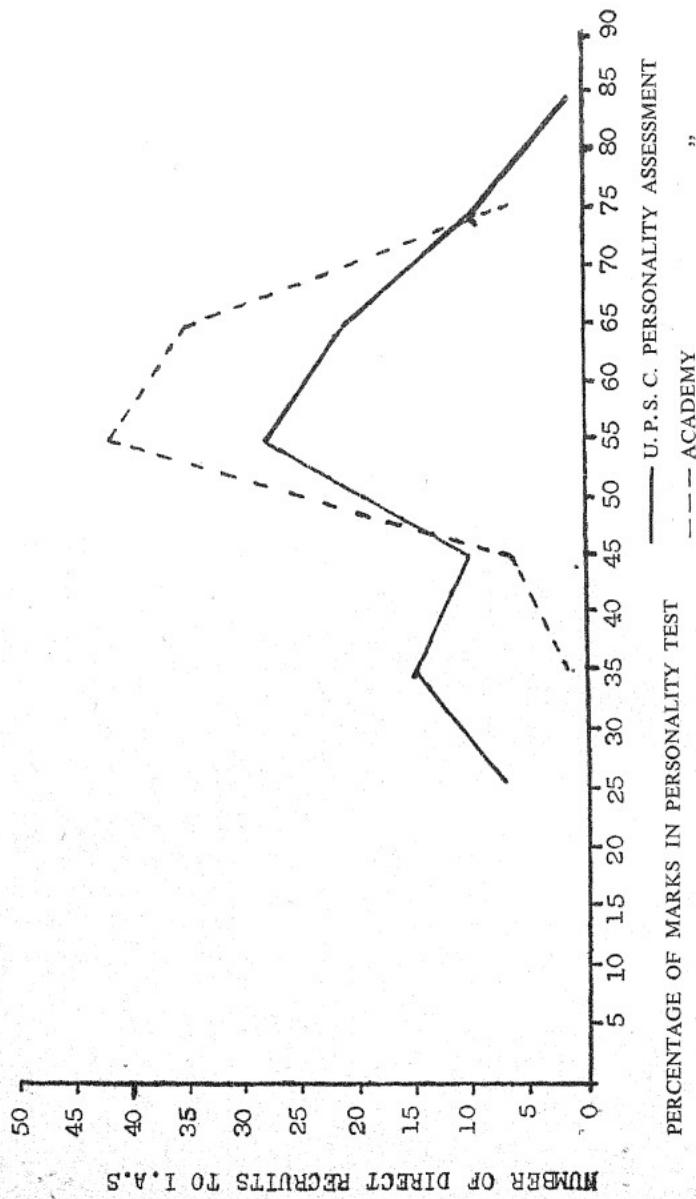


TABLE 1
Correlation of Assessment — UPSC and the Academy

Exam. year	Training year at N.A.A.	Number of IAS recruits awarded 80 per cent and above marks in personality test by:	
		UPSC	At the Academy
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
1963	1964-65	None	7
1964	1965-66	None	1
1965	1966-67	5	None
1966	1967-68	3	None
1967	1968-69	4	None
1968	1969-70	6	None
1969	1970-72	1	None

TABLE 2
IAS Recruits and the Percentage of Those Who Got Below 35 Per cent in
Viva Voce

Year of exam.	Total no. of recruits who joined IAS	Those who got less than 35 per cent in viva-voce (by UPSC)	Per cent of Col. (3) to Col. (2)	Remarks
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1963	113	21	18.58	
1964	128	26	20.31	
1965	137	11	8.03	
1966	138	15	10.87	
1967	101*	4*	3.96	
1968	88*	3*	3.41	
1969	91*	13*	14.29	

*Excluding Army, EC/SSC/candidates.

TABLE 3
1964-65 Batch of IAS Probationers—UPSC Examination 1963

UPSC perso- nality test marks per cent obtained	Number of proba- tioners who got— 80% & above	Director's assessment in marks obtained at the Academy (Academy Record)		Total number of proba- tioners					
		70-79%	60-69%	50-59%	40-49%	30-39%			
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
80% and above	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
70-79%	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
60-69%	11	1	3	5	2	—	—	—	11
50-59%	34	2	6	14	12	—	—	—	34
40-49%	34	2	5	12	13	2	—	—	34
30-39%	21	1	3	7	7	3	—	—	21
Below 30%	13	1	2	8	1	—	—	—	13
Total	113	7	18	40	42	6	0	0	113

*Below 35%—21

TABLE 4

1965-66 IAS Batch—UPSC Examination 1964

UPSC personality test marks per cent obtained	Number of probationers who got— 80% & above	Director's assessment in marks obtained at the Academy (Academy Record)				Total number of probationers	
		70-79%	60-69%	50-59%	40-49%		
80% and above	—	—	—	—	—	—	
70-79%	3	—	1	1	—	—	
60-69%	15	1	2	6	2	4	
50-59%	35	—	—	11	17	6	
40-49%	31	—	2	7	9	12	
30-39%	28	—	—	2	13	12	
Below 30%	16	—	—	1	5	8	
Total	128	1	5	28	47	42	4
* Below 35% — 26						1	128

TABLE 5
1966 IAS Batch—UPSC Examination 1965

UPSC perso- nality test marks per cent obtained	Number of proba- tioners who got—	Director's assessment in marks obtained at the Academy (Academy Record)				Total number of proba- tioners			
		80% & above	70-79%	60-69%	50-59%				
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
80% and above	5	—	—	3	—	2	—	—	5
70-79%	12	—	—	6	3	2	1	—	12
60-69%	31	—	—	8	16	5	2	—	31
50-59%	36	—	—	4	23	6	3	—	36
40-49%	36	—	—	7	16	11	2	—	36
30-39%	7	—	—	—	1	4	2	—	7
Below 30%	10	—	—	1	5	3	1	—	10
Total	137	0	0	29	64	33	11	0	137

* Below 35% — 11

TABLE 6
1967 IAS Batch—UPSC Examination 1966

UPSC personality test marks per cent obtained	Number of probationers who got— above	Director's assessment in marks obtained at the Academy (Academy Record)					Below 30%	Total number of probationers	
		80% &	70-79%	60-69%	50-59%	40-49%			
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
80% and above	3	—	1	2	—	—	—	—	3
70-79%	7	—	—	—	3	3	—	1	7
60-69%	25	—	—	6	12	3	3	1	25
50-59%	38	—	—	3	12	17	5	1	38
40-49%	34	—	—	—	16	13	4	1	34
* 30-39%	25	—	—	2	9	8	6	—	25
Below 30%	6	—	—	—	1	3	2	—	6
Total	138†	0	1	13	53	47	20	4	138†

* Below 35% — 15

† This does not include the marks of 2 IAS probationers selected from the quota reserved for Released/Emergency Commissioned Officers.

TABLE 7
1968 IAS Batch—UPSC Examination 1967

UPSC person- nality test marks per cent obtained	Number of proba- tioners who got— above 80% & 80% & above	Director's assessment in marks obtained at the Academy (Academy Record)				Below 30%	Total number of proba- tioners		
		70-79% 60-69% 50-59% 40-49% 30-39%	70-79% 60-69% 50-59% 40-49% 30-39%	70-79% 60-69% 50-59% 40-49% 30-39%	70-79% 60-69% 50-59% 40-49% 30-39%				
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
80% and above	4	—	—	3	1	—	—	—	4
70-79%	16	—	—	11	5	—	—	—	16
60-69%	26	—	—	10	12	4	—	—	26
50-59%	35	—	—	15	13	6	1	—	35
40-49%	15	—	—	5	7	3	—	—	15
30-39%	5	—	—	—	5	—	—	—	5
* Below 30%	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	101†	0	0	44	43	13	1	0	101†

* Below 35% — 4

† This does not include the result of 20 candidates selected on the basis of IAS, etc., examination 1967 for Released Emergency/Short-Service Commissioned Officers, as the UPSC result was not available. It also excludes one candidate who resigned.

TABLE 8
1969 IAS Batch—UPSC Examination 1968

UPSC personality test marks per cent obtained	Number of probationers who got — 80% & above	Director's assessment in marks obtained at the Academy (Academy Record)					Total number of probationers		
		70-79%	60-69%	50-59%	40-49%	Below 30%			
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
80% and above	6	—	1	4	1	—	—	—	6
70-79%	17	—	—	7	7	3	—	—	17
60-69%	24	—	2	7	11	4	—	—	24
50-59%	21	—	—	5	12	4	—	—	21
40-49%	12	—	—	3	5	4	—	—	12
30-39%	8	—	—	1	4	1	2	—	8
Below 30%	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	88†	0	3	27	40	16	2	0	88†

* Below 35%—3

† This does not include the result of 10 IAS probationers appointed against the reserved quota for Emergency/Short Service Commissioned Officers of the Army. This also excludes the result of 1 IAS probationer who resigned while under training.

TABLE 9
1970 IAS Batch—UPSC Examination 1969

UPSC perso-nal-ity test marks per cent obtained	Number of proba-tioners who got — 80% & above	Director's assessment in marks obtained at the Academy (Academy Record)			Total number of proba-tioners
		70-79%	60-69%	50-59%	
80% and above	1	—	—	1	—
70-79%	9	—	2	5	—
60-69%	21	—	2	9	—
50-59%	28	—	2	12	—
40-49%	10	—	—	5	—
30-39%	15	—	2	4	—
* Below 30%	7	—	—	3	—
Total	91†	0	7	35	42
					6
					1
					0
					91†

* Below 35%—13

† This does not include the result of 5 IAS probationers appointed against the reserved quota for Emergency/Short Service Commissioned Officers at the Academy.

assessment adopted in the National Academy of Administration. Suffice it to say that while the UPSC Interview Board takes rarely more than three quarters of an hour to arrive at its conclusions it takes the training institution over a year to do an assessment. On the other hand at the Academy the trainee is observed from all angles by a number of faculty members both in and out of the class room. One important difference not to be lost sight of is that while the candidate faces the Interview Board, his career is at stake and a little nervousness is natural; but when he has reached the Academy he is no longer worried and is in fact in a euphoric state and his true personality comes to light. However, some critics have pointed out that at the Academy, while some do not exert themselves, others work with their nose to the grinding stone and try to impress the acutly members with their sincerity, zeal and hard work.

This leads one to ask a question: whether there should not be a better method of personality testing through a series of observations and psychological tests by keeping a reasonable number of candidates in a country house for two or three days (as has been done in England for several years). This means, of course, a longer time and expense for the UPSC but should not altogether be difficult. In fact, it may now be suggested that through a better co-ordination with the National Academy of Administration and a revised system of written examinations and personality tests it should be possible for the UPSC to arrive at an excellent selection procedure.

A FEW SUGGESTIONS

Briefly stated, the suggestion works as follows: Every year there will be a general examination conducted by the UPSC, which will be common for all the services. It may consist of three compulsory papers and three optional papers on subjects to be selected from a list (as it exists now). The present method of UPSC written tests will continue to be there up to this point. After the UPSC interviews, all the candidates who have obtained a certain minimum requirement of marks in the above common examination will be ranked (say, 450 or 500 examinees—the marks in the written test of the UPSC and the *viva voce* test being added). The common test for all the services is prepared without any assignment of the individual officer to any service. Thereafter they will be sent in two batches for training at the Academy—the first from July to the first week of November and the second batch from the last week of February to the last week of June. The existing foundation course in the Academy will enable the authorities of the Academy to judge the aptitude, performance and other factors, which go into the making of the different types of officers needed for the various services. The written examination marks at the end of the foundation course examination will be added to the general marks obtained in the UPSC examination and *viva voce*. In the last

one month of the foundation course, the UPSC members will visit the National Academy of Administration, stay there, and perform the second round of *viva-voce* tests. These marks are then added. By this time, the aptitude of the various trainees will be known and the probationers may be asked to give their options for not more than two categories of services. The availability of choice to the trainee at this point of time is a good thing and will enable the UPSC Interview Board to test the trainee who is by now more ripe than at the initial *viva voce* test.

If the differences between the pay scales of the different services are kept down to the minimum, there will be no wastage of training as has happened so far because the trainees, after being selected to certain services like IPS and Central Services, appear for the IAS and IFS examinations and get selected. The method of selection proposed here will eliminate this wastage. It will also eliminate the so-called class war at the Academy where the officers selected under the present system to the IAS and IFS regard themselves as belonging to an elite group *viz-a-viz* other services. Some of them also do not perform well in the training programmes since there is no feeling of competition for survival.

There are, of course, a number of criticisms against this proposal. Once the principle is accepted, the details can be worked out and obstacles surmounted.

A post-script may be added at this point. The Kothari Committee, appointed some time ago to examine the question of UPSC selections for the various All-India Class I services, has submitted a report, which will be of interest to the administrative authorities as well as to those interested in the development of administration in this country.

MEASURING PRODUCTIVITY IN GOVERNMENT

A.P. Saxena

IT is more than a truism to state that the apparatus of the Government and its ramifications today are vast and all pervasive. Mounting establishment costs have from time to time generated discussion about increasing non-developmental expenditure as compared to budgeted development allocations. Today the emerging national ethos is one of urgent concern for action and results and the current economic programme makes it obligatory that the machinery of Government performs at the highest levels of efficiency. The Prime Minister has more than once emphasised the need for 'greater excellence at all levels' and has urged 'innovative thinking' and 'result-oriented action'.¹ It is only appropriate therefore that some thought is given to the size and output of Government operations in the contemporary national situation.

During the past decade of planned development there have been performance shortfalls at various levels—especially at the implementation level—even though often political decisions and directions existed, and were clearly available. According to perceptive students of planning and public administration slippages in performance schedules suggest that perhaps goals and objectives were not well comprehended at various levels.² One can speculate whether the lack of clarity of goals and objectives was directly or indirectly due to lack of 'measurement' of Government operations.

Even at the risk of being simplistic it may be asked if at the operational levels or the micro levels in Government, goals are visualised as a compliment of 'in' and 'out' trays, i.e., part of the routine, a posture which, apart from indicating a lack of sense of urgency, belies concern for goal achievement. Instances of non-optimal performance reported from time to time could also be an outcome of the above mentioned posture. Yet they cannot be ignored as they not only lead to loss of planned output of services to the people but also loss of valuable time. They also lead to a situation where the linkages of

¹See, *The Times of India*, August 30, 1975 & May 8, 1976 and Government of India, *Democracy and Discipline—Speeches of Shrimati Indira Gandhi*, New Delhi, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 1976.

²S.C. Dube, "Changing Socio-Economic Environment and Challenges of Administration" in *The Old Society and a New Nation—The Challenges of Administration in India*, Training Abstract—24, Training Division, Government of India, October, 1973.

development processes are snuffed and the models of economic planning become strained because the implied assumptions of performance do not fructify.

Some of the above mentioned features, bearing on the performance of the vast apparatus, can hardly be explained away, much less ignored. Is it because performance is characterised by reverence for rules over results and pursuit for procedures over performance? The concern for productivity in Government in this context, therefore, is not only crucial but urgent. To ignore it will be undesirable and to postpone it will only indicate a disconcern for efficient performance.

NEED FOR MEASUREMENT

In sheer economic terms the operations of the Government today have gigantic proportions and therefore the efficiency with which the various organisations discharge their responsibilities will be of paramount importance to the nation's economic health. The Government sector accounts for the highest percentage of jobs in the economy and, accordingly, the productivity of the public employee will have a significant effect on the tax burden shared by all citizens. Absence of studies for measuring productivity in Government may well be a gap in the national productivity movement in the country today.

Published literature on the subject in terms of studies in developing countries is almost non-existent. However, a series of studies, emanating from the U.S. Bureau of Labour Statistics, are worth a brief mention here for their relevance. For the last several decades the Bureau has been making efforts to measure 'productivity' and its studies include a wide range of Government departments besides the original coverage of private enterprises.³ In 1962 the US Bureau of Budget initiated a pioneering study to explore the 'feasibility' and usefulness of productivity measurement in five selected Government organisations. The study demonstrated that productivity indexes could be prepared for four organisations, and valid indexes could be developed for many other Government activities. Subsequently, several feasibility studies were initiated which concluded that the existing organisations could generate the data required for productivity index construction and recommendations were made for the establishment of a Joint Federal Productivity Measurement Task Force. For the last two years the Office of Management and Budget has assumed full responsibility for collecting input, output and related information and for developing the productivity measures. These exercises have

³See for example, Jerome A. Mark, "Progress in Measuring Productivity in Government", *Monthly Labor Review*, December, 1972, pp. 3-6, and *Report on Federal Productivity*, Vol. I, June 1974.

significantly improved the quality of the input and output data and refined the methodological procedures used by the Task Force to construct productivity indexes.

TASK PERFORMANCE

At this stage, for the sake of conceptual clarity, specially in the context of the challenges facing Government operations, some remarks on task performance appear necessary. It appears that a clearer understanding of the concept of task performance can alone lead to a better appreciation of subsequent discussions on 'measurement'.

Broadly speaking, it will be difficult to cull out a common denominator of understanding regarding the connotation of task performance for measuring productivity in Government. It is submitted that task performance should be understood as emanating from 'goals' and, therefore, subservient to the parametric boundaries of 'time' and 'cost' factors. In the absence of such a notion of task performance, the operations in a vast machine like Government may be characterised by 'routine' leading eventually to inadequate use of national resources and public trust. Individuals and even organisations could be 'active' but not necessarily 'productive'. It is, therefore, vital to perceive task performance as a stream of measurable performance within the framework of overall productivity. The above mentioned understanding, it can be argued, may require a new orientation. This is not denied, and in effect, as a counter logic, it may be submitted that an approach based on the following broad stipulations will be necessary:

- (a) Need to perceive 'goals' as a conglomeration of largely identified 'tasks', 'tasks' to be visualised as flowing out of goals. Tasks in isolation to goals are irrelevant—in any case not primary, or even secondary, perhaps at best tertiary.
- (b) Need to perceive goal-task relationship as a closed loop mechanism bound by the constraint of time and cost parameters (Fig. 1).
- (c) Need to perceive the inter-dependence of tasks bound by parametric constraints of time and cost (Fig. 2).

It may reiterated that a constructive appreciation of these stipulations will lead to better task performance at all levels in organisations and will assist better 'measurability' of productivity. Additionally, as a hypothesis, it is also suggested that eventually it may similarly help in measuring productivity in Government, which (Government) is in effect a summation of a large number of organisations.

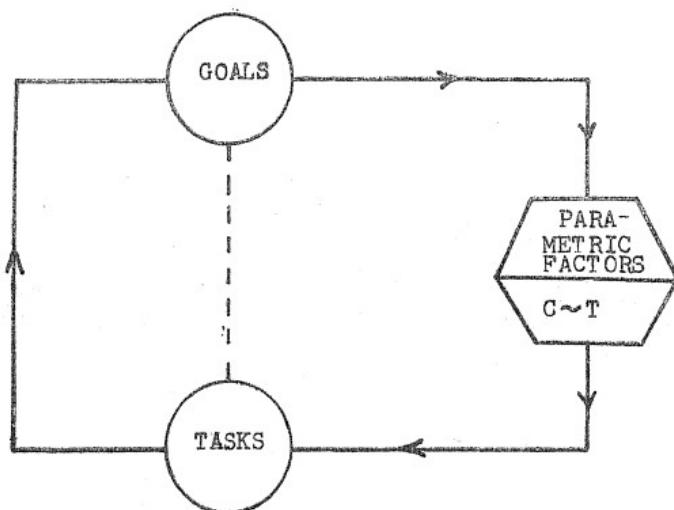


Fig. 1 GOAL-TASK RELATIONSHIP

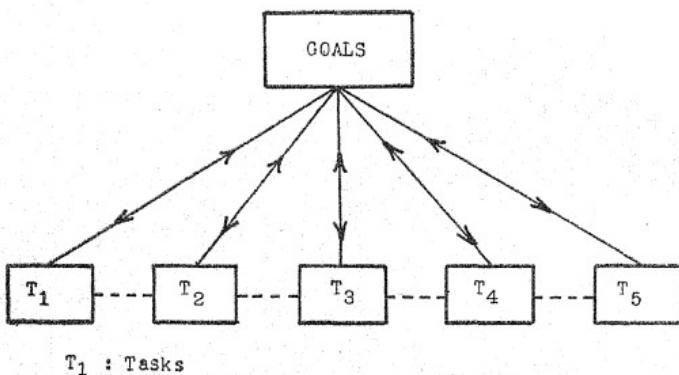


Fig. 2 INTER-DEPENDENCE OF TASKS

METHODOLOGY

The concept of measuring productivity in Government has to rely on an understanding of the input factors. In a general sense, productivity can be defined as the relationship of real, i.e., physical output (goods and services) to real input. Productivity measures can thus be grouped in two broad classes. The first expresses productivity as the relationship of output to one type of

input such as labour, capital, or energy. The second expresses productivity as a relationship of output to a combination of inputs. Although the first approach seeks to relate output to input, it does not measure the specific contributions of the former to production. Rather, it expresses the cumulative effect of a variety of inter-related influences such as changes in technology, substitution of one factor by another, levels of skills, and managerial and organisational skills available for the generation of output. It may be mentioned that the reported exercises of measuring productivity elsewhere have relied on this type of measure, i.e., output per man year.

As an extension to the above mentioned approaches, it is possible to exploit the concept of comparing the *current* output-input relationship with that of a previous year taken as a base year. This approach, if successfully accomplished, can effectively reflect the changes that may actually take place at a level, say, an organisation. However, before this extension is practically implemented, it is necessary to clarify a few related issues.

Both types of measures mentioned above can be useful tools, as the productivity measures will certainly indicate changes in the real cost of producing an organisation's output. Ideally a productivity index should relate final output to the associated direct and indirect inputs. Difficulties are, however, there because the output of one organisation may be consumed wholly or partially by another Government organisation in the production of its final output. In the absence of reliable and detailed current statistics this difficulty may not be amenable to easy resolution. However, it cannot be denied that efforts must be continuously made to evolve a measurement index for productivity in Government even though it is not easily available at the moment.

For an organisation producing a single product or a single uniform service, the productivity index will simply measure the change over time of the ratio of units produced to man-years. However, most organisations produce several types of services and, to construct a *composite* output index, the several outputs must be combined in some meaningful fashion. To illustrate the dimension of the problem, it may be mentioned that in the studies relating to US Government operations over 850 output indicators have been aggregated into output indexes. The output indexes were constructed by dividing the weighted output quantities each year by the weighted output quantity in the base year. The nature of the indicators in the above studies varies substantially. 'They include such diverse items as trade marks disposed, tanks repairs, weather observations, square foot of buildings cleaned, electric power generated etc'.⁴ The output volume can range from

⁴The monthly advertisement in the national press of production and targets by the Damodar Valley Corporation is a good parallel. See for example, *The Times of India*, September 17, 1975.

several hundred units completed per year, e.g., river basin studies to millions (such as number of letters delivered).

The man-year indexes were developed by dividing the man-year aggregates for each year by the aggregate in the base year. Here man-years are considered *homogenous* and additive. As a definition it is suggested that each man-year reflects the regularly scheduled time, overtime, and leave time of all full-time, part-time and casual employees. The man-year can be calculated as equivalent to one individual paid for a stipulated number of hours a week, 52 weeks a year.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to attempt, much less evolve, a detailed methodology which will involve several in-depth studies. Here we can only take note of a few basic indicators. In fact, the methodology for such a study for our economy will need to be developed *vis-a-vis* the requirements of operations in Government. Mention may be made here of the important contribution by Prof. Denison regarding 'output per unit of input' or total factor productivity.^{5,6} Several economists had earlier included parameters for, say, economic policy or demographic phenomena and several of the more recent models continue to focus on these parameters. It should not be forgotten, however, that most economic policies will affect employment, length of the work week, the education of manpower, investment policies, resource allocation and even innovation in management. Denison's model permits many of the crucial factors of economic growth to be put into a quantitative and consistent analytical framework of input and output per unit of input. The classification is exhaustive and comprehensive even though it does not imply that further disaggregation is not possible.

Output per unit of input is measured in three broad groups after elimination of irregularities in final demand that is made of allocation of resources, economies of scale and advances in knowledge. Each, in turn, will constitute a group within which there will be sub-categories. These are, as an illustration, some of the aspects which will need to be deliberated in framing definition of 'output' and 'input' as part of the methodology for measurement of productivity in Government.

The choice of levels will be a critical determinant for establishing the scope of the study. Very broadly, five major levels can be envisaged—national, sectoral, industry, enterprise and sub-enterprise. A higher level

⁵Edward F. Denison, *The Sources of Economic Growth in the U.S. and the Alternatives Before Us*; NY Committee for Economic Development, 1962.

⁶Edward F. Denison assisted by Jean-Pierre Ponther, *Why Growth Rates Differ: Post War Experiences in Nine Western Countries*, Washington D.C. The Brookings Institute, 1967.

could be conceived as a conglomeration of the units in the level below. A number of industries may be identified to constitute the industrial sector, while a number of enterprises may, in turn, constitute one such industry in the 'level' industry. This distribution and summation pattern will obtain horizontally as well as vertically in the structure of levels. As mentioned earlier, it may be a good strategy to initially select a particular sector leading to the choice of an appropriate organisation.

PRE-MEASUREMENT FRAMEWORK

It is suggested that the measurement study should seek to establish a framework for examining the eventual feasibility of the study. For the purpose of pre-measurement framework, the choice of a sector will need to be followed by the selection of an organisation/enterprise within the sector. It will be seen that the choice of a sector will be an important decision for purposes of the framework, and it can be based on the following guidelines:

- (a) availability of definable objectives and outlay of resources;
- (b) assigned priority in national economic planning. The study, it may be clarified, should not be envisaged as an evaluation/audit but as a diagnostic study leading to measurement of productivity in terms of input of resources *versus* a scale of output of desired services and surpluses. It will not be *post-facto* but largely current as far as possible.

Having selected the sector, it will be necessary to prepare a statement of goals—desirable, stipulated goals already prioritised out of a basket of goals attributable to the sector. The statement of goals will assist in the next step of structural understanding of the selected organisation within the chosen sector. The organisation selected should be an existing, operating, support mechanism for achievement of the goals of the sector.

For purposes of precision, the structural study should be with reference to:

- (a) organisation chart (structure/design),
- (b) staffing pattern (including an appraisal of levels of skills/experience/attitudes of individuals/groups),
- (c) reporting/communication patterns,
- (d) internal/external linkages, and
- (e) survey of past performance.

If perceptively conducted, the structural study will help in understanding the level of 'task orientation' of the organisation and its people, besides an appraisal of its operating culture.

The structural aspect of the study should be followed by a *bench mark* quantification exercise, again not envisaged as work study or time and motion study but with a specific productivity orientation. The quantification probe will provide a statement of *committed allocation* of resources—both money and manpower—available for achieving goals against an ascertainable time frame.

The analysis of the statement of resources may indicate the following possibilities:

- (a) under/over/misinvestment,
- (b) poor/low/average/high productivity.

The above mentioned details will provide as noted earlier, a good basis for the measurement exercises.

STEPS FOR MEASUREMENT

The steps for measurement following the selection of a sector and organisation will require a study of the stream of inputs and the stream of outputs. It will be necessary here to clarify the complexities involved in the constitution of the inputs and the outputs.

It should be well understood that the stream of inputs could be singular or plural at the organisation level. It is easy to identify and later quantify a singular stream of input, even though in some cases it may defy meaningful quantification. The real difficulties will be faced in analysing plural inputs. Disaggregation will be difficult and assignment of a ratio for determining the composition may be frustrating. Similar problems will be faced in analysis of plural outputs as against singular outputs. In situations of plural outputs there may be a degree of close merger leading to difficulty in segregation of outputs. It will, therefore, be necessary to attempt a continuing study of the ingredients of the input and output stream which may have the following alternative configuration:

- (1) singular input/singular output,
- (2) singular input/plural output,
- (3) plural input/singular output,
- (4) plural input/plural output.

Obviously the first alternative is most amenable to analysis while the last alternative will pose maximum difficulties in resolution.

Another marginal factor which may upset the input/output analysis would be a situation where the output of one sector of organisation is the input of another sector/organisation. In situations of non-linear economies, this will require close attention. According to the well-known economist Prof. Kenneth Boulding, we are today in an era of circular economies as against the earlier concept of linear economies. At this stage, it is a moot question if the characteristics and the concept of a circular economy will assist us in resolving the above mentioned problem.

In Government operations, allocation of man-years, in terms of manpower assigned within an organisation, may also pose several problems due to lack of technical data. Frequently, personnel working in an organisation may, in addition, be also engaged in extra organisational duties. It is not suggested that this is a problem beyond resolution but it will be good to take a note of the matter which may be smoothed out by applying a suitable corrective coefficient.

CONTINUING MEASUREMENT

The steps for measurement briefly outlined here should lead to a broad strategy for continuing measurement of productivity in Government with the objective of improving levels of performance. What will be the illustrative component factors of productivity in this context? According to one approach, which may be relevant for the purpose of this paper, productivity factors could be classified in three groups, which might be called 'motive', 'enabling' (or catalysing) and 'agent factors'. The first consists of science, technology, management and marketing. The second could cover education, training and the capital market. Lastly, the agent factors could include what are customarily called productivity techniques as developed over the last several decades. However, each factor is obviously marked by considerable historical and geographical disparities. According to reported studies, the more developed countries now record research and development as the key factor while several East European countries consider it as management⁷. Irrespective of the choice of the factor, measurement exercises here are not conceived as academic but as practical, problem-oriented studies.

A programme for continuing measurement studies will be beneficial in several ways. It will help in locating clogs and brake-points in the performance pipelines. It may ensure better (and not necessarily more) information

⁷See OECD, *Productivity and Economic Planning*, Paris, 1970.

in decision-making at each level. Finally, it may also assist in the development of quantitative thinking and reliance on quantitative techniques at each stage of performance of tasks.

The feasibility of continuing measurement studies will depend, to a large extent, on the attitudinal support available. Without entering into the area of human relations, it may be submitted that steps to strengthen group leadership at middle levels in organisations under study will be most useful, especially if they also assist in developing inter-personnel and intra-personnel skills. In this exercise, it appears groups may provide greater support rather than individuals. If group orientation can be aligned to task orientation in the context of goals, productivity in Government operations and its measurement can become a living concept.

A well-conceived plan of training and development, with its focus on the organisation, can provide equally valuable support and push for the continuing measurement exercises. A series of in-house programmes can be developed covering more than one level to convey the message and the crucial importance of productivity measurement. This will, no doubt, require trained trainers for establishing the objectives and designing the training programmes⁸. It will also be necessary to compile, with great care, and even develop, appropriate training material. But all this effort will be fruitful if training for ensuring continuing measurement is planned as an intervention for the accomplishment of the objectives of productivity.

CONCLUSION

The usefulness of the measurement of productivity in Government can hardly be over-emphasised. These measurement exercises today are a must for system analysts and policy makers who will find the results most useful for planning remedial measures. The exercises will help in disaggregation of goals into tasks which (tasks) can be related to identifiable slots in the organisation chart. Above all, measurement will help in the fixation of responsibility leading to evaluation of performance at individual/group level. Today, individuals can be non-performers and yet conveniently escape detection. In fact, one can even be non-productive/counter-productive by generating a plethora of unproductive work.

Productivity measurements will establish that task performance is not merely raising queries or displaying one's skill in noting and drafting *per se* irrelevant to goals. Intelligent queries and skilful notes without conclusions

⁸For details see A.P. Saxena, *Training and Development in Government*, New Delhi, Indian Institute of Public Administration, 1974.

and a line of action merely choke the decision and performance pipeline. Even if it is a continuing colonial backwash, today it is indefensible, and any concern for form over content must be squarely rejected.

If the environment of organisation can be remodulated to provide individual commitment for task orientation, day-to-day performance will be positive, leading to achievement of goals within 'time' and 'cost' parameters, leading eventually to measurement of productivity in Government. What will be the profile of the organisation for such purposes? It is suggested that the profile will highlight the following dominant qualitative features.

- (a) appreciation of inter-dependence of tasks,
- (b) monitoring of performance,
- (c) efficient vertical and horizontal coordination at all levels,
- (d) efficiency of manpower (trained/untrained), and
- (e) manpower utilisation and planning.

Measurement of productivity in Government is difficult but not impossible. We can only delay it but not postpone it and, even if our first exercises appear imprecise they have to be pursued with purpose. It involves an area where the methodology of study is deeply enmeshed with conceptual problems of economic intervention. Nevertheless it is a fruitful area of investigation, not merely for enthusing productivity consciousness in public personnel, but, above all, to restore public confidence and the nation's trust in the sprawling apparatus of Government.

OF POETS AND OPERATIONS RESEARCHERS THE FROST DECISION MODEL

Krishna S. Dhir

THE profession of operations research shows persistent devotion to 'optimal' solutions to management problems. What is a management problem? The management problem is a need for a decision! The optimal solution is essentially the very best decision appropriate for the situation confronting the decision-maker or the manager. Operations research seeks optimal decisions rather than merely good solutions to the problem. By definition, these solutions should be the best available, and yet they often prove to be unacceptable to the manager.

The operations researcher operates through abstractions. He constructs a model of the real world problem before him, and expresses it in the compact and efficient language of mathematics. He then solves this mathematical problem to seek optimal solution. The solution obtained is then tested for its real world implications. Once the mathematical solution has been tested, the routine, day-to-day, decisions can be made through relatively simple adjustments in the computations. Unfortunately, the problems in strategic decision-making and planning are inherently complex, usually unique, non-repetitive, and unstructured enough as to make quantification of the factors involved difficult. It follows that at least some segments of management are better handled by 'artistic' means rather than by mathematical means. Non-operations researchers have at times gone so far as to seek help from poets. Operations researchers rely on scientific methods and on systems philosophy. "The basic premise underlying the scientific method is a simple and abiding faith in the rationality of nature."¹ The scientists become helpless when nature is not rational. For such situations, Marks has this to say: "And if there is help anywhere it must come from poets and preachers, men whose business begins at the limits of rationality."²

It appears that operations researchers have found it difficult to recognise that it is entirely possible to analyse the irrational. There is a difference

¹Cyril C. Herrmann and John F. Magee, "Operations Research for Management", *Harvard Business Review*, XXXI (July-August 1953).

²Barry A. Marks, "Decision Under Uncertainty: A Poet's View", *Business Horizons* (February 1971).

between what is comprehensible and what is rational, both in the sense of Bentham's pleasure-pain calculus and operations research optimisation. Rationality requires that communication be in keeping with the precise rules of grammar and composition, and the terminology used has precise and universal interpretation. However, comprehensibility does not insist on these requirements. When these conditions are violated, irrationality seemingly prevails.

Indeed, certain poets *have* accepted the challenge of analysing the irrational. One such poet is Robert Frost. He views decision theory through the poetic world of "The Road Not Taken". All elements of decision theory are recognised in the Frost Decision Model. There is a problem of there being two divergent roads, but only one traveller who cannot remain one and yet travel both at the same time. The poet stood long for observation. He looked down one as far as possible for data collection. He ascertained uncertainty in regard to the 'claim' of each, and the opportunity cost too of way leading on to way, there being no return for another chance. A criterion is present too, it being "...the one less travelled by". But the gist of the problem is summed up in the last stanza:

"I shall be telling this with a sigh
 Somewhere ages and ages hence:
 Two roads diverged in a wood, and I —
 I took the one less travelled by,
 And that has made all the difference."³

It is possible to recognise the moment of decision in Frost's decision process. It occurs at the hyphen, at which point the poet takes "... the leap of judgment, a leap beyond facts and beyond logic." One could assert that the Frost decision process is a good description of many complex, unique, non-repetitive problem solving exercises; for example, the D-Day decision by General Dwight D. Eisenhower to launch the offensive. Another such description is Michaelangelo's *David*.

In his inaugural address as the President of the British Operational Research Society, K.D. Tocher spoke thus⁴:

"The significance of the conclusion that precise results do not need the introduction of quantitative measures has not been seized. Our

³Robert Frost, "The Road Not Taken", in Edward C. Lathem (ed.), *The Poetry of Robert Frost*, New York, Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1969.

⁴K.D. Tocher, "The Dilemmas of Operational Research", *Operational Research Quarterly*, Vol. 23, No. 2 (June 1972), pp. 105-115.

THE ROAD NOT TAKEN

The Problem....

Two Roads diverged in a yellow wood,
And sorry I could not travel both
And be one traveller, long I stood
And looked down one as far as I could
To where it bent in the undergrowth;

Data Collection....

Then took the other, as just as fair,
And having perhaps the better claim,
Because it was grassy and wanted wear;
Though as for that, the passing there
Had worn them really about the same,

Uncertainty....

And both that morning equally lay
In leaves no step had trodden black.
Oh, I kept the first for another day!
Yet knowing how way leads on to way,
I doubted if I should ever come back.

Opportunity Cost....

I shall be telling this with a sigh
Somewhere ages and ages hence:
Two roads diverged in a wood, and I —
I took the one less travelled by,
And that has made all the difference.

Decision point....

— ROBERT FROST

Criterion....

Consequence....

SOURCE : Edward C. Lathem (ed.), *The Poetry of Robert Frost*, New York, Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1969.

obsession with optimization leads to an obsession for quantification and to the pursuit of the futilities of utility theory and subjective probability. . . . The use of simpler but valid preference relations reduces the power of the results obtainable but increases their precision and validity."

To examine just where Frost makes a contribution to decision sciences, let us examine the existing models of decision-making. It appears that presently two schools of thought prevail amongst decision scientists. One school stresses the conventional scientific approach, and pursues the rationality of the systems concept. The second school of thought is no less scientific in its approach. It also accepts the rationality of the systems concept. However, it goes further. It goes beyond the conventional notions of scientific approach to problem solving, and stresses the need for new strategies to cope with problems that lie beyond the scientific capacities of human beings.

Both Sorenson⁵ and Lindblom⁶ have described the conventional approach to decision-making. According to them, the following steps are necessary in the traditional decision-making process:

- (1) Clarification of objectives.
- (2) Ascertainment of *all* possible means of achieving the objectives.
- (3) Examination of *all* the consequences of *each* of the alternative means being employed.
- (4) Selection of the means whose consequences best match the objectives identified in step one.

As indicated by Lindblom, this model of rational decision-making is somewhat lacking in many ways. For one, the first step mentioned above—clarification of objectives—stands independent of the subsequent steps, thus ruling out the possibility that the available means might influence the identification of the objectives. The model defines 'rationality' in terms of making a careful choice amongst means, or policies, to achieve a carefully considered objective; this being through a process which neglects no means of achievement, and which carefully ascertains and examines *all* consequences of *each* of the means. This model of decision-making is widely accepted. Nevertheless, it is difficult to make use of this model. It asks for the impossible, except in the cases of simple problems. This conventional model ignores the notion of the cost of decision. Would it really be rational

⁵Theodore Sorenson, *Decision Making in the White House*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1963, pp. 18-19.

⁶Charles E. Lindblom, "Strategies for Decision Making", *Edmund J. James Lecture on Government*, University of Illinois, 1971.

to seek 'all possible solutions', and further, to check out 'all possible consequences' of these solutions, at any cost? Indeed, most management science methods seek to do just that, either through explicit enumeration, or through implicit enumeration. However, Woolsey has stated thus:

...The fact that most of the algorithms proposed are extremely difficult to use in practice is simply ignored. To be blunt, the difference between theory and practice in integer programming can only be marked by the thousands of dollars spent getting these algorithms to converge in an economic amount of time; because the Management Scientist says that the algorithm will 'converge in a finite number of steps' is no guarantee that the company might not be bankrupted by the expense first.⁷

Further, it is not possible to predict *all* the consequences of a possible solution, leave alone examine them in detail. The process of conventional decision-making is, therefore, not only difficult to carry out, it is strictly impossible. For complex problems it is not possible to exhaustively enumerate *all* possible consequences resulting from *each* of the means of achieving the objective. These are the dilemmas of management scientists, operations researchers, and system analysts.

The other school of thought offers us a model of strategic decision-making. This school finds that the scientific decision makers' model of rational decision-making is inadequate. It fails to offer a way out of the dilemmas. One major proponent of the concept of strategic decision-making is H. Igor Ansoff.^{8,9} When Ansoff wrote his celebrated book, *Corporate Strategy*, already Sloan had made the distinction between strategic decisions and operational decisions;¹⁰ Chandler had suggested that 'structure follows strategy'¹¹ Cyert and March had proposed the behavioural model of the firm, combining it with economic considerations to describe how decisions are made.¹² Techniques of capital investment theory, and portfolio selection

⁷R.E.D. Woolsey, "A Candle to Saint Jude, or Four Real World Applications of Integer Programming", *Interfaces*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (February 1972), pp. 20-27.

⁸H. Igor Ansoff, *Corporate Strategy: An Analytical Approach to Business Policy for Growth and Expansion*, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1965.

⁹H. Igor Ansoff, "The Concept of Strategic Management", *Journal of Business Policy*, Vol. 2, No. 4 (1972), pp. 2-7.

¹⁰A.P. Sloan, *My Years with General Motors*, New York, Doubleday, Garden City, 1964.

¹¹A.D. Chandler, *Strategy and Structure*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, The M.I.T. Press, 1962.

¹²R.M. Cyert and J.G. March, *A Behavioral Theory of the Firm*, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, Prentice-Hall, 1963.

theory already existed. Meanwhile, Simon and Newell, had made major contributions in developing a general methodology for problem solving.¹³⁻¹⁴ It was time to develop a general theory of strategic decision-making. Accepting the challenge, Ansoff viewed strategic decision-making as decisions relating to : (i) long run decisions regarding what product mix a firm *ought to enter*; and (ii) what should be the allocation of resources and activities. In other words, Ansoff saw strategic decision-making process as the concern and responsibility of the operations researchers.

Ansoff draws from Simon the methodology of problem solving. Simon's problem solving methodology involves the following steps :

- (1) Perception of the problem
- (2) Formulation of alternatives
- (3) Evaluation of alternatives
- (4) Choice from amongst the alternatives.

While the conventional techniques—capital investment theory and portfolio selection theory—were based on step three, *i.e.*, evaluation, and step four, *i.e.*, choice, Ansoff emphasised that the strategic decision-making process must concern itself with the first two steps—perception and formulation—as well. Further, Ansoff recognised the difficulties encountered in the formulation of alternatives; not *all* alternatives are known at the moment of decision. 'Partial ignorance' about the future prevails. To account for this weakness, Ansoff proposed the concept of a *range* of values for the objective, as a tool for 'strategy evaluation'. The extremes of this range are: (i) goals—at the high end of the range of acceptable values, and (ii) thresholds—at the low end of the range, below which the alternatives are unacceptable.

The concept of strategic decision-making resolves the dilemmas of operations researchers by accepting that no probe is available which would accomplish step one, *i.e.*, perceive a problem; and also that step two, *i.e.*, formulation of alternatives, cannot be fully accomplished. It accepts that in the case of complex problems the model of rational decision-making is not operational. It acknowledges that short cuts will have to be taken, and some aspects of the problem at hand will have to be omitted. Leaps of judgment will have to be made; and that too on the basis of values vaguely perceived. This is where the Frost decision model comes in handy. The strategic

¹³H.A. Simon, *The New Science of Management Decisions*, New York, Harper & Row, 1960.

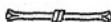
¹⁴H.A. Simon and A. Newell, "Heuristic Problem Solving", *Operations Research*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (January 1958), pp. 1-10.

decision-making concept, then, calls for the development of a well studied and well thought out *strategy* which would guide the leap of judgment. While the scientific decision-maker goes about making a completely analysed decision, the strategic decision-maker—being no less scientific—goes about making an incompletely analysed decision. This approach, too, is in keeping with the Frost decision process. In the process, the strategic decision-maker can afford to ease up on the degree of quantification and abstraction.

Robert Frost has, with great clarity, supported Ansoff, and the school of strategic decision-makers. But in doing so, Frost has drawn attention to the much neglected element of implementation in the decision process. This is the question of *responsibility*. Frost recognises that the responsibility of the consequences following the decision, or choice, remains with the manager, even though the choice may have been the recommendations of another party, the consultant, or the operations researcher. Frost recognises that, "...that has made all the difference", in reference to the element the operations researchers have been struggling with for three decades in search of tools of implementation.

Among some recent developments, relevant to the area of strategic decision-making, are those described by Geoffrion, Dyer, and Feinberg,¹⁵ and by Kane.¹⁶ Geoffrion *et al* offer an interactive mathematical programming approach to multicriterion optimisation, eliminating in the process the need for explicit quantification of the objective function. Kane offers a tool for the understanding of the dynamics of complex systems for forecasting purposes. He demonstrates that the behaviour of non-linear feedback systems can be described without resort to mathematical sophistication, thus superseding the dogmatic imperatives which is the nature of much of the present social, economic, technological, and ecological modelling.

Management scientists and operations researchers, therefore, may yet have their way out of their dilemmas. They need a course in pragmatics. The non-believers, and scientific decision-makers, are invited to Vazsonyi's "rational approach to irrationality".¹⁷



¹⁵A.M. Geoffrion, J.S. Dyer, and A. Feinberg, "An Interactive Approach for Multi-Criterion Optimization, with Application to the Operation of an Academic Department", *Management Science*, Vol. 19, No. 4 (December 1972).

¹⁶Julius Kane, "A Primer for a New Cross-Impact Language — KSIM", *Technological Forecasting and Social Change*, Vol. 4 (1972), pp. 129-142.

¹⁷Andrew Vazsonyi, "Pragmatics: Rational Approach to Irrationality", *Interfaces*, Vol. 4, No. 3 (May 1974), pp. 40-45.

A MANAGEMENT AUDIT OF THE WESTERN NIGERIA DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION*

A. Akinsanya

THIS paper attempts a management audit¹ of the Western Nigeria Development Corporation (WNDC). An appraisal is necessary and timely, given the growing concern of the Nigerian military regime with the performance of some of the country's public corporations and State-owned enterprises, as evidenced by the retirement, dismissal or termination of the appointments of the general managers of the Mid-West Mass Communication Corporation, the Nigerian Ports Authority (NPA), and the Nigerian National Oil Corporation (NNOC) and the various studies commissioned by some State Governments into the management of some State-owned enterprises. Additionally, aside from the Coker inquiry into the affairs of certain statutory corporations (including the WNDC) in Western Nigeria in 1962¹, no systematic effort has been made to undertake a comprehensive examination of the management of the WNDC with a view to making it an efficient, albeit profitable enterprise without compromising its socio-economic responsibility.

The expression 'development corporation' covers organisations that differ widely in functions and scope. In certain countries, the government has delegated to a corporate body, thus called, virtually the entire responsibility for studying, initiating and operating 'public sector' projects for the expansion and diversification of the economy. When this has happened, the scope of the corporation is almost unlimited: in theory, and sometimes in practice, it combines planning with executive and advisory functions, with the result that it becomes a veritable *imperium in imperio* (a State within a State). The famous Chilean corporation, *de Fomento dela Production* (Fomento) was of this kind, and so are many of the other Latin American 'Fomentos' modelled on the Chilean pattern.

HISTORY OF THE CORPORATION

The Western Nigeria Development Corporation (WNDC) was created

*Research on which this study is based was conducted in Fall 1971/Winter 1972. As far as we know, there has been no change in our research findings that will affect the basic thrust of the paper.

¹Federal Republic of Nigeria, *Report by the Coker Commission of Inquiry into the Affairs of Certain Statutory Corporations in Western Nigeria, 1962* (4 Vols.), Lagos, Federal Ministry of Information, 1962.

in 1949 as the Western Regional Production Development Board. As a creation of the Western Regional House of Assembly, it is endowed with a legal personality distinct from that of the Western Regional Government. As a corporate body with perpetual succession, it has the power to sue and be sued in its name,² and to enter into contracts except those specifically forbidden by its enabling legislation. It can also purchase, lease or otherwise acquire, hold and dispose of lands, shares and other property of whatever kind.

As a public corporation, it has no shareholders, as is the case with a joint stock company, such as the Nigerian Bottling Company. None of its equity capital or debenture stock is held by members of the public, although it is given the powers of public borrowing, and, in a few cases, of partnership investment in joint ventures with the private sector-mixed enterprises. Its capital is provided by the Government in the form of grants and/or loans. So conceived, its 'management' is in the hands of a board of directors, members of which hold, and continue to enjoy, offices only at the pleasure of the Minister of Trade and Industry or the State Military Governor. Its staff are not members of the State's civil service and are, therefore, not ordinarily subject to the rules and regulations governing the latter.

As an agent or integral part of the State Government, it is charged by law 'to foster the economic development of the Region by the promotion, establishment, operation or assistance of approved agricultural, industrial and commercial projects'. The general expectation is that it should, as far as possible or practicable, carry out its functions with the flexibility of an independent organisation or in a manner befitting a commercial enterprise. However, the making of profits is not stipulated as the dominant objective of the corporation.

ORGANISATION OF THE CORPORATION

At the head of the Corporation is the board of directors, presided over by a full-time chairman. Between 1949 and 1955, what we had in the WNDC was a policy-type board, usually consisting mainly or entirely of members without executive responsibilities but whose tasks are collectively confined to taking decisions at the highest policy level, and the general supervision of the work of the professional staff who are servants rather than members of the Corporation. The senior officers of the Corporation including the Secretary to the Corporation are appointed by the board although the appointment of the Secretary requires the approval of the Minister

²L.O. Adegbite, "Civil Suits by and against Public Corporations in Nigeria", *Nigerian Law Journal*, 3 (1969), pp. 41-56.

of Trade and Industry, who, it should be noted, also appoints members of the board and can remove them.

However, by 1955, the trend towards a 'functional' type of board started, and remained until January 1966 when a policy-type board was reintroduced by the Western Nigeria Military Government. The functional type of the board consists mainly or entirely of members, each of whom is charged with specific responsibilities for certain aspects of the Corporation. Apart from bringing their various specialised competence and experience to bear upon policy decisions by the board, 'functional' members, styled executive directors, are usually responsible for ensuring that such decisions as have been collectively approved at periodic board meetings are implemented with precision in the respective administrative and technical fields under their charge.

Two reasons, not altogether convincing, had been advanced by the Western Nigeria Government (WNG) for introducing a 'functional' type of board of directors for the region's development corporation. First, that functionalism will help to relieve and lighten the burden on the chairman by sub-dividing executive responsibilities, thereby giving the chairman more time for 'planning, general supervision and contacts'. Second, that functionalism is for the better since it follows the pattern that has proved successful in British nationalised industries, some of which bear close parallels to the Corporation. The result of the decision to introduce functionalism into the 'management' of the WNDC is that the membership of the board of directors jumped from nine to thirteen—one full-time chairman, four full-time executive directors and eight part-time directors, all appointed not so much because of their capabilities or exceptional qualifications but merely because of political reliability. The efficiency of the Corporation is, therefore, anybody's guess.

PERFORMANCE OF THE CORPORATION

The use of funds available to the Western Nigeria Development Corporation between 1949 and 1962 (when an inquiry was ordered into its administration by the Majekodunmi Emergency Administration)³ can be seen from column 3 of Table 1. Direct investments by the Corporation in agricultural projects constituted the largest item of expenditure, followed closely by loans and equity investments in industrial companies. However, cumulative grants and expenditures on general development, apparently experimental and pilot schemes accounted for one-fifth, namely, 20.3 per cent.

³J.P. Mackintosh, *Nigerian Government and Politics*, London, George Allen and Unwin, 1966, pp. 426-60.

TABLE 1
Disposal of Funds by the WNDC: Cumulative Grants, Direct Expenditure and Loans Outstanding 1949-62⁴

Items of Expenditure Loans and Investments (N '000)	Col. 1 1-449 to 31-3-55	Col. 2 1-4-55 to 31-3-62	Col. 3 1-4-49 to 31-3-62	
			%	%
Cumulative grants and non-recoverable development expenditure	3,512	16.7	3,706	14.1
Cumulative expenditure on land buildings and other fixed assets	490	2.3	1,324	5.1
Cumulative direct investments in agricultural projects	1,838	8.7	9,820	37.5
Cumulative direct investments in industrial projects	2,458	12.2	774	3.0
Loans and equity investments outstanding to and in industrial companies	440	2.1	10,580	40.3
Investments in British Government securities	6,456	30.7	—	—
Long-term bank deposits	2,020	9.7	—	—
Short-term bank deposits	3,706	17.6	—	—
TOTAL	21,020	100.0	26,204	100.0
			35,538	100.0

⁴O. Teriba, "Development Strategy, Investment Decision and Expenditure Patterns of a Public Development Institution: The Case of the Western Nigeria Development Cooperation, 1949-1962", *Nigerian Journal of Economic and Social Studies*, 8, 2 (July 1966), p. 237.

Behind the overall picture of over-emphasis on investments in agricultural/industrial projects (63.8 per cent) lie certain important differences demarcating two clear periods in the pattern of the Corporation investment portfolio. Such differences include, as a comparison of columns 1 and 2 indicates, those in, first, the percentages of funds invested in bank deposits and foreign assets in each period, second, the percentages of expenditures, and funds devoted to agricultural/industrial projects in each period; and third, the relative emphasis as between direct and indirect investments in industrial projects over the two periods.

Thus, while direct investments in agricultural projects between 1955 and 1962 were absolutely and proportionately greater than the period 1949-55, the reverse was true of direct investments in industrial projects. Loans and equity investments in industrial companies (mixed enterprises) during the period 1955-62 were almost twenty-five fold of their 1949-55 total, representing about 40 per cent of total funds compared with the latter's percentage figure of 2.1 per cent. Furthermore, bank balances and investments in foreign securities were generally accumulated between 1951 and 1954, while 1955 and 1962 show a progressive decumulation and re-investment in both loans and equities in industrial and financial institutions operating in Western Nigeria (Table 2).

Unfortunately for the Western Nigeria tax-payers, the WNDC has not measured up to expectation; this is partly because of its rather ill-defined objectives, with the result that its investments have covered almost any field that can be imagined—manufacture of textiles, aluminium household utensils, cement, drinks, metal window frames, plastics, floor tiles, sugar, asbestos and cement products, mattresses and other beddings, prestressed concrete, biscuits and other delicacies; sale of plastics, gas and appliances; cultivation of rubber, cocoa, oil palm; engineering and construction; estates development and development of water resources; and running of hotels—when it should and, indeed, could have used its funds, with remarkable effect, to cover strategic areas. (Tables 3, 4 and 5).

That many public enterprises in Nigeria have not been properly and efficiently run was made manifestly clear from the reports of the tribunals appointed by the Nigerian Governments to look into their administration.⁵

⁵See Federal Republic of Nigeria, *Report of the Nigerian Railway Corporation Tribunal of Inquiry Appointed Under the Tribunal Inquiry Decree 1966 to Inquire into Affairs of the Nigerian Railway Corporation*, Lagos, Federal Ministry of Information, 1967; Federal Republic of Nigeria, *Report of the Electricity Corporation of Nigeria Tribunal of Inquiry*, Lagos, Federal Ministry of Information, 1967.

TABLE 2
WNDC : Financial Assets⁶
(31-3-49 to 31-3-62)

Year ending March 31st	British Govern- ment securities	Loans to com- panies incorpo- rated in Western Nigeria	Equity invest- ments in com- panies incorpo- rated and opera- ting in Western Nigeria at the end of the year	Long-term deposits with Nigerian banks at the end of the year	Short-term deposits with foreign and Nigerian banks at the end of the year	Total at the end of the year	(N '000)
1951	1,632	—	—	—	516	2,138	
1952	n.a.	—	—	—	n.a.	n.a.	
1953	10,098	—	—	1,000	3,086	14,184	
1954	6,456	300	—	2,000	4,686	13,442	
1955	6,456	440	—	2,020	3,706	12,622	
1956	6,456	440	—	2,070	934	9,900	
1957	3,796	140	36	2,070	942	6,986	
1958	1,776	140	142	2,050	502	4,610	
1959	496	140	278	1,000	4,002	5,916	
1960	496	5,338	1,756	—	3,862	11,452	
1961	496	8,568	2,238	—	802	12,104	
1962	496	8,504	2,516	—	—	11,516	

⁶O. Teriba, *op. cit.*, p. 238.

TABLE 3

WNDC : Details of Equity Investments in Associated Industrial and Trading Companies Inc. and Operating in
Western Nigeria⁷

Date of investment	Name of Company	Nature of activity	Nominal capital of company	WNDC % of shareholding	WNDC capital as investments on 31-3-62	WNDC capital as a % of called-up capital	(N '000)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
1957-60	Nigerian Plastics	Manufacture of plastics	130	50.0	130	66	50.5
1958	Nigerian Plastics (sales)	Sale of plastics	2	50.0	2	10	50.0
1958-61	Nidogas	Sale of gas and appliance	300	50.0	200	60	30.0
1958	Nigerian Prestressed Concrete	Production of prestressed concrete	100	20.0	50	10	20.0
1958-61	Crittall Hope	Manufacture of metal window frames	400	22.5	320	72	22.5
1959	Nigersol Construction	Engineering and construction	400	60.0	400	240	60.0
1959-60	Nigerian Water Resources	Development of water resources	200	60.0	160	96	60.0

(continued)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
1960	Tower Aluminium	Manufacture of household utensils	252	23.2	150	58	23.2
1960	Vono	Manufacture of Mattresses and beddings	40	15.0	40	6	15.0
1959-60	Asbestos Cement Products	Production of asbestos and cement products	1,200	35.0	1,200	316	26.3
1959-60	W.A. Portland Cement	Manufacture of cement	2,000	39.0	2,000	780	39.0
1960-61	Nigerian Textile Mills	Manufacture of textiles	910	33.0	910	300	33.0
1961	Nigerian Biscuit	Manufacture of biscuits and delicacies	300	13.3	300	40	13.5
1961	Nigerian Mosaic and Glass Manufacturing	Manufacture of floor tiles	150	26.6	130	40	30.8
1962	Nigerian Sugar	Manufacture of sugar	3,000	6.6	920	100	10.8
1958-62	Iluhin Estate	Estates development	530	62.6	332	332	100.0
		Total	9,912	34.2	7,344	2,517	34.2

⁷O. Teriba, *op. cit.*, p. 243.

TABLE 4

WNDC Investments in Corporation Wholly-Owned and—Operated Industrial Projects⁸

<i>Projects</i>	<i>Cumulative investment of funds on 31-3-65 (N '000)</i>
Ikpoba rubber factory	514
Lafia canning factory	1,160
Lafia hotel. ⁹	266
Pepsi-Cola project	1,302
Preliminary expenses on industrial projects	90
TOTAL	3,332

TABLE 5

WNDC Investments in Agricultural Partnership Schemes and Corporation Owned and—Operated Agricultural Projects as at 31-3-62.¹⁰

<i>Projects</i>	<i>Cumulative investment of funds on 31-3-62 (N '000)</i>
Ibadan area partnership schemes	430
Ondo Province partnership schemes	472
Benin Province partnership schemes	1,004
Ijebu farm project (Inc. Colin Oil Mills)	4,250
Urhonigbe rubber estate	1,248
Upper Ogun projects	598
Araromi rubber estate	1,802
Oda Akure cocoa plantation	680
Ibokun (ilesha) cocoa plantation	146
Eruwa plantation	40
Eleiyele nursery	40
Ikenne rubber plantation	500
Lamiro/Araromi oil palm plantation	488
TOTAL	11,658

⁸O. Teriba, *op. cit.*, p. 242.⁹The Premier Hotel, owned by the WNDC, was opened in 1966.¹⁰Teriba, *op. cit.*, p. 242.

The report of the Coker Commission of Inquiry appointed in 1962 to look into the administration of six Western Nigeria statutory corporations (including the WNDC) confirmed the widely-held view in the country that politicians have always diverted vast sums of public monies into their personal or party coffers,¹¹ and that public corporations provided one of these avenues.

True that board members have used their positions to amass wealth illegitimately; however, it will be preposterous to attribute the poor performances of most of the country's public enterprises solely to interference of board members. As a student of Nigerian public enterprises rightly noted: "The performance of any enterprise is determined by the external environment, managerial competence, the degree of freedom to fully use such competence, which is in turn heavily dependent on organisational structure as well as the influence, and/or, interference of board members."¹² In effect, the poor performances of some of the Nigerian public enterprises can be attributed to interference of board members, organisational structure, the quality of personnel, and low staff morale, among other factors.

It would appear then that the Nigerian public enterprises that have been unable 'to pay' their way have some common problems. Several major problems can be discerned in the case of the Western Nigeria Development Corporation: ill-defined objectives; fundamental non-viability of many projects; political patronage in the appointment of board and staff members; interference by the board members and the 'responsible' ministry in the day-to-day operations of the Corporation; lack of suitably-qualified personnel; organisational structure; low staff morale; and lack of proper coordination between the WNDC and other related corporations.

Ill-Defined Objectives

When we talk of a public corporation achieving its objectives we must be clear what those objectives are because the achievement of objectives may not always be synonymous with profitability. In a society where the public sector plays a direct and dominant role in the development process a public corporation may be achieving its objectives by not making profit. If such is the objective then it should be clearly stated but this is seldom the case. To be sure, the law establishing the WNDC says that it shall be its duty "to foster the economic development of the region by the promotion, establishment, operation or assistance of approved agricultural, industrial

¹¹Report of the Coker Commission, *op. cit.*

¹²M.O. Kayodo, "Management of Public Enterprises" in *Public Enterprises in Nigeria*, Ibadan, The Nigerian Economic Society, 1974, p. 96.

and commercial projects". These obviously are very wide and vague objectives, with the result that the WNDC can do, and indeed, has done, anything and everything imaginable "to foster the economic development of the region...."

Thus, part of the confusion, and financial chaos in the WNDC can be attributed to the government which does not seem to know exactly what it wants the Corporation to do. While the objectives of the Corporation may be stated in the Act in general terms, they should be translated into particular and quantitative targets by the responsible ministry over the planning periods. However, the targets should be as realistic as possible and worked out in cooperation with the Corporation management itself; second, the Corporation should be allowed the maximum discretion in choosing the methods such that its planned assignments may be fulfilled; third, checks on its progress should be regular, not frequent, and followed immediately by remedial action, where this has been shown to be necessary; and fourth, while direct contacts between the Corporation and the responsible ministry may prove beneficial and indeed, necessary, they should not be permitted to bring confusion into the normal 'line of command', which links the Corporation to the Cabinet or the Premier through the responsible ministry. All too frequently, the Corporation executives complain that they have too many 'masters' (minister, board members, directors, permanent secretaries, legislators and the press), having different standards of judgment.

Fundamental Non-viability of Many Projects

Many a time the failure of a public enterprise is due to the lack of a competent and detailed pre-investment survey and market research, namely, feasibility study. Sometimes, the only survey is that made by an interested European machine pedlar whose main aim is to sell machine but not the success of the enterprise. To sell his machine, he has to put up such rosy prospects for the enterprise which deliberately ignores some vital considerations. This was the case with most of the projects wholly owned by the Western Nigeria Development Corporation or those owned by the Corporation in partnership with the private sector. Dr. Teriba has observed:

"Except for the Apoje Farm Project....detailed investigations of soil, climatic or marketing conditions or prospects were never carried out prior to location; investment decisions were almost invariably strongly influenced by non-economic considerations. With strong political pressures to show quick results, the Corporation sometimes felt obliged to participate in almost any project that came its way or to its notice. Its decision to establish at least one major agricultural project

in each of the political divisions of the region irrespective of variations in agricultural potentialities was but one in the long chain of politically motivated investment decisions."¹³

Thus, 'in the case of the Pioneer Oil Mills, each of which was estimated capable of handling 1,200 tons of fruit per annum, apathy and sometimes hostility of peasant farmers, location of plants at uneconomic distances from the centre of production of an essentially bulky input, and the lack of efficiently organised collection of palm fruits from widely scattered sources accounted for the dismal picture....in terms of the very small and irregular tonnage of fruits annually processed'.¹⁴ And in the case of the Lafia Canning Factory, "plants were kept idle half the year round and the maximum of average tonnage of fruits processed per 8-hour shift was 24 compared with the designed and rated average 80".¹⁵

In effect "all the projects in this (industrial) category of WNDC investments sustained yearly losses. Significantly, the heavy losses sustained by the Pepsi Cola factories over their 3 years of operation were, unlike those of the processing industries, due not to insufficient raw material supply but to a lack of demand and, hence, overproduction in an already congested soft-drinks market."¹⁶ Therefore, it is apparent that the major cause of the dismal failure of most, if not all, the wholly-owned projects of the WNDC is not only inadequate or absence of feasibility studies but also that political considerations largely influenced the location of many of these projects.

There is little doubt that any decision on the continued existence of many uneconomic projects embarked upon by the Development Corporation raises a host of issues: the costs to the public (in form of taxation); cost-benefit analysis (in terms of creating regional employment). In other words, how much of the losses sustained by the WNDC can be justified? It is our view that the region's tax-payers cannot justifiably be called upon to maintain indefinitely many of the Corporation's projects in the name of politics or socio-economic objectives of the Government or both. Therefore, such projects that could not 'ensure very good returns from the public funds invested' in them should face liquidation; alternatively, they should be sold to the private sector, with their employees having the option of transferring their services to the new employers or being transferred to other projects

¹³Teriba, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

¹⁴*ibid.*, p. 252.

¹⁵*ibid.*, p. 253.

¹⁶*ibid.*, pp. 253 and 255. The Western Nigeria Development Corporation had to face stiff competition with the Nigerian Bottling Company, makers of Coca-Cola, Fanta and Sprite.

that require complete overhaul to make them 'pay' their way. Indeed, it does make some sense for the Corporation to sustain its losses once and for all than to have continuous losses that require monthly subventions by the Government.

However, one effective way of instilling some financial discipline into the operation of the WNDC is to direct the management of the Corporation to borrow directly from the market without Government guarantee. Indeed, direct borrowing by a public enterprise without Government guarantee makes it subject to the sanction of the market; the necessity to maintain its credit in order to raise capital on favourable terms is obviously a strong incentive to economical and efficient management. In Canada, some crown corporations, such as the Canadian National Railways, have borrowed from the market with the guarantee of the Government, in which case the ultimate responsibility for the debt is on the Government rather than the management of the enterprise. There are some crown corporations that are authorised to borrow in their name. The Canadian Wheat Board, for example, may make normal commercial banking arrangements on its own credit, and may, in fact, borrow on the security of the grain held by it. Additionally, some crown corporations established by the Canadian Corporations Act have, on occasion, financed temporary projects through bank overdrafts without government guarantee, in which case the responsibility for the debt is on the management of the enterprises rather than the Government.

The situation in the United States is slightly different. There, the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) not only borrows directly from the market without Government guarantee; also, the law setting up the TVA requires it to make annual payments to the U.S. Treasury from net appropriation investments in power facilities plus repayments of such investments with effect from the 1961 fiscal (financial) year. Prior to 1961, the TVA had paid over \$ 185 million of power proceeds to the Treasury. And, in the 1971-1973 fiscal years, the TVA paid over 149 million as is shown in Table 6.¹⁷

The TVA also paid \$ 34 million on non-power proceeds in 1972 in accordance with Section 26 of the TVA Act.¹⁸

Thus, we can infuse some financial discipline into the operation of the WNDC first, by directing the management of the Corporation to borrow

¹⁷*Annual Report of the Tennessee Valley Authority*, Vol. 2, Appendices, 1972, p. 13.

¹⁸Section 26 of the TVA for annual payments to the Treasury of any power or nonpower proceeds not needed for the operation of dams and reservoirs, the conduct of the power programmes, and the manufacture and distribution of fertilisers.

TABLE 6

Payments by the TVA to the United States Treasury, 1971-1973

	<i>Return</i> (\$ Thousands)	<i>Payment</i> 20,000	<i>Total</i>
Year ending June 30, 1972	55,810	20,000	75,810
Year ending June 30, 1973	53,784	20,000	73,784
	109,594	40,000	149,594

directly from the market without Government guarantee. Although the Corporation is given the powers of public borrowing, such powers have not been utilised by the management largely because the Corporation receives monthly subvention from the Western Nigeria Government (WNG). Second, the management of the WNDC should be required, by law, to make annual repayments including interest charges on net appropriations by the Government. Third, such projects that could not justify the public funds invested in them should face liquidation. However, where some projects may be justifiable on grounds on broad national interest, the Government could reimburse the Corporation the cost of those services it is required to provide, or the costs it is obliged to incur and which it would not have incurred if it could have taken the decision on purely commercial grounds. In effect, there is no justification, from a management or economic standpoint, for creating the Western State Agricultural Investment Corporation (WSAIC) to take over the management of all the agricultural projects owned and operated by the WNDC.

Political Patronage

A third problem affecting an economical and efficient management of the WNDC is political patronage. Indeed, one major cause of the failure of many of the projects owned by the Corporation is the political patronage in the appointment of board and staff members. As we noted above, members of the board are appointed by the minister not because of any requisite experience but largely because of political reliability. Although it may be said that the chairman and the executive directors appointed in 1957-1962

were good in themselves, they did not have the specialised knowledge and experience which their appointments demand. The result is that they were unable to carry out their duties effectively. Since 1962, the calibre of men appointed to the board had had a disastrous effect on corporate management—because the tendency is for the chairman, executive directors and board members to interfere with corporate management, and to use their positions to promote the interests of their favourites in the Corporation with disastrous consequences for staff morale and efficiency of the Corporation. As Okunoren noted:

Efficient management personnel... can be achieved only if sound personnel policies are operated by the corporations. These policies should be aimed not only at attracting men of the right calibre but also at retaining tried and tested staff in the interests of continuity and stability. This ideal has not been realised because the politician directors, particularly the executive directors, were unable to keep their hands off personnel administration. They claimed a right to determine not only those to be interviewed but also those to be selected. In the process, merit was set at nought and nepotism and mediocrity enthroned. As for staff promotions, the story was the same. Many industrious and conscientious staff were superseded by less competent colleagues who happened to be the favourites of the politician directors.¹⁹

The Government tried to make up for the inadequacy of appointing party functionaries by appointing civil servants to boards. This approach has not resolved the matter, because, the officials may not be strong enough to influence policy; in fact, they may be consistently outvoted. They are, by training, service-oriented rather than profit-oriented; they are, therefore, cautious and averse to taking the kind of risks necessary for the success of commercial undertakings; because of frequency of posting, they are unable to develop any sense of identification with a corporation—by the time they get acquainted with the problems of any corporation, they are moved to other, and sometimes, higher jobs. Finally, there is a tendency for them to act as watchdogs rather than as planners; indeed, they tend to apply civil service procedures to the corporation, and this had the effect of emasculating initiative.

It would be wrong to think that the main problem of many Nigerian public corporations, *i.e.*, that political patronage and interference with personnel administration by board members could be solved simply by

¹⁹Z.O. Okunoren, "The Administration of Public Corporations and the Political Factors", in A. Adedeji (ed.), *Nigerian Administration and Its Political Setting*, London, Hutchinson, 1968, p. 107.

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¹⁹Z.O. Okunoren, "The Administration of Public Corporations and the Political Factors", in A. Adedeji (ed.), *Nigerian Administration and Its Political Setting*, London, Hutchinson, 1968, p. 107.

disqualifying political appointees from membership of corporations. The problem is not that political appointments are bad; the problem is appointing political liabilities and sycophants—men who tend to place politics before the interests of the corporations they serve. Thus, the major concern of the appointing authority should be the quality of members appointed to the board—men who not only have the requisite experience but also the ability to work “unstintingly for the progress of the corporation”. These men should constitute ‘policy’ boards, laying down policies, planning corporation objectives with the management, approving plans for capital development, appointing only senior officials but leaving the day-to-day administration to the management.

There should be a proper demarcation of the ‘lines’ of authority between the board and the management that will make the former responsible for policy-making and the latter efficient and independent to the extent that will allow for efficiency in administration. Further more, the practice whereby officials of public corporations are recruited by a central personnel agency, namely, the Statutory Corporations Service Commission (SCSC)²⁰—although good *per se*, since it protects corporation officials from political harassment—should never have been instituted, and thus, after three years of experiment in the Western State, discontinued by the WNG. As a commercial/industrial undertaking, a public corporation should be able to recruit and promote officials based on their performance. Recruiting and promoting senior corporation officials through the SCSC would not allow for the flexibility which a commercial undertaking must have. So also is the Standing Tenders Board—apparently set up to prevent politicians from using public corporations to enrich themselves through kickbacks—because it restricts the freedom and the flexibility of the corporations to choose the contractors they want. Inexpensive as this device may be—since it contains civil servants—it is likely to cause much delay in its awards, given the training of its members. In any case, it is not clear why it is thought that busy civil servants would perform the job better.²¹ The Ferranti affair in Britain in which civil servants overestimated a contract by several millions of pounds does not show that civil servants are better judges in these matters. Indeed, when we take away the functions of hiring and firing officials as well as the award of contracts from corporation boards, one is inclined to ask what is left for them to do. One then wonders whether it would not be better to do away with corporation boards completely and have sole administrators. While this suggestion is good in itself since it gives the management more independence

²⁰See Federal Republic of Nigeria, *Report of the Working Party on Statutory Corporations and State-owned Companies*, Lagos, Federal Ministry of Information, 1967.

²¹See C.O. Lawson, “The Role of Civil Servants in a Military Regime”, *The Quarterly Journal of Administration*, 8, 2 (January 1974), p. 135.

to conduct the operations of the enterprises, makes for flexibility and promptitude in business transactions—provided the men appointed are experienced and qualified—the sole administrator approach will probably be easily susceptible to pressures from the outside.

It is clear from the above that the practice of appointing top civil servants as chairmen or members of boards of corporations although good *per se*—since it allows for, and indeed, ensures public accountability of the public enterprises concerned—should be stopped, and indeed, discouraged by the Government. The boards should be composed of men in the industry, business and academic community,²² *provided* that the first two categories of men do not have any ‘business’ dealings with the public enterprises concerned.

Organisational Structure

Here our main concern is with the pattern of responsibilities, *i.e.*, a framework within which, and by means of which, the process of management can be effectively implemented. As we noted earlier in the paper, the structure of the WNDC is one in which the board of directors is on top, followed by the general manager (GM), followed by departmental managers, and last, the departmental deputy managers and the supporting staff. In a situation where you have a full-time chairman and four full-time executive directors during the civilian era, the effect on management can only be too clear. The fact is that they constituted bottlenecks in the way of efficient management, especially when it is remembered that they were appointed, not because of political reliability. This problem is compounded by the relationship between the responsible ministry and the board, on the one hand, and between the ministry and the management, on the other—relationship that does not make for quick decisions and efficiency required for the success of commercial organisations.

Therefore, in addition to the suggestion made in the last section, it is in the best interests of the tax payers that members of the board of directors of the WNDC, or any other Nigeria public enterprise, be on part-time basis only. These men should lay down broad policies for the corporation, leaving the day-to-day administration of the corporation to the general manager. Of course, it is possible that a part-time chairman, with an imposing

²²P. Sanwo, “Who Should Run Public Companies”, *Daily Times* (Lagos), May 3, 1975, p. 15. Top civil servants were appointed, for the first time, as Chairmen of public corporations during the military regime. See the author’s “The Military Regime, Top Bureaucrats and What Next! The Nigerian Case!”, in *Proceedings of the 1974 Annual Conference of the Nigerian Political Science Association*.

personality, could make things a lot difficult for the general manager. While this should not happen, cases of dispute between the general manager and his chairman should be referred to the Cabinet for ruling. Second, while it is necessary, for reasons of public interest, that a Government department be a reporting agency of the public corporation to the legislature, the nature of the relationship between the department and the corporation should be one that would prove beneficial to the latter. Indeed, maximum discretion should be allowed to the corporation in choosing the methods by which to achieve the objectives for which it was set up by the corporation. Although the responsible ministry could set particular and quantitative targets over planning periods for the corporation, the targets should be as realistic as possible and, indeed, worked out in cooperation with the management itself. Third, the practice of appointing 'inside' directors, that is, corporation officials as members of the boards of directors of corporations should be introduced in Nigeria. In the first place, such a practice, which has worked well in many advanced countries, would allow for a cross-fertilisation of ideas between the workers and the management, and second, it would certainly give corporation officials a sense of involvement in the decisions affecting them and the corporation of which they are a part.

Lack of Qualified Personnel

We have referred to the way that politician-directors used their positions to interfere not only with personnel management but also with the day-to-day administration of the corporation. The politician-directors interfered with personnel management not because they are bad men but because of the nature of their appointments and their qualifications for the appointments. In any case, if public corporations or any corporation can tolerate irresponsible boards of directors or do without them, one thing they cannot do without is an adequate number of skilled and effective managers. As Forbes put it succinctly:

The one clear lesson after a study of fifty years of U.S. business is: If a company has nothing good for it except one thing—good management—it will make the grade. If it has everything good for it except good management, it will flop.²³

Therefore, one major factor affecting the performance of the WNDC or any other Nigerian public enterprise is the shortage of men with the requisite experiences, due largely to the absence of an indigenous commercial and industrial community—men with effective managerial skills, with the practical knowledge of the trade or industry.

²³Forbes, Fiftieth Anniversary Issue, September 15, 1967.

Of course, it is possible, as is the practice in India, to have civil servants transferred to public enterprises. Although they may be, and indeed, are good administrators, they would fail as business managers without further training in business techniques or financial management. We might note here that part of the problem of many Nigerian public enterprises is the way the senior posts were indigenised without proper and adequate training and planning as one sees in many public services.²⁴ Yet human resources investment is very important in many public enterprises where most of the middle-level management posts are highly technical, and, therefore, require longer periods of training. In effect, such officials as those who took over from the departing expatriate officials as well as officials who were transferred from the public service could make a success of their jobs if complemented by cost-accountants, production engineers, and project appraisal economists who can only be produced by the public enterprises themselves through in-service training/staff development programmes.

Thus, since the success of any public enterprise hinges on the availability of an adequate number of skilled and effective managers, it is the duty of the boards of directors of public enterprises to appoint (and by extension, promote) the best man for the job—the criterion being competence and ability to perform a particular job, based on its description and requirements. Appointing men solely because of political considerations will not only damage staff morale; it will also inflict incalculable damage on management, productivity and efficiency of the public enterprise concerned.

Second, since any reform of the personnel system should aim at improving individual and group productivity, personnel policies must aim at continuous training and development of every worker from his recruitment to retirement; this is with a view to liberating the will to work, and cultivating that state of mind which expresses itself in loyalty, enthusiasm, cooperation, pride in one's organisation and devotion to duty. It has been said that the Japanese official in corporate enterprise has these three qualities, and there is little doubt that such qualities have contributed in no small measure to the success of Japanese business.

Third, because we believe that any reform of the personnel system should aim at improving individual and group productivity, this aim could also be accompanied by developing the right motivation in workers through: (i) a sense of security—not necessarily economic security, but security in

²⁴See A. Adedeji, "Training for Development Administration in Western Nigeria", *Journal of Administration Overseas*, 8, 2 (April 1969), pp. 111-123; and the author's "The Nigerianisation of the Western Nigeria Higher Public Services", Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Chicago, 1973, pp. 127-145.

knowing what is going on, that one's work is wanted, that one is part of a group, and that one's boss and colleagues are not going to be capricious; and (ii) a sense of success, achievement and recognition—a feeling that one is making progress, that there is a general acceptance of one's work, that one is achieving what one sets out to achieve, and that advancement will depend solely on merit.

Fourth, an effective communication system is also indispensable to greater group productivity. People will work better if they know what is required of them, how their work ties with corporation objectives, and when changes are likely to take place. Indeed, they will work better if they feel free to discuss problems with their supervisors and to contribute to decisions that affect their work. Workers' participation in management will not only result in the elimination or reduction of alien interests and promotion of personal fulfilment; workers' participation in management may also help managers to identify workers suitable for promotion, thus better utilising the human resources of the enterprise. Indeed, workers' participation in management may act as a spur to managerial efficiency and in fact foster more cooperative attitudes between workers and management, thus raising efficiency by improving teamwork and reducing the loss of efficiency arising from industrial conflicts. Additionally, workers' participation in management could be seen as a means of distributing power within the enterprise more equally, and of handling conflicts of interests by democratic procedures.²⁵

Lack of Coordination

One other problem identified in the administration of the WNDC is a lack of coordination of the objectives of the Corporation and those of other related corporations such as the Western Nigeria Finance Corporation (WNFC) and the Western Nigeria Agricultural Credit Corporation (WNACC). The result is that each corporation has been going in its own direction. Responsibility for these misdirected efforts lies not so much with the corporation officials or their boards of directors but their creators, because once you create an organisation, you also create its defenders.

One way of containing this problem is to establish a committee consisting of top officials of these corporations to coordinate the activities of their respective corporations and reduce the areas of conflict. However, it would be in the interests of economies of large-scale production to consolidate these three corporations and the newly-established Western State Agricultural Investment Corporation (WSAIC) into one corporation—creating separate

²⁵See R.M. Powell and J.L. Schacter, "Participative Management: A Panacea?" *Academy of Management Journal*, 14, 2 (June 1971), pp. 165-173.

functional division for each operation. With the merger of these related corporations, there will be more efficient operation; better services would be provided to the consumers, and losses would be reduced to the barest minimum, assuming that the corporation could not break-even.

CONCLUSION

We have attempted a management audit of the Western Nigeria Development Corporation. Such an appraisal, as we noted at the beginning of the paper, is necessary, and urgent, given the concern of the Government—and one hastens to add the governed—with the performance of some of Nigeria's public corporations and state-owned companies. As we noted above, the problems facing many Nigerian public enterprises appear to be similar: political patronage in the appointment of board and staff members; interference of board members in personnel management; the imprecise nature of the relationship between many public corporations and their 'responsible' ministries; organisational structure; lack of suitably-qualified personnel; and lack of coordination of the objectives of many related public enterprises. These problems, as our study has shown, were the major factors affecting the performance of the WNDC aside from the imprecise nature of the objectives of the corporation. The various suggestions made, it is hoped, are modest, having regard to their practicability and the stage of development and technology in Nigeria. We need to stress here that it is not enough to promulgate reform measures in an organisation. The people working in such an organisation must embrace such measures and must be well prepared for the change, which must come anyway.

PLAN GRANTS IN INDIA—A CRITICAL EVALUATION

G. Thimmaiah

THE advent of government sponsored economic planning in India has given rise to a new type of financial assistance from the Union Government to the States in the form of plan grants. This is a new type of federal financial assistance because it was not conceived by the framers of the Indian Constitution and also because this type of federal financial aid is not generally prevalent in other federations. However, this new type of federal financial assistance can be classified under conditional grants if we can overlook certain peculiarities of these plan grants. In terms of the classification of federal financial transfers, conditional grants are those federal financial transfers which are made by the federal government to the governments of the constituent units with certain conditions attached either for using the amount or for both receiving and using the amount, including some matching self-effort requirement (matching contribution) and some standards of design and administration of the programme or project for which the conditional grants are made. In exceptional cases, all these conditions may be attached to the conditional grants. Plan grants, therefore, may be considered as close-ended, varying matching conditional grants.

Though plan grants have been in operation in this country during the last twenty-two years, sufficient attention has not been paid to their study, analysis and critical evaluation in terms of their economic justification, and of their economic, political and financial (particularly budgetary) implications. Besides, though statistical data on plan grants are shown in the budget papers of the Union and the State Governments, no information on the basis of their distribution among the States has been officially published. Surprisingly, even the State Governments, which have been unhappy over the way the plan grants have been used by the Union Government to influence their budgetary policies, much against their own will, have not demanded such official publication. As a result, researchers are left to depend upon scanty official information and other secondary sources for making an attempt to evaluate plan grants. In this context, Prof. Lakdawala observed: "One does not know enough about plan grants to say how exactly they have been determined so far, . . ."¹ Against this background, an attempt is

¹D.T. Lakdawala, "Union-State Financial Relationships", in S.N. Jain, *et al.* (eds.), *The Union and the States*, Delhi, National Publishing House, 1972, p. 195.

made in this paper to analyse and evaluate plan grants and also to suggest improvements in the basis of their distribution among the States.

DE JURE AND DE FACTO STATUS OF PLAN GRANTS

The Constitution of India has made provision under Articles 275(1) and 282 for the Union Government to provide grants to the States. The Union Government has been providing unconditional grants to the States under Article 275(1) on the advice of the Finance Commission which is a constitutional body provided under Article 280. However, it should be noted here that Article 275(1) empowers the Parliament in India to prescribe by law even conditional grants to the States which are in need of such assistance. And till the Parliament makes such law, the President of India may order to make conditional grants of specific sums on the advice of the Finance Commission. But, so far, the Union Government has not thought it fit to ask the Parliament under Article 275(1) to make any law for the purpose of making conditional grants to the States. And, surprisingly, no section of the Parliament has made any attempt to press the Parliament to exercise that power under Article 275(1). Only once during the past twenty-two years, the President of India prescribed the conditional grants for promoting primary education by his order, on the advice of the first Finance Commission. The later Finance Commissions have been discouraged by the Union Government from recommending conditional grants under Article 275(1). In fact, when the third Finance Commission recommended conditional grants for the development of road communications in some backward States, the Union Government did not accept this recommendation. The Member-Secretary to the third Finance Commission recommended the rejection of the Commission's recommendation of conditional grants on the ground that road development was an integral part of economic planning which was formulated by the Planning Commission and, therefore, it should allocate the funds for road development. Further, he rejected the recommendation of such grants by the Finance Commission on the ground that that would weaken the position of the Planning Commission in influencing States' development policies over which the Union Government has no control constitutionally. Thus the Union Government has rightly bifurcated, by its executive decision, its powers to provide unconditional revenue grants under Article 275(1) and its power to provide conditional revenue as well as capital grants under Article 282. Though constitutionally it is possible to use even Article 275(1) for providing conditional grants so as to achieve efficient implementation of economic planning within the framework of federation, it has rightly chosen to use Article 282 for providing conditional grants for pragmatic reasons. In other words, as the conditional grants under Article 275(1) have to be provided by enacting legislation, that would involve procedural delay and sometimes political blockade of the legislation which would hamper the implementation

of plan projects. Further, any required modifications in the methods and other conditions of the conditional grants necessitated by changed circumstances may become difficult. Because of these complications, the Union Government has rightly chosen to provide plan grants by executive decisions under Article 282. Since no legislative enactment is required to provide conditional grants under Article 282, it is flexible and simple for providing plan grants.

It is a well-known fact now that Article 282 is a substantial reproduction of section 150(2) of the Government of India Act of 1935. It empowers the Union Government as well as the State Governments to provide any grants for any public purpose even though that purpose may not be within the legislative jurisdiction of Parliament or State legislatures. The often repeated difference between section 150(2) of the Government of India Act of 1935 and Article 282 of the Indian Constitution is that section 150(2) used the words *for any purpose* whereas the present Article 282 uses the words *for any public purpose*. Under section 150(2) of the Government of India Act of 1935, a variety of grants were given by the then Government of India to the former Indian Provinces and Princely States. But Article 282 has been used extensively by the Union Government for providing plan grants to the State Governments without enacting any law of Parliament and without seeking the advice of the Finance Commission both of which are, of course, unnecessary. Since these conditional grants assume a discretionary nature and since they have been provided for only development purposes under five-year plans, the Union Government has been providing these grants mostly on the advice of the Planning Commission, which is an extra-constitutional body.

METHODS OF DISTRIBUTING PLAN GRANTS IN INDIA

These plan grants are provided by the Union Government to assist and encourage or stimulate the States' interest and activity in the field of economic development. Unlike in other federations, these conditional grants were initiated and sponsored from above, by the Union Government. Mostly they are provided to enable the State Governments to undertake development schemes which have been given priority in the five-year plans. As in the case of other federations, many of these development functions are within the jurisdiction of the State Governments in Indian federation also. And the State Governments do not possess sufficient revenue to undertake them without the financial assistance from the Union Government. Since the Union Government possesses sufficient revenue (made possible mostly by its elastic sources of revenue), it has successfully used this financial string to dictate national policies to the State Governments through the five-year plans. The effective use of this financial string has been openly admitted by the Member-

Secretary to the third Finance Commission in the following words: "Under the Constitution, economic and social planning is a concurrent subject. But many functions undertaken in furtherance of the plan are entirely in the State field in respect of which the Centre has no constitutional authority to require the States to execute the programme in any particular manner. The only way it can do so is by providing that at least for that part of the programme, which is considered to be of national importance, the States are given a financial inducement in the shape of tied grants to undertake and implement these schemes.... I am not suggesting that the State Governments cannot be trusted. But we cannot overlook the fact that in this large and diverse country of ours, there could be differences as to the national, as distinct from the State or regional, point of view."² Therefore, the plan grants have been used by the Union Government to achieve certain national economic objectives through the process of centrally directed economic planning.

The quantum of these plan grants has been determined by the Union Ministries concerned in consultation with the Planning Commission. For this purpose, the plan schemes are divided into two categories: (1) plan scheme sponsored by the State Governments, and (2) plan schemes sponsored by the Union Government. The former schemes are those which are suggested and initiated by the State Governments and which are approved by the Planning Commission, and which are included exclusively in the 'State Sector' of the States' plans. They include some irrigation, power, education and health schemes. The latter schemes are those which are suggested and initiated by the Union Government in consultation with the State Governments concerned and the Planning Commission. They include primary education, public health and social welfare schemes. Until the end of the Third Plan period, these schemes were further divided into 'Centrally assisted schemes' and 'Centrally sponsored schemes', depending upon the pattern of financial assistance from the Union Government. However, this distinction has disappeared now. But, during the Fourth Plan period, another group of Union Government sponsored plan schemes has emerged, i.e., 'Central sector schemes'. These schemes are suggested by the Planning Commission and sponsored by the Union Ministries. They are entirely financed by the Union Government and are included in the 'Central sector plan'. They include programmes of employment, small and marginal farmers development agency, drought-prone area development, etc. But the State Governments are entrusted with the task of their implementation.³

²India, *Report of the Third Finance Commission*, New Delhi, Government of India, 1961, p. 56.

³For further details, see Balwanth Reddy, "The Impact of Planning on Centre-State Relations", in B.L. Maheshwari (ed.), *Centre-State Relations in the Seventies*, Calcutta, Minerva Associates, 1973.

Until 1969-70, for the first category of plan schemes, the Union Government used to provide plan grants (a) 25 per cent of the cost of each such scheme in the form of conditional block grants, (b) 50 per cent of the cost of each such scheme in the form of loans, and (c) the remaining 25 per cent of the cost of each such scheme to be borne by the State Governments concerned as their matching contributions from their own resources.⁴ These plan grants were earmarked for each individual scheme and in the initial years the State Governments were not allowed to divert funds from one scheme to another. For the second category of plan schemes, the Union Government used to meet the entire cost of the schemes and entrust the responsibility of maintaining the projects after completion to the concerned State Governments. In exceptional cases, in the case of the second category of schemes also the Union Government used to meet only an agreed part of the total cost of the project depending upon the importance of the project in the plan priorities. Up to the end of Second Plan period, those projects which involved a total outlay of less than Rs. 2.5 million, or less than Rs. 1 million per year, were initiated by the Union Government without the approval of the Planning Commission and only those whose total costs exceeded Rs. 2.5 million or Rs. 1 million per year were required to be initiated by the concerned ministry in consultation with the Planning Commission.⁵ These plan grants, notably those provided for the first category of plan schemes, were made available to the State Governments annually only during the five year plan period; at the end of it they became committed expenditure which were required to be borne entirely by the concerned State Governments.

Besides these two forms of plan grants, the Union Government alone, or in cooperation with the State Governments, has been providing specific grants to the semi- and non-governmental bodies engaged in the promotion of social welfare activities, village industries, local development works, subsidised housing schemes, training of personnel for community development projects, public health, scientific research, university education and public administration.

Plan grants were provided to the States during the first three five-year plans on the basis of their financial needs in relation to their plan outlays. The need of each State for plan grants was supposed to be identified on the basis of its population, area, the extent of development already reached, on-going development projects, etc., though, in practice, political bargaining process determined such need. Basically, the plan grants were provided to each State to fill the gap between the State's plan outlay as approved by the Planning Commission and the State's own financial resources available for

⁴P.P. Agarwal, *The System of Grants-in-aid in India*, Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1959, p. 21.

⁵*ibid.*, p. 44.

plan purpose.⁶ It appears that in the initial years of planning, there were many complications in regard to the enumeration of schemes and determination of the quantum of assistance, and also there was confusion and delay in regard to the disbursement of the grants to the States. However, owing to the criticisms voiced by the State Governments, the procedure was substantially revised in 1958-59 so as to make it more flexible. Again in 1961 and in 1962 grouping of projects, procedure of payment and utilisation of grants were further simplified. In spite of these repeated simplifications, there remained still "....a medley of schemes with different percentages of assistance for different types of expenditure".⁷ Therefore, the State Governments pressed for the distribution of plan grants on some objective criteria instead of simple uniform percentages. As a result, the question was placed before the National Development Council early in 1969 and some objective criteria were proposed.

The new formula of distribution of plan grants among the States agreed to in the National Development Council seems to be applicable mostly to the first category of plan schemes mentioned earlier. According to this formula, the Union Government's assistance in the form of plan grants for the first category of States' plan schemes should be distributed 60 per cent on the basis of population, 10 per cent on per capita income, as on October 1, 1966 (only to those States whose per capita incomes are below the national average), 10 per cent on tax effort in relation to per capita income, 10 per cent on commitments in respect of major continuing irrigation and power projects (each costing Rs. 200 million and above), and 10 per cent on special problems (such as floods, chronically drought affected areas and tribal areas) of individual States.⁸ The total amount of plan grants for each State as determined on the basis of this formula is provided by the Union Government, 30 per cent in outright grants and 70 per cent in loans. However, in the case of Assam, Jammu and Kashmir, and Nagaland the entire plan grants are provided in outright grants. It appears that the Union Government sponsored schemes continue to be entirely financed by the Union Government. This scheme of distributing plan grants has come into effect from 1969-70.⁹

The earlier method of tying plan grants to specific projects has been minimised and has since been confined to agriculture development programmes, specified major irrigation and power projects, elementary education,

⁶For details, see Amiya Chatterji, *The Central Financing of State Plans in the Indian Federation*, Calcutta, Firma K.L. Mukhyopadhyay, 1971, Chs. 8 and 9.

⁷D.T. Lakdawala, *Union-State Financial Relations*, Bombay, Lalvani Publishing House, 1967, p. 101.

⁸Report of the Centre-State Relations Inquiry Committee, Government of Tamil Nadu, Madras, 1971, p. 107.

⁹ibid.

rural water supply, and projects involving foreign exchange and inter-State payments. The Union Government, in consultation with the Planning Commission, decides the total amount of financial assistance which it can provide annually over five years. It also decides the proportions of block grants and loans in this total assistance. And then the share of each State is calculated in terms of these criteria. Further, as the number of Union Government sponsored schemes has been drastically reduced, the State Governments are free to formulate their own plans subject to the approval of their major priorities by the Planning Commission. Detailed sectoral planning and execution of individual schemes and projects have been left to the State Governments.

Conditional grants are also provided by the Union Government to the States in India for non-developmental purposes, such as for providing relief to the people affected by natural calamities such as floods, earthquakes, droughts and rehabilitation of displaced persons. However, their relative importance is not very significant partly because a major portion of the financial assistance extended to the States by the Union Government for these purposes consists of loans rather than grants.

A CRITICAL EVALUATION OF PLAN GRANTS IN INDIA

The relative significance of plan grants has increased in the total federal fiscal transfers in India. This is evident from the fact that the plan grants which amounted to only Rs. 78.0 million in 1951-52, increased to Rs. 523.2 million in 1955-56 to Rs. 820.8 million in 1960-61, to Rs. 1862.2 million in 1965-66 to Rs. 2,691.4 million in 1970-71 and further to Rs. 4,116.80 million in 1973-74. Their relative position in the total federal fiscal transfers in India increased from 10 per cent in 1951-52 to as high as 42.0 per cent in 1955-56 and after a sudden decline to 27.3 per cent in 1960-61, increased to 31.1 per cent in 1965-66 to 47.6 per cent in 1970-71 and to 53.6 per cent in 1973-74. These trends imply that plan grants can be used as an effective means of achieving the objectives of economic planning in India. This depends, of course, on the principles or criteria of distributing them among the States and the efficiency with which they are utilised by the recipient State Governments. Past experience indicates that the Planning Commission and the Union Government interfered with the States' adjustment of plan schemes to their local needs and as a result there was some wastage of resources and frustration among the State Governments; because the concept and formulation of the detailed schemes of assistance suffered from many defects. The general principle underlying them was that the Central departments, which, more than the Planning Commission, framed the schemes, knew not only more about the national priorities of development, which could be accepted as they had the advantage of operating on the national scale, but also about the detailed

methods of achieving them. This exaggerated claim has not been supported by events. In the knowledge of local needs, resources and limitations, the State Governments were definitely superior; and there were instances whereby its insistence on certain schemes not suited to local conditions, the schemes became liable to abuse. To the extent to which they were strictly adhered to the patterns only succeeded in stifling local initiative and enterprise.¹⁰ Further, and more important, "the schemes do not seem to have ever received a scientific comprehensive review. Since there was no detailed pre-budget scrutiny, and supervision was out of question, there was no guarantee about the end-results. Financial supervision continued, but physical results were not linked up with it, and the final result could not be vouchsafed."¹¹

Apart from these lapses in regard to the utilisation of plan grants, the matching formula used till 1969-70 was inconsistent with the objective of assisting the poorer States. The loan content was more than the block grant in the total plan assistance provided to the States. This is true even now except in the case of three States. No wonder then, the States' indebtedness to the Union Government has increased enormously. Further, uniform application of this distribution formula, with some variations in favour of politically powerful States, went against the objective of reducing horizontal federal fiscal imbalance in the Indian federation. This has given rise to a lot of political criticism in recent years. The old formula developed a tendency on the part of the State Governments to accept standard schemes irrespective of their relevance for their needs. Besides, "the schemes also generally encouraged preparation of inflated plans and resulted in hard bargaining for Central funds. The better-off States were able to get a higher proportion of assistance in the form of grant by adopting schemes with a higher grant component, while providing for matching funds. Some of the poorer States on the contrary had to meet a part of their revenue expenditure through Central loan assistance."¹² Consequently, this method of distributing plan grants has been replaced by a new formula which distributes plan grants 60 per cent on population, 10 per cent each on the other four criteria enumerated earlier. Population as a good index of 'need' can be justified to be given more weightage for the said purpose in India. Even the last two criteria, namely, commitment to long-term irrigation and power projects, and chronic disasters consequent on drought, flood, etc., may be tolerable though they are arbitrarily placed in the distribution formula. But it is difficult to understand how and why tax effort was brought into the formula. For it is already taken care of in the States' contribution of resources for their plans, and if it is considered again, it is a double emphasis on one factor and a deliberate

¹⁰D.T. Lakdawala, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-101.

¹¹*ibid.*, pp. 101-102.

¹²S. Chakravarty, "The Planning Process in India: An Approach", *Working Paper for the Planning Commission*, New Delhi, Government of India, May 1972, p. 9.

injustice to the poorer States. The failure on the part of the State Governments to fulfil additional taxation targets, agreed to for each State under the plans¹³, and the failure of the Finance Commissions to take into account the relative tax efforts of the State Governments for recommending unconditional grants-in-aid might have compelled the Union Government to force the tax effort factor into the present distribution formula. However, I have suggested elsewhere¹⁴ that tax effort should be taken into account by the Finance Commission for recommending unconditional grants, its inclusion in the distribution formula for plan grants is unnecessary and unjustified. Besides, in the context of the larger loan content in the plan grants, together with the matching condition, it will be inequitable to include tax effort explicitly in the present distribution formula.

Secondly, the per capita income below the national average criterion is inadvisable at this stage and in the way it is used for the purpose of distributing plan grants. In the context of the mixed methods used for computing national income data, the error of estimation is placed between 10 and 15 per cent. These errors may adversely affect those States which experience marginal differences between their per capita incomes and the national average per capita income.¹⁵ Perhaps some of these States may ultimately

¹³This issue has been very well analysed by Prof. A.H. Hanson in his book, *The Process of Planning : A Study of India's Five Year Plans*, London, Oxford University Press, 1966, Ch. IX.

¹⁴G. Thimmaiah, *Federal Fiscal Systems of Australia and India*, New Delhi, Associated Publishers, 1975, Ch. V.

¹⁵In this context Prof. V.K.R.V. Rao, an eminent authority on national income in India, has observed that "it is well known that State estimates of income are not reliable and contain varying margins of error; and when it comes to comparing them and using the differential for policy purposes, it is very necessary to see that due account is taken of this factor. As it is not possible to calculate these margins of error with certainty and as it is therefore difficult to use the State estimates of income with any rigidity for inter-State comparison, we can use them only if we divide these estimates into broad ranges for purposes of ranking and then use this ranking for policy decisions regarding grants to different States. The National Development Council formula, however, made no such reservations in the use of per capita estimates of State income, nor did they introduce any refinements. States, whose per capita income estimates were even marginally above the national per capita income estimates, were put in one category and completely excluded from any share of 10 per cent Central plan assistance, while those below the national average were all entitled to a share in the 10 per cent. Thus we had States like Assam, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Mysore, whose per capita income was above the national average by about 5 per cent, excluded from any share in this 10 per cent of Central assistance. The worst example was that of Mysore whose per capita income was just Rs. 2 above the national average or by less than one per cent and yet got excluded from any share in this 10 per cent. It would, therefore, be obviously unjust for the Finance Commission to use the per capita basis in the way in which the Planning Commission has done". Memorandum submitted to the Sixth Finance Commission in his, *Centre-State Financial Relations in India*, Bangalore, Institute for Social and Economic Change, 1973, pp. 17-18.

oppose these two criteria, *i.e.*, tax effort and below national average per capita income, after suffering the loss of plan grants.

AN ALTERNATIVE PROPOSAL

In the context of the Indian economic circumstances, I am convinced to argue that it is advisable to relate plan grants to different development and welfare needs of each State. While population may be a common index of general need, other relevant indicators of specific needs may be added to it for providing conditional grants for specific plan programmes. For instance, grants for road schemes may be based partly on population and partly on area. For health schemes, grants may be provided on the number of people per doctor, nurse and hospital bed, etc. For this purpose, the needs of each State in the various fields of development activities and welfare services, which are nationally decided by the Planning Commission, must be assessed. The targets for achieving a certain national average level have to be fixed by the Planning Commission. And then the targets for each State should be divided on the basis of the already existing level. Then estimates of the required resources for achieving the targets of the different States must be made. After assessing the overall resources position of the Union Government, the total quantum of financial assistance it (the Union Government) can provide for the States' plans annually over a five-year period should be decided. This total sum of plan assistance should, first, be allocated at the national level, among various plan priorities, in proportion to their respective outlay in the total plan outlay of the entire public sector. Then the amount of plan assistance allotted to each development activity should be divided among the twenty-one States and nine Union Territories, partly on the basis of population and partly on the basis of the specific need of each State as measured by relevant specific indicators. The development schemes sponsored by the Union Government (Centrally sponsored schemes) should be included for the purpose of distributing plan grants among the States as many of them come under the State subjects. As the number of such schemes has been reduced, it may not pose any problem for the planners. However, the above outlined scheme of distributing plan grants gives double weightage to the population both explicitly, and implicitly, in indicators of specific needs. This does not make the scheme arbitrary as it is necessary to protect the interests of some States which are densely populated. Further, there is no need to make grants separately for relief measures as they are also included in the five year plans. Finally, it is better to vary the matching requirement and loan content of the plan grants according to the overall economic and financial position of each State so as to favour the relatively poorer States with more grant content. It is better to confine the loan content of the plan grants to those schemes which will yield direct revenue to the undertaking State Governments so that the revenue may be used to service and repay those loans.

The scheme for distributing plan grants in India outlined above retains the control of the Planning Commission over the priorities and the overall targets of five year plans. It retains the control and supervision of the Union Government and the Planning Commission over the States' plans, their priorities and implementation. Besides, it will enable the Planning Commission to allocate the national resources to the best interests of all the States which have been neglected by the Indian planners. Inter-State disparities in social and economic infrastructure facilities will be gradually reduced. And this scheme will not distort significantly the allocation of national resources for development purposes, with reference to a modified concept of allocation efficiency which I have justified elsewhere.¹⁶ The allocation formula presently used does not achieve these objectives.

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¹⁶G. Thimmaiah, *op. cit.*, Ch. I.

PLAN IMPLEMENTATION : EVOLUTION AND EVALUATION OF PLANNERS' VIEWS

Kamal Nayan Kabra

As the crisis of planning in India is deepening, plan implementation is receiving increasing attention. In the present paper we survey the process of evolution of the Planning Commission's thinking on this issue. First, we present the way in which the critical importance of plan implementation has been impressing itself on the official planners. Then we piece together the several elements of implementation process as they have been viewed by the Planning Commission. This exercise enables us to characterise, in the last section, the planners' thinking in this respect as one which does not view the process of plan formulation and plan implementation being logically and integrally linked through what we call planning of plan implementation. Besides this basic limitation, we also find some other tendencies which reduce the effectiveness of plan implementation and must be related to the basic limitation mentioned above. In the course of elaborating these themes, we make a brief reference to the potential pay-off from planning of plan implementation.

SIGNIFICANCE OF PLAN IMPLEMENTATION

Failures at the level of implementation are generally held responsible for the poor performance of the Indian economy over the decades of economic planning for development. Both the generalist and the specialist, as also the experts within the Planning Commission, make common cause to criticise plan implementation for letting down our efforts at planned economic development.¹ An associated view held along with this is to give a good chit to

¹Many instances can be cited. To take a few examples: See A. Waterson, *Development Planning: Lessons of Experience*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins 1965, for many such views: M.L. Dantwala, "Agricultural Sector and Implementation of Plans", p. 97 in Pruthi, P.S. Surinder (eds.), *Management of Plans*, Ahmedabad, Ahmedabad Management Association, 1967, says: "In any critical appraisal of our planning effort, it is now almost common place to say that the gravest defect from which it suffers is the sphere of implementation. This has now been freely admitted even in official documents. The publications of the Programme Evaluation Organisation of the Planning Commission and of the Committee on Plan Projects have pinpointed the precise areas in which implementation has failed. The Planning Commission has taken cognizance of this and, from time to time, made suggestions for improvement in implementation. The real trouble is that in spite of all these evaluation,

planning policies and plan formulation in general. Thus plan implementation is made to appear as the Achilles' heel of Indian planning.

Reference is made to these shortcomings of plan implementation by the Planning Commission itself. The Third Five Year Plan report says : "These include the slow pace of execution in many fields, problems involved in the planning, construction and operation of large projects, especially increase in costs and non-adherence to time-schedules, difficulties in training men on a large enough scale and securing personnel with the requisite calibre and experience, achieving coordination in detail in related sectors of the economy and, above all, enlisting widespread support and cooperation from the community as a whole."² The increasing magnitude of these problems is further brought out: "As large burdens are thrown on the administrative structure, it grows in size; as its size increases, it becomes slower in functioning.... Delays occur and affect operations at every stage and the expected outputs are further deferred. New tasks become difficult to accomplish if the management of those in hand is open to just criticism."³ In fact, the issue seems to be quite non-controversial. A study of plan implementation in India arrived at a categorical conclusion that "critical neglect of factors relevant to successful plan implementation has largely been responsible for failures of the plans."⁴ On the basis of this argument the author goes so

(Contd. from p. 247)

self-criticisms and remedial prescriptions, the malady persists; perhaps it is getting aggravated."

D.K. Ragnekar, "The Asian Dilemma", in *India and Asia, The Economic Times, Annual 1973*, p. 25. Bombay. "But Asian policy makers tend to disregard the need to bring about structural changes in society, they minimise or ignore the resource potential of institutional changes and the validity of latent productive forces. In India, for example, what is called planning is in reality half-planning—a collation of schemes of public expenditure, targets of assistance to state governments, and aid to the private sector. There is an obsession with matters financial, and an enormous sector of the economy—the private sector—remains unplanned. This system of half-planning has had its own stultifying effects on the content and pace of development and change."

The contention of M. Avsenov, "Problems of Economic Planning in Developing Countries", *Soviet Review*, Vol. X, No. 46, p. 29 is strikingly relevant for Indian planning experience. He says:

"The emphasis is only on the drawing up of the plan, but there is no control over its fulfilment. In other words, the developing countries detail, to a greater or lesser extent, what is to be done, but do not consider how the projected targets can be achieved and who is to be responsible for the fulfilment of the plans. The main reasons for the underfulfilment of the plans stem from factors connected with the multiplicity of the economic forms in these countries and the absence of state control over the key branches of the national economy." (emphasis added).

²Government of India, *Third Five Year Plan*, New Delhi, Planning Commission, p. 277.
³*Ibid.*, p. 277.

⁴V.G. Patel, *An Analysis of Plan Implementation in India*, Ahmedabad, Balgovind 1969, p. 27.

far as to suggest that "capacity to implement" can be regarded as one of the constraints on Indian economic growth along with savings and foreign exchange constraints.

As economic planning is essentially conscious, rational decision-making, it is not unreasonable to expect that if a problem has been identified its solution cannot be far behind. By about the time the Third Plan was formulated, the critical significance of plan implementation had dawned upon the planners. The problem which was understood as one of "Reform of Public Administration" and "Administrative Tasks and Organisation" in the First and Second Plans, respectively, came clearly to be recognised in the Third Plan as essentially one of plan implementation. This understanding underwent some improvement in the Fourth Plan and its importance has steadily increased since then.⁵

Notwithstanding these changes, which can be seen only as a result of a very minute scrutiny of the plan documents, the planners do not seem to have made much headway in actual practice in the sphere of ensuring more effective plan implementation. In "Approach to the Fifth Plan" the same old pleas and platitudes with respect to plan implementation are ritually repeated without any substantive steps or mechanism for plan implementation being in sight. It says: "The Fifth Plan will be judged by the results that we achieve. There is imperative need to evolve an appropriate set of policies and procedures for implementation."⁶ It goes on to say: "Bold initiatives are needed in institution building, policy making and the adoption of procedures to create and utilise capacities in the key and essential fields."⁷ Thus, it can be said that there is nothing in this respect to warrant a more sanguine attitude regarding better plan implementation now than before.

INDIAN PLANNERS AND PLAN IMPLEMENTATION

What is the position the Indian planners have taken with respect to the question of plan implementation in the various plan documents? As we indicated earlier, in the First and the Second Five Year Plans, the problems of plan implementation surfaces as one of public administration and its re-orientation to discharge the task of development administration. The Second Plan expresses explicit doubts about the capacity of public administration in this respect.⁸

⁵Government of India, *Fourth Five Year Plan*, New Delhi, Planning Commission, p. 107.

⁶Government of India, *Approach to the Fifth Plan*, New Delhi, Planning Commission, p. 59.

⁷*ibid.*, p. 60.

⁸Government of India, *Second Five Year Plan*, New Delhi, Planning Commission, p. 126.

It goes on to categorise "the principal administrative tasks" during the Second Five Year Plan and discusses the questions of improving integrity, economy and efficiency in administration.⁹ Some attention is given to the problems of public enterprises. These views of the Planning Commission which tend to cover the question of plan implementation do not show an understanding of the question in the context of the overall planning process and its various steps. Had it been so, there would have been an analysis of the mechanism for obtaining performance and results from the agricultural and private industrial sector according to the plan targets for these sectors. It should also have contained an analysis of the vast distribution sector which is so highly decentralised and dispersed. Even with respect to the organisational and management problems of public enterprises, the treatment would have to go beyond the question of forms of organisation, public accountability and financial and administrative procedures. Much more relevant would have been the question of agency, criteria, methods of communication and incentives for implementation of the decisions with respect to output, assortment, methods of production, wage structure, investment, inventories, replacements and building of various reserve funds, etc. In the name of operational autonomy with respect to day-to-day management, the basic and crucial economic decisions in the operation of existing capacities could not be left to an unrepresentative and self-perpetuating bureaucracy or to the vagaries of 'unplanned' decision-making. Even in the field of public administration, the discussions and formulations should proceed not in the form of general deficiencies of administration but in the form of alternative modes of functioning of agencies responsible for specific tasks and a scheme of incentives related to results. In fact, one may wonder whether the nature and magnitude of planned tasks squared with the existence, nature, capabilities and motivation of agencies in many fields of economic activities. Once the problem is faced in the form of a distinct step in the process of planning, *i.e.*, as the problem of 'planning of plan implementation', (which unfortunately has not been the case) one would expect all such questions to present themselves for decision-making by the planners.

True, the Third Plan inched some distance towards a better understanding of the problem of plan implementation as a multi-level process and it is recognised that "there has to be cooperation between different agencies and an understanding of the purposes of the Plan and the means through which these are to be secured."¹⁰ It also recognises the need for effective communication and the existence of special problems regarding the private sector along with those of its vast unorganised segment. Then it adds: "By its very nature, a plan of development necessarily involves the setting of targets

⁹Second Five Year Plan, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

¹⁰Third Five Year Plan, *op. cit.*, p. 276 (emphasis added).

and subsequent appraisal of fulfilment. Targets may provide useful indicators of progress, and may make for concentrated effort, but equally important are the specific measures and policies needed to realise them and their sustained implementation."¹¹ As the italicised portions indicate, something which we are going to call 'planning of plan implementation' was felt to be necessary.

Realisation of targets alone is not sufficient; the measures and policies needed to realise them are also important. The question really is: what was the impact of this new understanding? Was such planning of instruments, institutions and policies undertaken? Not only one does not find any indication to this effect, but, on the contrary, there are indications of the persistence of the woolly approach.

In a booklet entitled "The Planning Process", published officially by the Planning Commission (1964), there is a separate chapter devoted to an analysis of implementation of the plan. At one place it reads: *At no point* is planning isolated from the responsibility for implementation, nor is implementation viewed as an independent responsibility which may be pursued in disregard of or in separation from the conditions laid down or accepted in the context of planned development.¹² After speaking of the close mutual relation between planning and implementation, it is given out in the next paragraph, "the organisation of the Planning Commission facilitates its role as an advisory body functioning at the highest policy level without, however, being involved in the responsibilities of day-to-day administration."¹³ This is a clear indication of confused thinking. Later on in the chapter there is a mixing up of the problems of plan formulation with those of implementation.¹⁴ In none of the subsequent plans does one come across the results of planned means-selecting decisions.

As indicated earlier, the Fourth Plan formulation of the problem of plan implementation was one better than the earlier ones. It said: "The proper and timely implementation of plans has great importance in the planning process and is facilitated if the necessary steps are taken at the stage of formulation itself."¹⁵ Listing the steps which facilitate plan implementation, it goes on to add: "These include the identification of organisations entrusted with

¹¹Third Five Year Plan *op. cit.*, p. 279 (emphasis added).

¹²Government of India, *The Planning Process*, New Delhi, Planning Commission, 1964, pp. 52-53 (emphasis added).

¹³*ibid.*, p. 53 (emphasis added).

¹⁴*ibid.*, p. 61. The list of problems of plan implementation covers such items as "co-ordination between industry, transport and power, location and scale of enterprises and external economies in operation, programming of public sector, issues affecting determination of wages", etc.

¹⁵Fourth Five Year Plan, *op. cit.*, p. 107 (emphasis added).

particular aspects of implementation, establishment of specific responsibilities, determination of means or machinery through which these will be fulfilled, detailed planning for execution, development of information and control systems for appraising the progress as well as taking corrective action in time".¹⁶ One would like to add some more activities which fall in the category of planning of plan implementation, some of which arise because of the institutional and functional peculiarities of Indian economic planning. However, in a document embodying a concrete plan meant for implementation, one would not expect the theoretical formulation of the nature and scope of planning of plan implementation alone but *definite results* of such an exercise. As things were, no such thing was visible even in the Fourth Plan. On the other hand, the past mixing up of plan formulation and plan implementation still persists. As we indicated earlier, no breakthrough seems to be in the offing even in the approach document of the Fifth Plan.

The Fifth Plan draft is in many ways different from the earlier plans in respect of its treatment of the problem of plan implementation. While it is evident that much greater attention has been given to this aspect, owing to the realisation of its critical significance, it is difficult to discover similar gains regarding the concept and analysis of implementation. Administrative problems, mainly relating to procedures, and based on the perception contained in the reports of the Administrative Reforms Commission, constitute the central focus of the formulation concerning plan implementation. This analysis concerns the specific issues faced by the Central and State Ministries and public and private sector undertakings. The main theme, of course, is how to get the projects completed according to schedule in order to meet plan targets. Going into the details of the various existing and contemplated implementing agencies, their objectives, functions, organisational structures, procedures, etc., some sort of *management manuals* are prescribed in order to rectify some of the noticed shortcomings in the functioning of these units. Thus, the Planning Commission gets involved in a process of scrutiny and correction of the specific issues of internal management of the various public agencies.

The most important global issues in the sphere of plan implementation raised by the Draft Plan are: the role of the State Industrial Development Corporations, creation of effective concurrent monitoring and evaluation system and the proposal regarding the creation of Area Development Authorities. For the rest, the plan implementation section of the Draft Plan seems to be concerned more with the preparation of management manuals for individual plan projects rather than with management of the plan. That is to say, while "the need for greater decentralisation of power and delegation

¹⁶Fourth Five Year Plan, *op. cit.*, p. 107

of authority"¹⁷ is stressed, as in the earlier plans, the actual exercise in the Draft amounts to central intervention in minute details about the day-to-day problems and procedures at the level of individual departments and enterprises. The Draft Plan seems to be more concerned with the management of projects individually than with the management of the plan.

It is true that all is not well with the functioning of individual departments right from Central to district levels and with the public and private sector undertakings. A great deal remains to be done about toning up their administration and management. However, everything cannot be explained by this factor. Much of the trouble can be traced back to the planning exercise in which macro policies, instrumentalities and their roles, specification of relationship between the various organisations and institutional changes and innovations are not worked out in a clear and consistent manner with a view to securing the implementation of the plan. For example, the details about the functions of non-secretariat organisations such as the Director-General of Health Services and how to integrate them more fully with the concerned ministries and departments are important for operational efficiency. However, the more important functions are determination of structural and decision-making decentralisation and determination of instructions-indicators schemes and their correlation with incentives schemes. It is in the process of answering the latter type of questions that viable and workable implementation patterns may get evolved and, given some other conditions, become operative. These questions fall in the category of what we call planning of plan implementation or management of plans. The Draft Fifth Plan completes the circle; from the earlier near non-recognition of the problem of plan implementation we now come round to the situation of attempting to take detailed operational decisions about implementation at the Central level. Earlier, it seemed to be the assumption that implementation will take care of itself. Now the pendulum seems to have swung to the other extreme; leave as little as possible, non-prescribed, for the actual executants! Our contention is that the theoretical and conceptual framework for the understanding of plan implementation is one of the important factors which is at the root of the movement in circles we have witnessed on this issue.

ENSURING EFFECTIVE PLAN IMPLEMENTATION

We have surveyed the position taken by the Planning Commission on the crucial question of plan implementation. We have also seen how the Planning Commission itself considers shortcomings in this field as basic

¹⁷Government of India, *Draft Fifth Five Year Plan*, New Delhi, Planning Commission, p. 93.

bottlenecks preventing planning from becoming a really potent instrument of planned economic development. The question is: how to improve the performance of plans through overcoming the implementation bottleneck. While it may not be reasonable to pin hopes exclusively on more effective implementation, it is our contention that a great deal can be done by bridging the chasm between plan-formulation and plan implementation through undertaking planning of plan implementation. Our main criticism of the planners' position on implementation is that it has not consciously and operationally realised the nature and importance of planning of plan implementation which is a pre-condition for ensuring effective implementation.

To understand the concept of planning of plan implementation and see its significance in covering the gap between plan targets and achievements, let us briefly analyse the main steps in the planning process. This will enable us to see why does there arise the need for planning of plan implementation and what will be the consequences of neglecting this exercise.

The planning agencies are expected to produce a plan document for a specified period of time which embodies concrete programmes of investment, production and resource utilisation in consonance with plan objectives. However, it is not clearly, explicitly and operationally realised that the methods, modalities, institutions, policies and their inter-relations, which will ensure the realisation of the concrete programmes contained in the plan, also need to be worked out as a part of the plan itself. The process of plan formulation consists of three inter-related steps : (i) goals-selecting decisions, (ii) programmes-selecting decisions, and (iii) instruments-selecting or mechanism-devising decisions.¹⁸

Generally the goals-selection and programme preparation are taken to constitute the essence of planning. It is conveniently assumed that somehow the programmes prepared by the 'planning' agencies with a view to achieve given goals will be carried out by the implementing agencies. The instruments for or mechanism of implementation are to be selected by the 'implementors' and are no direct concern of the 'planners'. We argue against this position in the following paragraphs.

The process of plan formulation cannot be said to be complete unless it also makes a choice of or indicates the criteria for choice with respect to instruments, methods and agencies capable of translating the planned tasks into reality according to the decisions of the planners. This is so for a number

¹⁸For this and the points which follow with respect to the concepts of "Planning of Plan Implementation" and "Plan Implementation", see, Kamal Nayan Kabra, "Role of Price Mechanism As a Tool of Plan Implementation in a Planned Economy", unpublished Ph.D. Thesis of the University of Delhi (1972), Chapter 2.

of reasons. The rationale for undertaking economic planning will be nullified if the planned tasks are to be accomplished anyhow and irrespective of costs. The elemental, spontaneous nature of economic activities, i.e., their unplanned nature, would remain in tact if plans are formulated without devising a mechanism or mechanisms for implementation.

Among the reasons why the Indian economy remains an unplanned one with the elemental, spontaneous nature of its economic activities, are the inadequacies and shortcomings amounting almost to absence of planning of plan implementation which arises, among other things, because of the confused understanding of the nature of plan implementation by Indian planners.¹⁹ Since there can be a number of alternative implementation mechanisms and the adoption of any particular mechanism will involve some specific consequences, economic planning will lose a lot of meaning if these choices were left indeterminate or unplanned. True, the medium-term plan will formulate the means of implementation in somewhat general terms which will have to be concretised through annual planning which, in turn, becomes the most important prop of the Government's annual budget.

The means or instruments-selecting decisions, which according to our formulation, constitute planning of plan implementation, and fall in the purview of economic planners, must be distinguished from the problems of internal organisation and management for various government departments, agencies, boards, commissions, authorities and corporations, private and cooperative agencies and joint sector units which are assigned the task of implementing various plan programmes according to the overall planning of plan implementation.

This sort of a conceptual framework does not seem to be obtaining in the Planning Commission. A paper, 'Implementation: A Conceptual Framework', published in a Planning Commission publication, says: "Planning involves (i) identification of objective, (ii) establishment of premises and policies, and (iii) the blue printing of a detailed plan of action in terms of manageable projects. Implementation involves (i) programming the individual projects, (ii) actuating or providing the necessary leadership, and (iii) exerting the controls in order to examine whether work on the plan of action is proceeding as programmed"²⁰. One can easily see the strong

¹⁹Because of these inadequacies and shortcomings of planning of plan implementation, mainly because this step of the planning process is not even explicitly and clearly recognised, and because there has not been in practice an effort at this stage of the planning process, one may conclude that planning of plan implementation has been neglected in Indian planning. See earlier in the present paper for an overview of Indian planners' views on plan implementation.

²⁰Reghbir S. Basi, "Implementation: A Conceptual Framework" in *Plan Implementation*, Delhi, Publications Division, 1964, p. 29.

influence of management science principles and concepts on this formulation and the close affinity which it bears to the PPB (Planning Programming-Budgeting) technique. Implementation in the sense of 'the blueprinting of a detailed plan of action in terms of manageable projects' involves various elements relevant for the manager of a project. These are important and legitimate questions for the personnel and agencies entrusted with specific responsibilities about plan programmes and/or projects. These programmes do not directly concern the Central planners. But there are some questions concerning overall, broad implementation mechanism (which, *inter alia*, would specify the agencies, communication modes, incentives and inter-relations among the various agencies entrusted with plan implementation) which will have to be decided at *the whole economy level* by the planners. That is to say, there is a clear-cut distinction between deciding about the institutions, measures, their inter-relationships (planning of plan implementation) and the internal management problem of various organisations entrusted with the carrying out of their specific tasks arrived at on the basis of planning of plan implementation.

Plan targets, it is true, may not be achieved because of things going wrong either with the planning of plan implementation or with the internal management problems of various organisations. That argues for the importance of both. Yet, the two do not merge into one as a consequence of their common source for importance. One may say that, broadly speaking, planning of plan implementation involves the perception and solution of a macro-level problem with respect to the organisational structure of the economy and its various sectors, modes of communication between the planners and executant organisations. The Planning Commission's conception of implementation referred to earlier can be said to concern the internal management problems regarding structural or organisational forms, procedures, PPB, financial management, personnel policy, etc., of governmental and autonomous public organisations. All these problems are traditional management problems. We may distinguish planning of plan implementation problems from this group of questions which may be called 'management of projects' by calling our problems as one of 'management of plans'.

The concept of 'management of plans', as elaborated by John P. Lewis,²¹ is basically similar to what we understand by planning of plan implementation. Noting the inherently centralised nature of plan formulation and the decentralised nature of implementation, Lewis goes on to say: "The question is how does the nation, or its agent, the Government, get this plethora of economic actors in the system to make the investments, produce the

²¹John, P. Lewis, "The Management of Plans : Planning Procedure", in Pruthi, P.S. Surinder (eds.), *Management of Plans, op. cit.*

products, distribute the incomes, serve the consumers and other end users, and otherwise perform the tasks which the plans, at least in a general way, call for them to do?"²² A little further, he says: "At least in its most obvious sense, the 'Management of Plans' has to do with the means for making all of this (the Materials and Financial Balances) come about more or less on time, and in a way that is consistent with the values and institutions of Indian Society."²³

Though our conception has a lot of similarity with the conception of Lewis, some basic differences crop up in following through the implications of the concepts. Lewis considers "the process of managing plans" to be "essentially procedural, not a substantive topic."²⁴ In Lewis's conception, "managing plans by a system of indirection"²⁵ and "the advantages of the market as an engine of implementation"²⁶ play a very powerful role. To argue that choices with respect to such questions are 'procedural' matters, and not 'substantive' ones, would imply that the consequences of one or the other set of decisions about institutions, organisations, their roles and responsibilities, etc., would be consistent with "the values and institutions of Indian society" or, for that matter, with those of any other society. To put it bluntly, were the questions regarding the management of plans to be non-substantive, procedural ones only, the neglect of this aspect in Indian planning would not have seriously mattered. In such a case, it would be beside the point to blame implementation for the poor yields from planning in India. Hence, we object to this contention.

Planning of plan implementation or 'management of plans' is a basic issue, the neglect of which exercises a decisive influence on the nature, content and efficacy of Indian planning. One very important cause for the apparent disenchantment with planning, which is linked with the basic socio-economic basis of our planning, lies in the realm of neglecting and distorting the question of plan implementation. Had the concept of planning of plan implementation (centralised, conscious, *ex-ante* decision-making about institutions and organisation of the economy) been consistently and clearly spelt out, with every plan we would have been forced to undertake an exercise about the institutional restructuring which is an essential concomitant of planning exercise. This is an exercise which has been slipped under the carpet, *inter alia*, because of the confusions regarding the concept of plan implementation itself. An obvious lesson from the experience of planned economies has

²²John, P. Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 114

²³*ibid.*, p. 115.

²⁴*ibid.*, p. 113

²⁵*ibid.*, p. 120

²⁶*ibid.*, p. 123

not been fully and adequately learnt by our planners.²⁷

On the basis of the foregoing, it can easily be seen that 'planning of plan implementation' and 'plan implementation' are two separate, distinct activities. Their close relationship notwithstanding, practical and conceptual separateness of the two sets of activities must be recognised. While planning of plan implementation is an economic problem for social scientists, or a problem of *planomics*, plan implementation belongs to the domain of public administration, business administration, personnel management or, in general, to the domain of management and technical sciences. Planning of plan implementation is the responsibility of economic planners. Even in the light of the social division of labour which has come to prevail at the present juncture, the separateness of economic planners and economic administrators is well recognised. Hence, plan implementation does not belong to the sphere of activities earmarked for economic planners. Nevertheless, the information emanating from plan implementation forms the basic information input indispensable for the various steps of the process of plan formulation because decisions are to be implemented and the situations emerging from the implementation of decisions provide the basis and ground for further decision-making; that is to say, decision-making and implementation have intimate feedback relationships. On the basis of the preceding discussion, it should be possible to see how plan formulation and plan implementation are distinct but inter-related activities and how in the absence of planning of implementation, actual plan execution or implementation would suffer to the extent of nullifying the basic rationale of economic planning. If a real breakthrough is sought to be achieved in realising the potential of economic planning (both as determining the unifying-harmonising-framework for various macro and micro-policies and instruments and as planning itself as a micro-instrument for speeding economic development in India), then planning of plan implementation has to be undertaken. This may require that the range, scope and intensity of planning will have to increase. Consequently, the complexity and magnitude of planning of plan implementation will tend to increase. The point is that if the planning of plan implementation is undertaken even on the existing scale and level of economic planning, it will bring in two types of gains. On the one hand, the potentialities of planning will be realised more fully. This will make for more realistic target-setting and

²⁷In *Papers Relating to the Formulation of the Second Five Year Plan*, Planning Commission, 1955. There were papers by B.N. Ganguli, "Institutional Implications of a Bolder Plan with special reference to China's Experience" (pp. 530-550) and S.R. Sen, "Organisation and Techniques of Economic Planning in the USSR with special reference to Agriculture" (pp. 601-629) which indicated efforts in the directions of drawing organisational, institutional and instruments—relating lessons from the experience of planned economies. It is not known whether such exercises were continued later. In any case, at practical level, there was not much evidence of such an exercise.

reduce the hiatus between targets and achievements. On the other hand, this process will not allow the blame for poor results being laid at the doors of implementation process (because it makes implementation more effective) and thus focus on the modest scale and level of planned effort undertaken so far, as also on the greater potential which remains untapped. Thus, in the short-run, we can have better implementation and, in the long-run, can move toward enriching the range, scope and intensity of planning to make a greater contribution to the process of economic development.

It is obvious from the foregoing that in the absence of planning of plan implementation, failures are in-built in Indian planning. Without adequate attention to this aspect, plan execution suffers and even when the targets are attained, the costs, real and monetary, may be unreasonable. In fact, the confusion between objectives and instruments, caused by the inadequacies of planning of plan implementation, will have adverse impact even on the formulation of various plan programmes because the resource base would not be properly known and in the absence of the confidence generated by an understanding of the means for implementation, there is likely to be a tendency for setting up low targets. It is easy to see that many inefficiencies will flow from *ad hoc*, piecemeal and random choice of instruments and methods without coordinated, conscious, decision-making in this field. An evaluation of the various alternative modes and mechanisms of plan implementation will not only help in avoiding waste, duplication and bottlenecks, but may also enable the planners to discover hidden potentials for achieving the objectives of the plans.



THE SELECTION OF INDIAN ADMINOCRATS

S. R. Gokhale

THE Administrative Reforms Commission, in its report on Personnel Administration, had recommended that a committee should be set up to go into the question of devising better methods of recruitment and reviewing the syllabus of the examinations held for top administrative services. In its report on the functioning of the Union Public Service Commission, the Estimates Committee of Parliament had also suggested that a thorough review should be made of the recruitment system followed by the UPSC. In pursuance of these recommendations, the UPSC has constituted a six-member committee on "Recruitment Policy and Selection Methods" under the chairmanship of Dr. D.S. Kothari, with other eminent persons in the fields of education and administration as its members. The terms of reference of this committee include, amongst others, the following issues: (1) review of the scheme of IAS, etc., examinations; (2) adequacy of the existing personality tests, (3) additions or deletion, to the list of subjects included in the examinations, and (4) arrangements for a review at regular intervals of the syllabi of subjects prescribed for the various examinations.

With a view to collecting detailed information for this purpose, the committee had issued a questionnaire and called for views and suggestions from the various Ministries and departments of the Government as well as from public bodies. The following aspects of this problem, amongst those covered by the questionnaire, are proposed to be dealt with in this article:

- (i) The knowledge, skills and other qualifications expected of persons joining the higher administrative services*, in the context of the tasks of national development, social objectives, etc.
- (ii) The merits and deficiencies of the present selection methods in relation to the present tasks and the likely new trends.
- (iii) Suggestions for improvement of the present scheme of the combined competitive examination known as (IAS, etc., examination).
- (iv) The need for modifying the range of subjects included in the scheme of the combined competitive examinations.

* These include what are at present called the All-India Services, the Indian Foreign Service and the Central Services Class I.

"The business of Government is government and not business", someone had said rhetorically to criticise the recent trend of more and more control of business by the Government, not only in the socialist countries but even in a country like the USA. There was perhaps considerable force in this argument till 40 or 50 years ago when businessmen managed business, and Governments governed countries, each leaving the other more or less alone. And it was this period that saw the rise of the 'civil servant', later on to be denigrated as a 'bureaucrat'.

The very term civil servant brings forth different reactions from different sections of the society. To a scholar and historian the term is as old as two thousand years, for it was the great philosopher Plato who envisaged the idea of a civil service and exhorted its members "neither to consider nor enjoin their own interest but that of the subjects on behalf of whom they exercise their craft". That was why Plato wished to prevent his civil servants from owning land, houses, gold or silver and mingling with their fellowmen lest they become "householders and cultivators instead of guardians, and hostile masters of their fellow citizens rather than their allies."

RECRUITMENT AND TRAINING

A serious thought to the problem of recruitment and training of civil servants was given for the first time in recent years by the Fulton Committee appointed by the British Government to review the entire spectrum of problems connected with this subject. The Committee, in its report published in 1968, brought into the limelight the 'generalist vs. specialist' controversy which has generated more interest in the field of Government administration than any other single report in recent times. Making far-reaching recommendations, which included the establishment of a Civil Service Department to take over the personnel function exercised by the Treasury, creating a Civil Service Academy for post-entry training, and appointing technically qualified personnel in policy-making positions in the higher ranks of the bureaucracy, the Fulton Report made a strong case for relating jobs to organisational objectives and the use of increased professionalism. The essence of the Fulton theme was that the cult of the administrative class is obsolete. In India the Administrative Reforms Commission almost took a leaf out of the Fulton Report and made an equally strong plea for the replacement of 'generalists' by 'specialists'.

The other side of the picture has been presented with equal force by Frederick C. Mosher¹ who finds the overweening influence of professionals in the United States civil services equally dangerous for its continued efficiency.

¹Frederick C. Moher, *Democracy and the Public Service*, London Oxford University Press, 1968.

In this, he is supported by Paul Appleby, who has stated that there is no single problem in public administration equal to "the reconciliation of the increasing dependence upon experts within an enduring democratic reality". Strengthened by Appleby's views, Mosher considers professionalism as a serious threat to the two democratic ideals of civil service, *viz.*, wide access to public employment through merit, and responsiveness to political direction. While many may doubt if a specialist can ever have the breadth of vision, so necessary either in a developing nation like India (or a developed nation under social strain like the U.K.), can one be sure that the 'non-specialist' would be any less parochial? Since the evidence collected by the Fulton Committee, Administrative Reforms Commission, and other experts on this subject is non-empirical, and therefore inconclusive, we seem to be left with the problem on our hands without a solution. But this need not be so.

We may accept the Fulton thesis that the absence of professionalism in the civil service reduces an administration to a state of impotence, and also the opinion of other experts that professionalism poses a distinct threat to democratic control. The solution to the problem is, as in many other cases, a *via-media*, the golden mean, between generalism and specialism. The bureaucrat often lacks the knowledge and technical skill required for certain jobs; the technocrat, on the other hand, may not have had the time or opportunity to develop certain qualities needed in some assignments; but there will certainly be a large number of persons amongst both bureaucrats and technocrats who have the aptitude for acquiring and developing the knowledge, the skill and conceptual ability that they may be lacking. The need of the day is, therefore, neither for the mere 'bureaucrat' nor the 'technocrat' but the 'adminocrat', who would have qualities that make a successful 'manager' whether in a Government department or a public sector undertaking.

In the light of the observations made above, we may examine what knowledge, skills and other qualifications are expected of entrants to the higher administrative services. In the first instance, it must be admitted that the candidates joining the All-India and Central Services should possess an in-depth knowledge of the Indian social milieu—historical background, basic facts about the economic situation within the country and abroad, and a general 'feel' of the overall socio-economic trends in the world at large. As regards the quality of mind and personality, a scientific bent of mind that considers cause and effect relationship (instead of coming to conclusions on the basis of *a priori* assumptions or mental stereo-types), sharp perception, analytical capacity for categorisation and calculated decisions, should be considered to be the very essential attributes expected of persons joining any of the top Government services. Emphasis should however be on testing of attitudes and mental qualities rather than on testing of knowledge and skills,

since the latter can be acquired and developed to a certain extent while in service.

The motivation for functioning in official capacity would differ substantially from the motivation which drives individuals who appear for competitive examinations. In view of this, any emphasis on testing motivational patterns of a candidate would not be very fruitful. The qualities of mind and personality traits are however very important and some of the aspects which should receive special attention are:

- (1) Ability to comprehend a problem in totality after comprehending all data available and required,
- (2) sympathetic and humane approach towards those who are likely to work under the officer, and
- (3) integrity of a high order.

SELECTION OF THE CIVIL SERVANTS

Having determined the objectives for the recruitment policy, we may now proceed to examine what changes are necessary in the existing selection methods. The system of recruitment to the higher echelons of administrative services by a competitive examination dates back to the pre-Independence era. From the time the first competitive examination for Indian Civil Service was held in India in the 1920s, the syllabus has been revised from time to time on various considerations. World War II interrupted the recruitment to the Indian Civil Service and no competitive examinations were held from 1944 to 1946. In 1947 the system of holding a combined competitive examination for recruitment to the Indian Administrative Service, Indian Police Service and other Central Services was introduced for the first time. This practice is still continuing except for the modifications that have been made with regard to the syllabus, i.e., the subjects included in the compulsory and optional list, the marks for the *viva voce*, the methodology for conducting personality test, etc. At present the various All-India and Central Services are divided into three categories for the purpose of recruitment by combined competitive examinations as given below:

Category I : (i) Indian Administrative Service.
(ii) Indian Foreign Service.

Category II : Indian Police Service.

Category III : A large number of Central Class I and Class II Services of 'non-technical' nature. Combined competitive examination is held for what are considered as 'technical' services, i.e., various engineering services.

Since this article is concerned mainly with the recruitment policy for the selection of 'non-technical' administrators, we will confine ourselves to a discussion of the combined competitive examination called the 'IAS, etc., examination'.

The rules for holding competitive examinations for recruitment to the Indian Administrative Service and other All-India and Central Government Services, as originally framed after Independence, seem to be more 'status' oriented than 'job-description' oriented. This needs to be rectified in the light of modern management and organisational theories according to which educational and other qualifications of a prospective recruit to a service must match the requirements of the tasks he has to perform, and not be determined by other considerations. There is, therefore, no justification for the classification of All-India and other Central Government Services into categories on the basis of status or pay structure as these distinctions are themselves a matter of anachronism. The first need, therefore, appears to be re-categorisation of the various services on the basis of job description, which may broadly be done as under:

Category I : Services requiring special aptitude and personality for diplomacy and public relations.

Category II : Services requiring managerial capabilities involving administrative supervision over large number of supervisors and staff.

Category III : Services requiring a higher standard of physical fitness and aptitude for enforcing 'law and order'.

Category IV : Services requiring knowledge and/or aptitude for financial management.

On the basis of this classification, the All-India and Central Government Services under consideration can be grouped as under:

Category I : (1) The Indian Foreign Service
 (2) The Central Information Service, Class I

Category II : (1) The Indian Administrative Service
 (2) The Indian Ordnance Factories Service, Class I
 (3) The Indian Postal Service
 (4) The Indian Railway Traffic Service
 (5) The Military Lands and Cantonments Service

Category III : (1) The Indian Police Service
 (2) The Delhi and Andaman & Nicobar Islands Police Service
 (3) The Indian Customs & Central Excise Service

- Category IV* : (1) The Indian Audit & Accounts Service
(2) The Indian Defence Accounts Service
(3) The Indian Income Tax Service
(4) The Indian Railway Accounts Service

(Note : The above categorisation includes Class I services only.
Class II services can be similarly categorised.)

It would be worthwhile elaborating the criteria by which these categories have been suggested. No explanation for the first category of services requiring special aptitude for diplomacy and public relations appears to be necessary. The same comments apply to category III in which have been grouped services of a para military nature calling for more than average physical fitness, amenity to discipline and similar common characteristics. The main criteria for categories II and IV are indicated below.

Category II

This covers a group of services whose members have invariably to hold managerial assignments either in Government departments like the railways and postal services, or in public sector undertakings, where they need special knowledge and understanding of technical matters as well as human behaviour without which they cannot be successful managers. Their work consists primarily of 'operating' utility services, and involves considerable outdoor work of supervision and inspection. It is, therefore, necessary that they should have the aptitude required for this type of work and also possess a higher than average standard of physical fitness.

Category IV

In this category are grouped services whose members are essentially office executives, whose main job is financial management (including 'probing' of such management) requiring a specialised knowledge of modern methods of accounting and budgeting and also adequate general knowledge of the services or undertakings whose finances they have to manage or tax.

The methodology of recruitment, i.e., the 'plan of examination' and personality and aptitude tests, has to be determined in accordance with this revised categorisation of services, based on the scientific and logical basis of job description or need based qualifications. The following recommendations are made in this direction:

(A) *Compulsory Subjects* : While there can be no two opinions that persons recruited as civil servants should have developed "a desirable level

of critical thought, judgement and outlook", the old idea that this could be gained by a study of subjects which comprise "a liberal education" appears to be now outdated particularly in view of the recommendations of the Fulton Committee, and the universal recognition of 'science' subjects such as 'numeracy' as an essential qualification of civil servants. On this basis, it is considered that the compulsory subjects should comprise the following: (i) Essay, (ii) General English, (iii) General Knowledge, (iv) Everyday Science, and (v) Elementary Mathematics.

The inclusion of elementary mathematics as a compulsory subject need not raise the objection that this would give an undue advantage to candidates having graduated with this subject; for, the same argument can apply at present to candidates who have graduated in English literature; and having accepted the importance of numeracy, there is no harm if those who are numerate gain a little advantage over others, in the same manner as those having a good personality gain some advantage in the *viva voce*.

(B) Optional Subjects (Additional): The rationale for candidates competing for the IAS and IFS being required to offer two additional subjects is not quite clear. If the present arrangement is on the basis that these two services are considered more important than the others, which itself is an argument liable to serious doubt, it is still not clear why all candidates appearing at the same examination should not have to answer the same number of papers. Even if it is conceded, for the sake of argument, that the best candidates are to be selected for the IAS and IFS, this can be done on the result of the whole examination the 'plan' of which is common for all. The existing arrangement, in fact, appears to beg the question of the superiority of the Indian Administrative and Foreign Services by making out a case that entrants to these services have to go through a tougher examination. Lastly, there is a vast number of young men with masters degrees who appear for the competitive examination but they do not gain any advantage of their additional academic qualifications since they have to compete on equal terms with others who do not possess them. It is, therefore, recommended that all candidates competing for all the Class I services including IAS and IFS should be required to select two additional subjects, one of which should be a 'higher' or 'advanced' subject (master's degree standard) and the other to be selected by option as shown below:

- Category I:*
- (1) International relations
 - (2) Indian philosophy
 - (3) Indian arts and culture
 - (4) Indian economics

- Category II:* (1) Public administration
(2) Industrial relations
(3) Business management
(4) Computer programming

- Category III:* (1) Public administration
(2) Constitutional law
(3) Jurisprudence
(4) Social science

- Category IV:* (1) Statistics
(2) Law of taxation
(3) Company law
(4) Cost accounting.*

The arrangement of subjects suggested above will necessarily mean that a candidate cannot take a 'common' examination for all the services as at present, but he will have to make a choice and prepare himself accordingly. There should be no objection to this, provided wide publicity is given to the rules and regulations governing the competitive examination for recruitment to these services—an idea which has already been mooted. In fact, in view of the very large number of candidates aspiring to appear for competitive examinations, this procedure will 'involve' the candidates more seriously in the process of planning their career and preparing for the examinations. This will thus encourage the right type of young men to come forward as candidates, and discourage a great number of others who merely have a fling at the examination in the absence of anything else worth doing.

(C) Interview & Personality Test: While the criticism levelled against prescribing minimum passing marks for personality test has some validity, the remedy does not seem to be the elimination of the minimum passing percentage, and certainly not the elimination of the interview as a means of testing a candidate's personality. The remedy is to rectify the defects that may be existing in the present procedure. The science of personality and aptitude testing has now developed immensely, and the defence services in our own country are making considerable use of the modern techniques. While there is no doubt that an officer in the armed forces is called upon to display very high standards of leadership and decision-making during an emergency, such occasions are nevertheless very few in his total life. On the other hand, the managers of utility services, public undertakings and large industrial units in the public sector have to take major decisions and display outstanding

*Note : (1) A subject selected from the above list may not be offered in the 'optional' subjects also.

(2) The standard of the syllabus for these subjects will be diploma standard, i.e., proficiency that can be obtained by attending a one-year part-time course.

qualities of leadership almost throughout their career, particularly in a developing country like ours where resources are short, and have to be utilised with optimum efficiency. It is, therefore, essential that candidates competing for Class I services should be given a comprehensive test in their capability potentials before their recruitment is finalised. Since there will be some practical difficulties in arranging such elaborate tests for a large number of candidates appearing for the competitive examinations, the following procedure is recommended:

- (1) A *viva voce* test carrying 200 marks should be given to all candidates who, in the opinion of the UPSC, are within the range of consideration for recruitment to these services on the results of their written examination. The number of candidates called for *viva voce* test may be roughly ten times the number of vacancies to be recruited in each service.
- (2) The candidates who, in the opinion of the UPSC, come within the range of selection by adding the marks obtained in the *viva voce* test to those obtained in the written examination, should then be called upon to appear for a special aptitude-cum-personality test designed on the lines of those conducted by the armed forces. The final selection of the candidates for recruitment to the services may then be made on the basis of the grand total of the marks obtained by them in the written examination, the *viva voce* test and the aptitude-cum-personality test.

These tests will have to be designed with great care and refinement by a special group of experts consisting of able administrators, successful business executives, reputed management consultants and renowned psychologists. It is considered that the time, effort and expenditure involved in arranging these tests will be amply vindicated by selection of the proper type of young men for our civil services.

CONCLUSION

An effort has been made in the foregoing paragraphs to focus attention on a subject of considerable importance. Public administration and services in this country are going to need in future, in the words of an eminent administrator, "a large number of men with intellect, knowledge, integrity, character, courage and devotion of the highest order". It will be task of the UPSC to select the right type of adminocrats so that all our plans for socio-economic welfare may be effectively organised and implemented.

MANAGING PATIENT SATISFACTION IN HOSPITALS

K.G. Agrawal

WITH the growing community consciousness about hospital services, expectations about the hospital performance are also rising. Hospitals are being reoriented from just being the centres for medical care and treatment. They are today expected to be more community oriented. There is now a greater pressure of work for the already overworked hospital personnel with the steep rise in population. Rising costs are not matched with wage increase which has led to trade unionism among doctors, nurses and other categories of hospital staff. Newspapers, political leaders and the community in general have a feeling that hospital performance is not matched with its resources. Patient satisfaction is going down with the rise in inefficiency among hospital personnel. Dissatisfaction of the patients visiting the State run hospitals has been given wide publicity in the Press in recent years. Now, this is the time to empirically find out ways to measure hospital efficiency and the various factors contributing to patient dissatisfaction.

In an exploratory study, the author* had tried to find a connection between functionality of social systems and organisational productivity. The samples used for this were drawn from three general hospitals in Delhi. Being an exploratory study the emphasis was on developing a research methodology for such an investigation. Patient satisfaction being a fluid concept, was generally thought to be beyond measurement; hence appropriate tools which could measure this concept were first standardised. In this study several measures of patient satisfaction were developed. It was found that patient satisfaction had two major dimensions, viz., medical care and hospital service. Hospital effectiveness was also measured through a specialised semantic differential known as 'hospital differential'. Three major factors of hospital effectiveness, i.e., efficiency, evaluation and emotive climate, were identified. Similarly, several other measures were developed for measuring inter-role differences, social system, community image and several other aspects of organisational behaviour in the hospital set-up.

Since the previous study did not use systematically drawn samples, it

* A. Timmappaya, U. Pareek, S.N. Chattopadhyay, and K.G. Agrawal, *Patient Satisfaction and Ward Social System*, New Delhi, National Institute of Health Administration & Education, 1971.

was thought appropriate to have a more systematic sample drawn and then replicate the previous study. This could give us enough confidence for generalisation of the results. The findings of such a study could also provide scope for making recommendations for implementation in other hospitals.

SURVEY SAMPLE

Hospital Sampling

The study was confined to the general hospitals in Delhi and this for several reasons : (1) Delhi has a large number of general hospitals managed by various agencies like public trusts, municipality, State and Union Governments and the missions. (2) Delhi has hospitals of different sizes. (3) It is possible here to draw stratified random samples of the hospitals.

In this survey, the hospitals were stratified on a set criteria based on the number of beds. A hospital with the number of beds up to 100 was classified as small; a medium size hospital had beds between 101 to 250 and large hospitals were those with 251 and more beds. There were 20 general hospitals in Delhi at the time, of which 10 were small and 5 each of medium and large size. A 25 per cent proportionate random sample was drawn from each of the three strata of hospitals. Since we had already studied one large, one medium and one small hospital during our exploratory study, only one large, one medium and three small hospitals were selected for the present study. The study covered patients both from outdoor and indoor departments. Patients in the casualty department could not be interviewed when they came in for obvious reasons; they were interviewed when they were transferred to the wards. Those who left the hospital after visiting the casualty were left out.

Sampling of Patients

O.P.D. : A large number of patients visit the O.P.D. every day. It was not possible to interview all of them because of the limited resources at our disposal. It was decided that one day's average attendance would be taken as a representative sample of the O.P.D. patients. Even this was revised when it was found that there were no day-to-day variations in the response of the patients and hence 50 per cent of one day's attendance was conveniently taken as representative sample. The study was carried out for three to six weeks in each hospital.

Indoor Patients : Indoor patients were interviewed at the time of discharge from the hospital or when it was decided by the physician attending on them to discharge them from the hospital. The bed occupancy rate, calculated over a period of two years, was taken as a representative sample of the indoor

patients. In hospitals where the bed occupancy was 100 per cent, the sample was the same as the number of beds in that hospital. On an average, 6 per cent to 8 per cent patients were discharged each week from the hospitals.

Staff Sample

Ward staff differed in strength from hospital to hospital. In small hospitals there were very few employees and hence only a 100 per cent sample could be taken as representative while in large and medium size hospitals a 50 per cent sample was thought to be quite appropriate.

Visitors Sampling

Visitors attending on the patient, or other relatives and friends visiting him, were interviewed for assessing their opinion about the hospital effectiveness.

INSTRUMENTS OF SURVEY

A number of tests and instruments were used in collecting data for the present study. These instruments were : (1) hospital social system inventory, (2) patient satisfaction (doctor and nurse) questionnaire, (3) patient satisfaction interview schedule (indoor), (4) patient satisfaction interview schedule (O.P.D.), (5) hospital differential for hospital effectiveness (patients—indoor), (6) hospital differential for hospital effectiveness (patients—O.P.D.), and (7) community image of hospital.

It is difficult to describe each of the instruments used in the study (for details please see *Hospital and its People : A Social Psychological Exploration*).

RESULTS OF THE SURVEY

The results of the study are divided into two broad heads: (1) subjective world of the patient, and (2) hospitals: organisational behaviour.

In the subjective world of the patient, the sick role, the self-concept of the patients, patient satisfaction and hospital effectiveness will be discussed.

One of the officers of the project volunteered to get admitted in a small hospital for participant observation. He stayed there for 60 hours as a patient and only the incharge of the hospital knew about it. His observations were very useful for formulating this study. He also made observations in the O.P.D. of a large hospital while visiting that hospital as a patient.

It is frequently observed in our hospitals, especially in the large hospitals, that some patients move from one hospital to another without any specific reason. They are not satisfied with any one department or consultant. This might be because of their self-concept. A study was made of this phenomenon, both in the indoor department and the O.P.D., and it was found that the self-concept of these patients differed quite interestingly. The self-image of the problem patient—as these patients could be called—was of an excitable, fickle, heavy, strong person while a non-problem patient had a self-concept of an easy, happy, inferior, religious but relaxed person.

The self-concept of patients in all the hospitals was also studied and it was observed that the self-image of patients visiting the O.P.D. was slightly tender-minded, conformist, quite normal and slightly relaxed. Some instances in the self-image of various sizes of hospitals varied but it is difficult to explain why these differences were there; may be the size of hospitals determined the kind of people visiting them.

While comparing the small and medium size hospitals for the O.P.D. satisfaction, it was found that there were significant differences in areas like getting injections, medicines, etc.; behaviour of hospital staff; enquiry; seating arrangement etc.; and faith in the doctor. The comparison of a small with a large hospital indicated significant differences in the location of the place; laboratory examination, getting injections etc.; behaviour of staff; time taken in consultation; seating arrangement etc.; opportunity to explain to the doctor and enquiry about disease. Comparison between the medium and large hospitals indicated a significant difference in areas related to medical treatment; faith in the doctor; and opportunity to explain to the doctor.

In the indoor wards, the patient satisfaction rate varied from hospital to hospital. One case each from all the five hospitals, with the lowest patient satisfaction rate, was analysed and it was seen that all these five patients were not at all satisfied with the communication of diagnosis and treatment by the doctor. The other main areas of dissatisfaction were: the ward in general; difficulties in calling for the nurse; departmental coordination; experience during the stay. This indicates that the dissatisfaction of the patient on medical care aspects, especially from the doctor, also resulted in dissatisfaction in the other areas of hospital service. The three types of hospitals were compared for the various items or areas of patient satisfaction. Rank orders showed that in the small and large hospitals, the patients were most satisfied with the doctor's behaviour but in the medium size hospital, the rank was 10. For the ease of admission, the rank was 2 and 1.5 in small and medium size hospitals respectively, but, for the large hospital, the rank was 5.5. This can be explained; the larger hospitals in Delhi have the largest rush for admission while in the small hospitals there is no rush at all and in the medium size

hospital, included in the sample, there were very few people who sought admission, since the care in the ward was not so good. This hospital employed very few full time doctors. Mostly, doctors looking after patients were visiting consultants who did not care much for the general ward patients. Medical care got the rank of 4 and 3 in the small and large hospitals respectively while in the medium size hospital, the rank was 12 which supports the earlier contention that the care in the medium size hospital was poor. Similarly, the doctor's interest in the case got the rank of 3 and 4 respectively in the small and large hospitals but in the medium size hospital the rank was 6.5. The lowest rank, i.e., 18, in the medium size hospital was of the experience during stay; in the small and large hospital, the rank was 16. It appears that patients in the general ward were not much satisfied with their stay in any of the hospitals in the sample. Patients visiting these hospitals were generally from the weaker sections of the society for whom each day's stay in the hospital meant wages lost and cost them also in terms of what their family had to bear in visiting them or for paying for the medical bills. Secondly, staying in a hospital is somehow associated with the education and economic condition of the patient i.e., poorer the patient, less satisfied he is with the medical care. For some reason or the other, the results have consistently given the impression that there is discrimination practised by the hospital authorities based on the status of the patient. For these reasons, it is true that no patient would be satisfied with his stay in any hospital.

When comparisons between the small hospitals were made, it was observed that there were hardly any differences between them in the sample. The rank was almost the same; these hospitals were also correlated as far as the various areas of patient satisfaction were concerned. Analysis of variance between all the five hospitals on the overall patient satisfaction rate showed that the small hospitals did not vary among themselves. Significant differences were, however, observed between all the three small hospitals and the medium size hospitals; and also between the large hospitals and the medium size hospitals.

It goes to show that the small hospitals are almost similar as far as the patient satisfaction rate is concerned. But there are differences between these hospitals and the medium size hospitals. Perhaps the medium size hospital being run by a trust might have a different kind of system of functioning which made it different from the other hospitals, which were mostly public hospitals either run by the Union Government or the municipal corporation; and this might have resulted in significant differences in the patient satisfaction rate.

HOSPITAL : ORGANISATIONAL BEHAVIOUR

Medium size hospitals had significant differences with the small and large hospitals on the social system. On this point no significant differences

were observed among the small hospitals on overall scores. But significant differences among these hospitals were observed on certain individual variables. For example, there were differences observed in appreciation by the superior, working hours, superior's help, doctor's job, sweeper's role, promotion, benefits, work assignment, criticism, conflict resolution, improvement in method of working, etc. There were also some significant differences observed between the small and medium size hospitals on variables like chances of promotion, purpose of work, people, policies and conditions, proper use of abilities, professional learning, willingness to continue working, reputation of the hospital etc. Significant differences between the small and large hospitals were observed on variables like satisfaction with pay; decision-making; planning of activities; inter-personal relations; help from the superior; avoidance of problems; quality of patient care; nurse role performance; role clarity; rules; and conflict resolution.

It was found that the areas where the differences between hospitals occurred were almost the same. As there is a relationship observed between the functioning of the social system and patient satisfaction, it is essential that attention should be paid to these areas. Most of these areas are such that they can be taken care of. Some of these areas can be manipulated through intervention strategies using social science methodologies.

Staff Opinion

When the doctors and nurses were asked to give their opinion about the areas of patient satisfaction, the results indicated that there were differences on several areas between the large and other hospitals. More equipments and freedom from political interference appeared to be necessary for improving patient satisfaction in general. There was also the need for better public relations work and for improving the efficiency of the class IV employees. In the medium size hospitals, need was felt for not only more equipment and freedom from political interference but also for more medicines, beds, etc. In the small hospitals, in addition to stopping political interference, the need was felt for additional beds, better public relations work and more equipments.

Visitor's Opinion

Visitors were positive in their response to the care and service rendered by the doctors, the treatment given to patients and to the areas concerned with the nurses but were critical of things like food, ward, linen, sweeper's behaviour, orderlies, etc. Here also it is perhaps true that the visitors were happy as far as the doctor care for the patient and treatment was concerned but they were not satisfied with the service aspect of the hospital. The patient being in most cases not able to observe things happening around him in the

hospital, and since the visitors and relatives took care of all the discomforts which came to the patient, the feedback given by the latter was not that bad. Visitors were perhaps in a better position to comment on the service aspect of the hospital. The patient being helpless, he could not probably be vocal on the discomforts he might have faced.

IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

On the basis of the results of the study, which has been done very systematically in the general hospitals, certain recommendations can be made for implementation in other general hospitals in the country. These recommendations, though based on empirical research, need to be tried first on an experimental basis in some hospital for implementation. Also, these recommendations are not such that can be implemented without the help and proper guidance of a consultant in applied social sciences dealing with the management of hospital system. These consultants would have to make organisational diagnosis of each hospital before they will be in a position to help the hospital to improve its management and thus effect a proper functioning of the organisation.

Any amount of input on the service aspect of the hospital, *i.e.*, improvement of the building of the hospital, cleanliness, improving the linen, beds, etc. or improvement in the service of the class IV employees, is not going to improve the overall patient satisfaction. Patient satisfaction does not result only from the service aspect which is almost the same as the service given by a hotel to its guest. In a hospital, the patient does not come to enjoy the comforts as a guest would expect to enjoy while staying in a hotel. These comforts are secondary for the patient, although quite necessary also; the most essential thing for which a patient visits a hospital or is admitted to the indoor ward of a hospital, is the medical care. It is often observed that even in the small hospitals where the State is paying directly or indirectly for the up-keep of the hospital, the care given by the doctor is most impersonal. The doctor never cares to communicate to the patient properly. In most cases he even avoids saying 'hello' to the patient when going on the round. If a patient asks anything from the doctor while he is on the round, the doctor will not care to listen, or would not care to answer the query to the patient. In some diseases, it might be necessary not to disclose the correct state of the illness to the patient but in most illnesses it helps the patient in his recovery if he is told the right diagnosis and prognosis. It is sometimes observed that due to the carelessness of the medical staff, patients keep on staying in the hospital without any medical care. This kind of practice has to be discontinued and the doctors have to pay more attention to patients and they have to become less impersonal in their dealings. The distance created in the medical service by the doctors, or by whosoever is responsible for it between the doctor and

his patient, has resulted in the interference not only in the running or functioning of the hospital but also in the care given to the patient. One cannot accept the plea that doctors are not having enough time to pay personal attention to each patient. Even if this is true, then also they will have to work for longer hours so long as it is necessary to give personal attention to the patient and so long as we cannot employ many more doctors to take up their task.

In our country, least attention is paid to the proper functioning of the hospitals. A few mission hospitals have started paying attention to the organisational aspect of the hospital. They are employing new methods of management. They have employed the service of management consultants and their experience has shown that the scientific methods of management help in solving many of the problems that the hospitals face today. Our study clearly shows that there exists an association between the productivity of the hospital and the hospital as an organisation (and also the hospital has a social system). Where the social system of the hospital is less functional it is observed that the productivity or the patient satisfaction rate in the hospital is also poor. In order to improve upon the productivity *i.e.*, patient satisfaction, the organisation has to be improved upon. It has been observed that almost in all hospitals there exists distances between the various ward roles; these are status based distances. To put it in a simple language, it means that those who are highly placed maintain a social psychological distance with all the lower roles or with all the other persons working with them in a junior capacity. This means, that in no hospital is an individual in a lower position respected. It is almost common that the doctor is the most respected person in the hospital and he is also the most important person in the hospital. This is related to the status of the doctor, his salary and also his usefulness to the hospital. But we cannot ignore the usefulness of the other positions in the same hospital without whom the organisation cannot function. If we have to improve our hospital organisation, we have to pay more respect to the junior positions so that they also feel as partners in its functioning. The doctor is the person who is most benefited by the hospital, apart from the benefits he draws in terms of salary. He is the person who treats the patient and he is the person to whom the society pays all the compliments. He also in fact receives the compliments of the society for the services rendered by all other persons in the hospital. The doctor is not only better paid compared to other persons in the hospital but he is also the person on whom society invests the most in his making. In the making of a doctor it costs the nation Rs. 80,000 while in the making of a sweeper or a nurse or an orderly, the nation has to spend comparatively very little. Even then, the doctor draws most of the benefits from the hospital and ultimately from the community as a whole. This goes against justice being done to the other positions in the hospital. It is necessary that attention should be paid in the

hospitals to make the other category of hospital workers partners in the fruits of the services rendered by them.

To summarise, it is observed that hospital effectiveness, which can be measured in terms of patient satisfaction, does not depend on the improvement of hospital service aspect alone but on the medical care aspect. Hospital effectiveness has a positive association with the hospital social system. The hospital social system is almost the measure of its organisational health. It can, therefore, be concluded that for a greater hospital effectiveness one needs to have healthier organisations. This can be effected with the help of social science interventions in these organisations. It is also observed that status based distances are maintained in hospitals which helps the doctor to reap the fruits of the hospital care imparted to the community. Some element of democracy must be introduced in the hospitals. This might take care of the alienation of hospital staff that we see all around these days.

THE INTERNATIONAL ADMINISTRATION OF OCEAN RESOURCES : A PREDICTIVE MODEL

Naresh Dewan

THE freedom of the seas in international law refers to the right of all nations to navigate and fish freely on the high seas without molestation by any nation in time of peace. During the Middle Ages, freedom of navigation on the high seas was curtailed by maritime powers that asserted territorial sovereignty over different bodies of water.

Due to the discovery, exploration and colonisation of new lands, there was a substantial growth in world trade. This growth of trade increased the challenges by other countries to such claims of territorial sovereignty. The Dutch jurist Hugo Grotius dealt the final blow to the legal basis of these territorial claims. Grotius, on the basis of Roman law, contended that the seas cannot constitute property because they cannot be occupied in the sense in which land can be occupied and they, therefore, are free to all nations and subject to none.¹

In the early eighteenth century another Dutch jurist, Cornelis van Bynkershock, formulated the important principle of international law that the waters adjoining the shores of a country within the range of artillery on land are not included in the judicial meaning of the term "high seas", but are under the sovereignty of the contiguous country. This principle was subsequently adopted throughout the world. A distance of three miles from the coast was generally accepted until this was challenged in the twentieth century by some countries who changed their limits to 6, 12, or even 200 miles.²

In 1918, Woodrow Wilson included "absolute freedom of navigation upon the sea, outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants", as one of the fourteen points for ending World War I.

The Charter of the United Nations in 1945 included a provision similar to that in the League's Covenant empowering the Security Council to institute, among other measures, partial or total interruptions of the sea

¹"Oceans", *Funk and Wagnalls Encyclopaedia*, 1973.

²*ibid.*

communications, including blockades, when necessary to maintain or restore international peace or security.³

The recent significant concern of the United Nations regarding the seabed—not only about its military but its economic potential—was inspired by one of the smallest member states, Malta, at the 1967 session of the General Assembly. Malta's representative, Arvid Pardo, stressed the need for international action to regulate the uses of the seabed and to ensure that the area's exploitation "... would be for peaceful purposes only and for the benefit of all mankind". He stressed: "In view of rapid progress in the development of new techniques by technologically advanced countries, it is feared that the situation will change and that the seabed and the ocean floor, underlying the seas beyond present national jurisdiction, will become progressively and competitively subject to national appropriation and use. This is likely to result in... the exploitation and depletion of resources of immense potential benefit to the world, for national advantage of technologically advanced countries".⁴

The increasing awareness of the international community to all the aspects of marine environment led to the establishment of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Seabed. This Committee's work from 1968 has resulted in significant decisions by the General Assembly:

- (1) The seabed beyond national jurisdiction is now regarded as "the common heritage of mankind";
- (2) its exploitation should be for the benefit of mankind as a whole; and
- (3) pending establishment of an international regime, states and persons are bound to refrain from exploiting the area's resources and no claim to any part of the area would be recognized.

Although the problems of drawing the line between national and international waters coupled with the establishment of an acceptable international regime to control, moderate and regulate the discovery, exploitation and usage of the seabed resources pose difficult questions, it is possible for us to foresee some progress towards it in the near future especially after the adoption of the above points in principle. Moreover, the acute shortage of land resources and growing population will help even out differences which will hinder progress towards the set goals.

³United Nations, *Charter of the United Nations*, Art. 42.

⁴United Nations, *Sea-Bed—A Frontier of Disarmament*, New York, 1972, p. 5.

SCARCITY OF LAND RESOURCES

Only the long range approach to world economic needs can balance the overshadowing effects of the present-day decline in the availability of land resources and raw material.

Since the beginning of the Christian era, population grew very slowly until recently. Most of the gains made during good harvests and times of peace were negated in periods of crumbling empires, social disorganisation, famines and epidemics. But the control of disease and the general prosperity of the post-Industrial Revolution era has resulted in such exceptional growth in population that conservative U.N. figures show that by the year 2000, the world population will be 6.9 billion—*i.e.*, 2.8 times of 2.5 billion in 1950.⁵ These figures indicate the magnitude of demand that will be placed on the limited land resources which even currently prove insufficient.

The question of the uneven growth of population in the different world regions and the random location of resources add up to magnify the problem of effective resource distribution beyond national and ideological boundaries.

This phenomenal growth of population coupled with the “rising expectations” of the masses will obviously place disproportionate strain on resources available from only 29 per cent of the earth area, the land.

Although the transformation of the potential energy of mineral resources into useful work is a tribute to man’s ingenuity, it simultaneously involves the diffusion and depletion of the potential energy—the aggregate availability of land minerals being finite. This has led to the theory that declining availability and increasing prices will create economic (and other) chaos, as a result of the cumulative reaction on all industries.

RESOURCE POTENTIAL OF THE OCEANS

The oceans cover about 71 per cent of the earth surface. The mineral resources of the sea have only recently begun to be known to man. The seabed is so enormous that the supply of several metals is abundant, but it is difficult, if not impossible, to extract these minerals.

Today the major minerals being obtained from the seabed (and sea water) are magnesium, bromine and sodium chloride or salt. Phosphorite is a mineral known to be available on the sea floor, which has potential use as an agricultural fertilizer. Much interest has been recently expressed in

⁵“Population”, *Funk and Wagnalls Encyclopaedia*, 1973.

manganese nodules, which are spherical concretions evenly and thinly spread on the seabed. These nodules contain about 20 per cent manganese, 10 per cent iron, 0.3 per cent copper, 0.3 per cent nickel, and 0.3 per cent cobalt.⁶

The topographical characteristics of the ocean floor are important in determining the availability of minerals from the ocean floor. Menard and Smith categorised the ocean floor into the following subdivisions:⁷

<i>Subdivision</i>	<i>Per cent of total area</i>	<i>Approx. median depth</i>
continental shelf	15.3	less than 1 km.
continental rise	5.3	2.5 km.
mid-ocean ridges	32.7	4.0 km.
ocean basins	41.8	5.0 km.
island arcs and trenches	1.7	4.0 km.
unclassified (volcanoes, etc.)	3.2	—
small ocean basins	—	2.0 km.

The continental shelf is the shallow region adjacent to the continents, generally less than 200 meters in depth; these merge into the continental slopes or rise, which are regions of steeper slope descending to the ocean floor. The mid-ocean ridges are mountainous regions and have an average relief of one km. above the deep ocean. The ocean basins consist mainly of abyssal plains with water depth averaging 5 km. The island arcs and trenches are trough-like deeps off Peru and Chile.⁸

These topographical peculiarities provide an adequate basis for categorisation of resource potential. To substantiate this point, let us take the case of continental rise where the mineral deposits occur at depths beneath thick sedimentary prisms, but discovery and exploitation is currently virtually impossible. But petroleum and natural gas within the sedimentary strata is existent due to the presence of substantial amounts of organic material.

The mineral resources possible from the ocean basin province are the manganese nodules—the amount of nodules exceeds 1 pound/square foot at some places. Menard estimates the content of manganese, cobalt, nickel, and copper contained in these nodules to be 2-3 times those of the known land

⁶"Oceans" *op. cit.*

⁷H.L. James, *Mineral Resource Potential of the Deep Oceans*. A paper presented at the Symposium on Mineral Resources of the World Oceans, Rhode Island, July 10-12, 1968. Co-sponsored by the Geological Survey of the U.S. Department of Interior, University of Rhode Island, and the United States Navy, p. 39.

⁸*Ibid*, pp. 40-41.

reserves. Attempts at exploitation for at least a decade or so will be limited to areas of relatively shallow water in which the nodules contain unusually large amounts of copper, nickel, and cobalt.⁹

The field of ocean resources has yet to be totally explored. At this moment in time we know that great quantities of resources exist and attempts are under way to create the economic setting in which ocean minerals will emerge (and will not be allowed to remain submerged) to sustain the 'system'.

With the realisation of the economic gains available from the resources 'out there', the 'gold rush' has, in a way, begun. The concept of the 'common heritage of mankind' coupled with the threat of international conflict from disorganised, unregulated exploration and exploitation of these resources signifies the need to have some sort of an international regime to moderate, regulate and/or exploit the ocean resources. This has been agreed upon by the member states of the United Nations as a direct follow-up for which they will resume meeting in Geneva to continue the 3rd U.N. Conference on the Law of the Seas.

It is my hypothesis that in international negotiations of this (seabed conference) nature interest constellations are formed as a direct result of real or perceived threat to the common interests of groups of nation states. On any issue there are a set of countries who have similar interests vested in what the outcome will be. These countries form an interest group which attempts to influence the decisions of the international conference. An example of an interest group is the fishing states whose interest lies in narrower territorial limits which would enable them a larger area to fish from. Now, when two or more groups of countries wishing a similar outcome (for different reasons) coordinate inputs into the negotiations, they form an interest constellation. An example of an interest constellation is the coming together of the fishing states with the group consisting of landlocked states to press for narrower territorial limits. This 'coming together' of the two interest groups to form a constellation will be facilitated by a common threat from countries which may demand wider territorial limits, e.g., countries who have a long coast line. It should, however, be noted that the reason for the fishing countries to press for narrower limits is not the same as that of the landlocked countries. In other words, countries supporting a particular issue for the same reason form 'similar interest groups'. When two or more 'similar interest groups' unite to support an issue for different reasons, then they form a 'common interest group'. This I term as an interest constellation.

Now, I will attempt to identify (1) a few other common interests which

⁹H.W. Menard, *Marine Geology of the Pacific*, N.Y., Mc-Graw Hill, Inc., 1964.

result in an interest constellation (2) and then discuss some of the common threats that they perceive. By doing this, I hope to surface some major questions which will have to be resolved before any type of an international regime can be set up to govern the oceans.

The first issue and the first step towards the setting up of an international regime is the settlement on what the territorial limits will be. Some countries want narrow territorial limits as opposed to some countries who want wider limits; with this conflict of interests two interest constellations are immediately formed. One of these constellations consists of landlocked countries, countries dependent on sea borne trade, super powers and the metal-mineral resource countries. These four 'similar interest groups' have a common interest in having narrower limits but the reasons for wanting this is different for each group within the constellation, e.g., landlocked countries (Nepal, Afghanistan, etc.) want narrower limits because they stand to gain from a larger international ocean area. They feel a threat from countries having long coast lines who may lobby for wider territorial limits. Another group of countries which becomes a part of the interest constellation for narrower limits consists of the super powers whose interest in narrower limits stems from their security needs for free and 'innocent' passage through approximately 115 straits most of which would fall under the control of individual (mostly underdeveloped) countries¹⁰ which do not feel particularly great concern in assisting the super powers in making their strategic dispositions. Countries dependent on sea-borne trade and fishing states would also join this constellation due to their need to have navigational freedom over a greater area. The metal mineral resource group of countries, in my view, would also prefer narrower limits. This will be mainly because most of the metal mineral resource countries are underdeveloped and poor, they lack the technology for dredging the manganese nodules and other mineral resources from the ocean floor. Moreover, these nation states view the exploration and extraction of manganese nodules from the oceans as diminishing the demand for their land resources. "While deposits of the nodules can be found within a few miles of land and in relatively shallow water, only in depths of water exceeding about 10,000 feet have deposits of substantial extent and high grade been found."¹¹ With narrower limits, then, most of the area containing large deposits would fall under the control of the international regime and beyond national jurisdictions of resource consuming countries. As said earlier, the "nodules contain about 20 per cent manganese, 10 per cent iron, 0.3 per cent copper, 0.3 per cent nickel, and 0.3 per cent cobalt"¹² and due to the disproportionate percentages of the metals present in these nodules the demand

¹⁰"Environment: Oceans", *Time*, July 29, 1974, p. 53.

¹¹John L. Mero, "Recent Concepts in Undersea Mining", *Development Digest*, Vol. XI, No. 2 (April 1973), p. 16.

¹²"Oceans", *op. cit.*

for copper will mean excessive manganese. Also, the exploration of the nodules will upset the current price structure.¹³ The inability of dredging the mineral resources from the ocean floor and the threat of reduced demand of their resources will force the metal-mineral resource countries to go for narrower limits. With a greater area under international regime these metal resource countries can lobby for and possibly obtain some sort of an economic guarantee, maybe in some form of subsidy¹⁴ from the international body!

Thus far, two proposals have been viewed as feasible alternatives as to the nature of the functions to be performed by the international regime: (1) Exploitation with the international area to be controlled through a licensing system. Enterprises—private, national, regional or international—would apply for licences to explore and exploit particular resources.¹⁵ In return, they would pay royalty to the international authority, probably based on the rate of production. This royalty would then be given either to an international development agency or to all member states, including 'rich' countries, on a progressive basis. A system of inspection will be needed to ensure the compliance with international regulations with regard to pollution, safety, free navigation, etc. (2) Another proposal deals with the setting up of an International Seabed Authority (ISA) which will itself explore and exploit the seabed resources. This ISA will attempt at an equitable sharing by states of the benefits derived from the area.¹⁶

I feel that the nature of the international regime and the issue of territorial limits are closely co-related. A case study is that of metal mineral resource countries who are mainly underdeveloped. These countries will agree to narrowed territorial limits¹⁷ under an International Seabed Authority which explores, exploits and extracts the ocean resources because they stand to gain technological know-how and influence on what and how much is to be extracted; while, under a licensing type of an international regime, they might want wider limits to retain control and sovereignty over a greater area and resources.

I will now attempt to develop a four cell model which may be helpful

¹³Manjula Shyam, "An Empirical Analysis of the Third U.N. Conference on the Law of the Sea: A Predictive Model" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Graduate School of Public and International Affairs, University of Pittsburgh, 1974) p. 116-120.

¹⁴Patrick Childs, "Land Locked States and the Law of the Seas", *San Diego Law Review*, Vol. 9, No. 3 (1973).

¹⁵Evan Luard, "The Law of the Sea Conference", *International Affairs*, April 1974, p. 274.

¹⁶Charles Meachling, "The Politics of the Oceans", *Development Digest*, Vol. XI, No. 2, April 1973, p. 24.

¹⁷Evan Luard, "Who Gets What on the Seabed?" *Foreign Policy*, No. 9 (Winter 1972/73), pp. 132-140, 143-147.

in predicting some stands that the member states may take in future seabed conferences. In doing so I categorise the member states into nine basic interest groups: (1) fishing states, (2) metal mineral resource states, (3) landlocked states, (4) states with long coast lines and broad continental shelf, (5) technologically advanced/industrialized (resource consuming) states, (6) underdeveloped states, (7) super powers or maritime powers, (8) states dependent on sea borne trade, and (9) archipelagic countries.

	<i>licensing type international regime</i>	<i>direct exploitation type international regime</i>
narrower limits	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> —fishing —technologically advanced —super powers —states dependent on seaborne trade <p style="text-align: center;">CELL 1</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> —metal mineral resources —landlocked —underdeveloped <p style="text-align: center;">CELL 2</p>
wider limits	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> —states with long coastlines and broad continental shelf <p style="text-align: center;">CELL 3</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> —Archipelagic countries* <p style="text-align: center;">CELL 4</p>

This model has some obvious limitations or drawbacks one of which is that it does not take into account the multiple interests of many nation states or that it is based on a single factor analysis. These criticisms are valid only if a multiple level analysis is chosen. I construct this model on the assumption that before negotiations begin at an international level, the conflicting national interests would have been compromised or settled to decide which category does a nation choose to be in. This, presumably, will be the category which maximises the 'national interests' the most. One method of determining what the 'national interests' of a nation state are could be Manjula Shyam's method where she uses economic and other data as surrogates. Another method could include economic tools like production possibility and indifference curves.

* The Archipelagic countries prefer wider limits for protecting their sovereignty—they do not want wider limits on a global basis. It should also be noted that most Archipelagic countries are underdeveloped.

Moreover, it is interesting to notice that the super powers, who are comparatively technologically advanced, also form the major fishing states who opt for narrower limits with a licensing type of an international regime. On the other hand, underdeveloped countries which include most of the land locked and metal mineral resource countries want narrower limits with an international regime which directly explores and exploits the ocean resources. So, after all, there is not a major contradiction as a result of overlapping multiple interests.

The interest groups placed in Cells 1 and 2 form an interest constellation for narrower limits. While the interest groups of Cell 2 form an interest constellation which views a threat to their interests from the interest constellation formed by interest groups of Cell 1 (and *vice versa*) on the issue of the seabed authority's functions, I will have to admit that in this model little stress has been laid on two factors: (1) the element of trade offs between countries; (2) the political and military factors influencing the stands of various member states.

BOOK REVIEWS

Public Administration : Politics and the Political System by WILLIAM L. MORROW, New York, Random House, 1975, pp. 272, \$ 4.95.

The post-behavioural developments in the field of political science in the United States have not left the discipline of public administration unaffected. Still in the quest for an 'identity', the discipline has barely emerged from its heavy reliance on a 'value-free-empirical' analysis of administrative phenomena to an appreciation of its appropriate place in the process of "policy development and analysis". Such a trend would inevitably seem to demonstrate the need for developing an alternative approach to the teaching of the subject—away from its traditional manner of analysis of the organisation of public agencies and their functions.

Some of the common methods of studying public administration are those which focus on the legal environment of public bureaucracy, on the processes of coordination within and among agencies, on the policy roles of the bureaucracy, on the effects of individual behaviours on the administrative process, and on the reciprocal relationship between agencies and other political institutions. The present book, while drawing on all these popularised ways of examining public administration, has its focus centred on the last approach—that

is, it views administrative agencies as products of, and participants in, politics. In the words of the author "its main purpose is to attempt to explain the behaviour of agencies in terms of the pressures and claims placed upon them by external institutions, and to examine and assess the effects of decisions made as a result of these pressures". Primarily meant for the students of public administration in the United States the author has accordingly placed heavy emphasis upon institutions and pressures that are so often associated with process democracy in the United States—political parties, interest groups, legislatures, elected executives, citizen participants, and fragmented constitutional power (especially separation of powers and federalism). However, Professor Morrow's book, while laying emphasis on the behaviour of a single institution (or cluster of institutions) as the product of interaction with external forces in the political system, does recognise that an institution's *reaction* to these forces (and not only its interaction with them) influences policy, and that politics is important because the outcomes of political struggles are reflected in policy decisions.

Excepting the first three general

chapters, which survey the growth of the discipline of public administration, its enduring traditions and the evolution of 'administrative theory', the other chapters raise certain contemporary issues of a more practical concern—such as Public Agencies and Political Strategy; Institutional Inputs and Administrative Behaviour; Public Administration and the Public—Political Parties, Interest Groups, the Professions and the Citizens; the Administrative Agencies and the Budget; and the Perils of Pluralism and Planning. Each of these issues has been dealt with specific case-studies from the live situations in the U.S. Government in the recent past. The subject has been sought to be studied through asking questions about public policies and the various interacting roles of involved individuals, agencies, and the institutions. The book thus deals heavily with the role of administrators in policy advocacy as well as in interest representation and seeks to raise intriguing questions about administrative behaviour. In this way, the book bridges the gulf between the older approach to the study of public administration—merely as a distinctive (fourth) branch of the governmental machinery and to the later view of administration concerned only with the neutral aspects of policy formulation and administration. It has thus helped, to some extent, to set aside the old-age concept of the dichotomy between politics and administration.

However, the book falls short of its promise to suggest an alternative and more appropriate approach to the

subject of public administration in the changing context. It does not give us an idea of the discipline and its dimensions—a question raised in the beginning. Not only does it not lay sufficient emphasis on the management skills and technical aspects of policy development and execution processes, it even assumes that these are not the *relevant* things for the subject of public administration—in reverse-gear to the standpoint of 'new' public administration. The following observation of the author (p. 260) seems to substantiate this point.

"The more realistic conclusion to be drawn from an analysis of the politics of decision-making in public administration is that the road to Wilson's self-sufficient, sane, vigorous, and responsive public service is a tough road to negotiate. The ability to negotiate it may rest, in the final analysis, on the cruciality of the mission, patience and persistence are essential. 'In government, as in virtue', observed Wilson, 'the hardest of hard things to make is progress itself'."

Apart from this basic weakness, however, the book demonstrates an important way in which the subject of public administration could be or should be studied by the university students, particularly in this area of the world. It will immensely help the cause of the discipline, if instead of the kind of spoon-feeding, which is so common in our universities, the students themselves are asked to reflect on the exceedingly complex

problems of public policy and administration and thereby try to understand the intricacies involved in the processes. There is a need for the development of text books incorporating such basic approach to the study of various

social sciences. Perhaps the work of Professor Morrow may induce some one to undertake such a project in the context of Indian public administration.

—R.B. JAIN

History of Indian Administration, Vol. II (Medieval Period) by B.N. PURI, Bombay, Bhartiya Vidya Bhavan, 1975, pp. 391, Rs. 40.

The book under review is the second volume in the series on History of Indian Administration, planned by Brij Nath Puri, the first volume covering the ancient period having been published in 1968. The complete project is to consist of three volumes of which the third one is to deal with the modern period.

The present volume covers the period from the eleventh to the eighteenth century of Indian history and seeks to discuss the administrative systems of the Hindu rulers, the Deccan rulers, the Mughal Emperors, the Bahmani, Vijayanagar and the Shahi rulers of the Deccan and of the Rajputs, the Sikhs and the Marathas. It consists of ten chapters, the last one being designed as a summing-up of the entire work. Also, the book contains bibliography and index.

Baij Nath Puri is a conscientious historian whose works on various aspects and phases of Indian history are widely known and read. He is, however, to be particularly congratulated for having turned his attention to the field of Indian public administration. He has placed the students

of public administration under his debt by taking up the project on the History of Indian Administration, two volumes of which have been out and the final one is presently under preparation.

The coverage of the present work is nearly eight hundred years, and it is not possible in the present review to summarise the prominent principles (such as they were) underlying the administrative systems of the various dynasties and rulers appearing within this time-span. The author has tapped a wide range of sources in writing this book. The work is a rather straight narration of formal structures of administration. How did administration function in practice is not generally to be found in it. Nor is the book complete in its coverage in as much as the picture that emerges at many places is having gaps and not very clear. But these are the inevitable limitations of a work of this nature and scale, and by no means detract from the extreme usefulness of the present book to the students of public administration.

—SHIRIRAM MAHESHWARI

Political Science in Independent India (2 Vols.) Ed. by SUDESH KUMAR SHARMA, Chandigarh, Godwin, 1976, pp. 314 each, Rs. 45 each.

To review a publication which includes unabridged texts of presidential addresses delivered by eminent political scientists to their co-professionals since 1947 is a presumptuous task. Seven eminent social scientists, including the present Chairman of the University Grants Commission, have "welcomed the book" on the blurb, which by and large "represents the growth of our academic tradition in India". The well written addresses by the former presidents of the All-India Political Science Association cannot and should not obviously be meant for consumption by the contemporary generations of political scientists only. They rather "reflect the contextual background" and, to quote Dr. L.M. Singhvi, "mirror the contemporary analysis and appraisal" with penetrating projections into the future. In a way, they represent the vitality and the malaise of the discipline, which has certainly struggled to respond to the challenges of change and growth in a fast moving society like India. Naturally, they constitute "a valuable addition to the literature" sprinkled with "thoughts and ideas for policy-makers, administrators, teachers and researchers" in the discipline of political science.

The content analysis of these 25 presidential addresses attempted by Prof. Rajni Kothari in his additive preface presents a very interesting picture of the state of academic discipline in independent India, from 1948 to 1975. It is curious to note that

out of the 25 addresses delivered by these distinguished political scientists to the fellow members of their national professional organisation, three alone were in the older tradition of political thought, two were on normative political theory and two of them were on problems of constitution making. Four presidents cared to analyse the international scene and two of them concentrated their attention on the problems of public administration. Nine of these addresses have grappled with the problems of Indian Government and politics, which Prof. Kothari has termed as the "larger Indian political reality and its changing empirical content and theoretical challenges". Three of the scholars have chosen to address themselves to the mission, before the discipline, and outlined the role of the individual political scientist in reshaping the political realities emerging in free India. Contrary to the popular belief of the tribe, 16 out of the 25 academic leaders of the discipline, writing in these two volumes, have exhorted upon the "evolving empirical realities of politics and the halting response of the discipline in its changed context".

It is certainly a treat to read Prof. Bhaskaran and conjure up an image of a convinced liberal, which he really was. Those of us who had the privilege to know and discuss problems of political science with these father figures of Indian political science (Prof. R. Bhaskaran, S.V.

Kogekar and E. Asirvatham), can discover their radiant personalities in these pages, beaming with the lustre of the classical democrats of the anglo-saxon variety. The relatively younger generation of Indian political scientists, of whom Dr. V.P. Varma, Dr. A.J. Dastoor, Dr. N.R. Deshpande and Dr. K.V. Rao seem to be real representatives, have struck a note which, in the overall frame of the discipline, denotes more of continuity than change in their thinking apparatus and idea contents. Even the specialised sub-themes such as 'Corruption in the Public Services of India', 'North East India', 'Socialism in India' and 'In Defence of Social Equality' do not leave the impression that the writers or the speakers have any select professional audiences of their own.

The title of the book 'Political Science in Independent India', chosen by the editor Dr. Sudesh Kumar Sharma is apt as well as suggestive of its nature, scope and contents. The brief introduction on 'Indian Constitution: 25 Years' is rather too sketchy and does not provide the variegated backdrop in the context of which these presidential exhortations could have been read, studied and evaluated. A political scientist having a hind look on the working of the Indian Constitution and the performance of the Indian polity in the jubilee year under emergency is perhaps better equipped to correlate the forebodings and wishful thinking of these distinguished academicians, who have lived through the democratic experiment of the nation and have enjoyed the

academic experience of freedom of thought and academic autonomy of the intellectual in the Indian universities.

Normally, the purpose of a presidential address to an annual conference of a body of academic professionals is to take stock of the situation, 'thought trends' and 'research frontiers' in a discipline. It is also supposed to set the tone and tenor of academic discussions chosen by the body of scholars for systematic examination and deeper analysis. Naturally, it is supposed to provoke thought processes and serve as a lamp post, radiating beacon light on the momentous issues agitating the minds of the academicians engaged in the study of 'politics' or the 'political'. Viewed from this perspective most of these addresses are a sad commentary on the growing health of the discipline. Barring a few, they fall much short of 'international standards' which alone can and should be the measuring rod of academic excellence. Prof. Kothari seems to be broadly correct when he says that "most of these essays have embarked upon new theoretical or methodological thresholds and have combined analytical and normative dimensions" but a deeper analysis reveals that they have scarcely succeeded in providing 'paradigms' through which political reality, especially Indian, can be comprehended. The younger generations of Indian political scientists may be benefited by reading about "the ideas, sentiments, hopes and despairs" of their seniors, but they would have certainly expected these stalwarts to

come to grips with the crisis, which to borrow a phrase from the 'foreword' threatens the very raison d'être of social science.

Of course, the editor could not have helped in revising the contents, but had he been more careful, the first 33 pages of the book could have been better and more meaningfully

organised. Still, the effort of bringing out a volume containing this material is a step in the desired direction.

The quality of the paper used and the production of the volume are poor although the price is reasonable.

—P.D. SHARMA

The Administrative System of Nepal by HEM NARAYAN AGRAWAL, Delhi, Vikas, 1976, pp. 397, Rs. 50.

The book traces the growth of the administrative system in Nepal. It provides a historical background of all the developments. After analysing the evolution of the central and district administration during the Rana rule, it also describes the personnel policies and financial system as they grew up in the context of the times. For the system of comparative administration, the book contains a good deal of worthwhile material. The chapters relating to administrative changes and the 'bureaucracy in making' are of particular relevance. Besides the internal compulsions for administrative change, the inducements for administrative reform from outside have been mentioned. India also has, in its own modest way, contributed to the modernisation of the administrative system of Nepal. The author also examines the currents and crosscurrents of policies. Thus the discussion of the administrative system takes into account the difficult

political, constitutional and other contextual factors which condition it. The last chapter sums up the author's overall conclusions which go to illustrate the subtitle of the book 'from tradition to modernity'. Having had the opportunity of working in Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu, the author could lay hands on many reports by foreign experts relating to the various aspects of administration which are not readily available. But sometimes one gets the impression that the facts and figures tend to overwhelm analysis. Based on the author's dissertation for D. Litt. the volume contains a comprehensive bibliography of published and unpublished books and documents which will help the students to pursue the subject further. On the whole the author has made a considerable contribution to the subject of his study.

—H.D. SHARMA

Neighbourhood and Social Networks in Urban India by ANDREA MENEFEE SINGH, New Delhi, Marwah Publications, 1976, pp. 230, Rs. 50.

The book is divided into six chapters and fourteen appendices.

Two chapters are devoted to theoretical introduction and conclusions,

respectively. The foreword by Andre Betelle also deals with some theoretical and conceptual aspects of the growing interest in the field of urban anthropology. We shall review some of these problems at a later stage. The second chapter throws refreshing sidelights on Delhi in which a neighbourhood was chosen from a huge residential colony called Karol Bagh, and where the author lived for the study.

Most of the South Indians in Delhi are urban-urban migrants, and they numbered 40,000 of the city's population according to 1961 census. Taking a fresh census of South Indian families in 'D Block' in Karol Bagh area, chosen for this study, the author found that there were 841 people living in 185 households, and 36 per cent of the total population were South Indians distributed in 38 per cent (or 39 per cent *see pp. 36 & 70*) households in the whole block.

In chapter three, the author presents a descriptive account of South Indian services, institutions and associations. It gives a fairly detailed information on South Indian peddlers, vendors, general goods stores, cloth and sari shops, coffee shops, hotels, catering houses, libraries, schools, temples and a variety of other associations. However, it is not without sweeping generalisations such as, "South Indian priests are a familiar sight travelling between appointments through the streets of Delhi..."(43). We are told that the study covered 60 South Indian associations of which 24 were registered and that the earliest

association in Delhi was pan-regional followed in order by regional-linguistic and caste-sectarian associations in the last 40 years or so. "For the South Indian they function as links with the south, cushioning feelings of isolation from their respective regions and feelings of alienation from the North Indian culture and society" (64).

Chapter four presents a fascinating account of social networks as studied by Dr. Singh. The density of role relationships is highly localised and pertains largely to South Indian communities in this small residential block of heterogeneous population comprising Punjabi landlords, Bengalis, Christians, etc. In terms of class characteristics, i.e., education, occupation and income, it is identified as a homogeneous area by the author. It would have been perhaps appropriate, therefore, to qualify the title of the book which is in fact specific in reference and content. From the general description of the networks, it is revealed that most of the South Indian women, excepting some who are employed as office assistants etc., remain indoors. Casual information is received or given out through maid-servant links which pertain to light literature, films, neighbourhood, gossips, etc. Housewives also visit friends or go out for shopping with husbands and children while North Indian women may do so by themselves. There is the association of block residents dealing with matters of common interest ranging from maintenance of parks, lanes, roads and other amenities.

These instrumental interests cut across other identities of caste, language, etc. The South Indian subculture is stronger than expected, and many occupants are related through kinship ties and their extensions, considerably cushioning regular interaction with members of other ethnic categories. Apart from this, there were forty-seven South Indian associations in Delhi of which twenty seven were voluntary associations, in which brahmins were more active participants than non-brahmins. As Dr. Singh rightly concludes, the South Indian associations are multi-purpose, and they emphasise shared attributes and interests of their recruits. "At the pan-regional level, the music, dance, and the festivals of South Indians are the principal activities. At the regional level, language and regional festivals are emphasised, including dramas, films, literary releases, schools, harvest festivals, new year celebrations and the like. At the next level caste and sub-caste identity are emphasised and most activities centre around religious and sectarian beliefs and rituals" (122).

In chapter six, the author has criticised an assumption that as individuals become urbanised, the importance of traditional categories of associations based on kinship, language, etc. diminishes in importance. From the data it seems that the South Indians continue to subscribe to traditionalism, because most of them never thought of settling in Delhi due to property rights vested in the States from which they come. This does not mean that they are not prone

to modernisation. Again in the Indian situation, attainment of wealth, education, good jobs, etc. may not necessarily lead to discontinuity of relationships with ethnic identities. These elements of differentiation are not so powerful that a person will easily give up past identities. This has something to do with the strength of the total ethos of Indian society and its subcultures. Dr. Singh has emphasised brahmin (Tamilian) dominance in religious and sectarian associations and said that there is absence of non-brahmin religious or caste associations in Delhi (145-49). However, the reviewer himself felt their presence in 1970, during his visit to a low-caste colony of South Indian domestic servants in the vicinity of Maharani Bagh across the Ring road. This colony is named Kamaraj Nagar and has a miniature South Indian temple. The author's comments on Singer and Srinivas regarding the appearance of dichotomy in occupational and domestic spheres of activity in urban India are acceptable. If the concepts of compartmentalisation and cultural schizophrenia are relevant in the case of some individuals and their behaviour, it is not necessary to accept them as wide-spread urban phenomena.

The author has used for this study depth interviews, questionnaire and case study techniques in one restricted area. Here the use of questionnaire may be taken as a *micro* study approach and not *macro* as suggested in Appendix I (171). The method used in collecting data on the nature of voluntary associations through

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records of the Registrar of Societies and from the official records of select societies located in various parts of the city would fall in the category of macroscopic area of study. This kind of study of migrant communities should be taken mainly as a study in social change. I wish the author had thrown special light on this aspect of the study in the conclusion. South Indians are by all means a typical migrant community in Delhi, and so the question arises as to what extent this multi-dimensional model of study could be profitably used for other rural-urban migrant communities. Even though it may not be probable that traditional social networks and associations give way to modern associations and secondary network of

relationships, there is ample evidence to show that the urban situation would give rise to differentiated role relationships both within the framework of ascriptive and achievement models. In my humble opinion, voluntary associations of various types and dimensions are at once the vehicles of traditionalism and modernity. They bring people with differentiated identities on a common traditional footing on one side, and on the other, they help dissipate traditional identities in an urban setting to such an extent that they give rise to discontinuities of relationships in certain spheres of ascriptive identities.

—HARSHAD R. TRIVEDI

Cooperation—An Interdisciplinary Approach—Proceedings of a Seminar,
Poone, Vaikunth Mehta National Institute of Cooperative Management,
1969, pp. 311, Rs. 15.

The Interdisciplinary Seminar on Cooperation was conducted by the Vaikunth Mehta National Institute of Cooperative Management, Pune, from 26th to 28th March, 1968. The proceedings of this Seminar are of very topical interest and relevance. The basic idea of the Seminar is explained in the following words by the then Director of the Institute, Shri P.R. Dubhashi :

"In the scheme of national planning, cooperative sector has been assigned an important role. Though the ideal of the 'Co-operative Commonwealth' is still distant, the cooperative sector is at least expected to play a balancing role between the private sector

and the public sector in the national economy. While co-operative movement has made considerable progress in new and diverse fields of our economic life, still, in recent years, doubts have been expressed about the ability of the co-operative movement to perform the task of distribution of adequate credit, seeds and fertilisers commensurate with the objective and targets of agricultural production. Diverse opinions have also been expressed as to the extent to which the cooperatives can assume the responsibility for processing and marketing of agricultural produce and the distribution of essential commodities to

the consumers at fair prices. A question has also been posed about the compatibility of co-operative organization with managerial efficiency. All these questions go to the very root of the problems of social and economic organization and we feel that time has come to do some fundamental thinking and clarify ideas about these basic issues."

The Seminar was thus invited to do such fundamental thinking. The basic themes selected for discussion were : (a) place of cooperation in the economic system; (b) management in cooperation; (c) cooperative leadership; and (d) development of cooperation as an academic discipline.

Besides the discussion proceedings, the book contains fifteen papers by eminent persons on all the themes of the Seminar. Three papers covering cooperation—a system or a sector; strategy of cooperative development; and management in cooperation—have been contributed by Shri P.R. Dubhashi, the then Director of the Institute and one of our outstanding administrators. He has analysed the past thinking and experience in depth showing great insight and perspective and has drawn appropriate lessons for the future. All the three articles are very thought provoking and contain very good discussion of the theoretical principles/possibilities and the practical compulsions relating to the growth of cooperation with particular reference to the conditions in our country. For instance, Shri Dubhashi points out, after detailed analysis and

discussion, that "the more plausible strategy for the cooperative movement seems rather to consist of the following elements—origin of cooperative activity in one or the other sector of economic life depending on compulsion of economic events; making a success of the cooperative enterprise on the basis of a ceaseless pursuit of higher efficiency through promotion of large-scale organisation, integration of functions, centralisation of operations, professionalisation of management and accumulation of capital, compounding success in one field by branching off into cognate fields of economic activity which may be called a process of vertical development, and finally seeking mutual reinforcement through businesslike inter-cooperative relationship. All these combined might lead to a stronger cooperative movement in a mixed economy rather than the realisation of the ideal of cooperative commonwealth."

Some other papers in the book are : Development of Cooperation for Economic Development of India by D. Jha; the Cooperative as an Economic Organization by Nilakanth Rath; Place of Cooperation in India's Economy by D.R. Datar; Cooperative Leadership by K.K. Mehta; and Cooperation as an Academic Discipline by G. Parthasarathy. There are also papers on management of co-operative banks, processing units, consumer stores etc. and teaching of cooperation in universities. The authors of all these papers are eminent men in their fields.

The discussion proceedings in the

book are as thought provoking as the papers.

The book contains an excellent analysis of the principles, past performance, problems and future possibilities of cooperative development in our

country. It is a very valuable addition to the literature on the subject and will be of great benefit to all those who are interested in and concerned with the growth of cooperative movement in our country and abroad.

—M.L. SUDAN

Society and Culture in Northern India in the Twelfth Century by B.N.S. YADAV, Allahabad, Central Book Depot, 1973.

This documented study based on the author's research for his D. Phil. degree explores one of the important but twilight periods of Indian history. The critical use that the author has made of literary and archaeological material is borne out by the extensive notes and references as well as the bibliography that he has provided. As Dr. G.C. Pande, the well-known scholar of Indian history and culture, has remarked in his tantalisingly brief foreword that the author's "conception of social history places it midway between political history and the history of ideas and values. Social history thus becomes the history of institutions and institutional relations". Dr. Yadav has given very interesting insights into the family, religious, economic and literary life of the classes as well as the people during the period on the basis

of contemporary material. Even the 'life of pleasure' as lived and enjoyed by groups and classes finds place in his treatment of the period. Basically a period dominated by the military and the landed aristocracy—castes and classes not always distinguishable—naturally the discussion revolves round their mores and modes, though some religious and literary works touch upon the way of life of the less privileged castes, class and classes. A work of scholastic merit, one is prone to agree with Dr. Pande's opinion that it is "by far the best study of the twelfth century that has been attempted so far". It is gratifying that an errata has been added for the rather many printing errors which could have been avoided by a more careful proof-reading of the text.

—B.C. MATHUR

The Prime Ministers of Aurangzeb by LAIQ AHMAD, Allahabad, Chugh Publications, 1976, pp. xii+160, Rs. 40.

Sri Laiq Ahmad has written the biographical sketches of three of the four *wazirs* of Aurangzeb. These *wazirs* were Muazzam Khan (1659-

1663) also known as Mir Jumlah; Jafar Khan (1663-1670); and Asad Khan (1676-1707). One Fazil Khan also held this office, but he died within

seventeen days of his appointment in June, 1663. The author explains in the preface that the word *wazir* cannot be equated with the British Prime Minister. The *wazirs* hardly ever advised the Emperor on administrative or financial matters. In fact, Muazzam Khan never lived in Delhi during the period of his office. He led the campaign against Shuja in Bengal and later fought with the king of Assam. Asad Khan who was the *wazir* for more than three decades, spent nearly all his period of office fighting in the Deccan. In other words, they were army commanders and not civil servants. Only Jafar Khan lived in the capital during his period. But he was an old man and loved his drink. He spent his seven years in office as a senior courtier

doing nothing. The book, therefore, mainly deals with the military exploits of Muazzam Khan and Asad Khan and the manner by which they rose to the highest post in the empire.

One interesting point brought out by the author is that all the four *wazirs* of the *sunni* Emperor were *shias*. Does this throw any new light on the character of Aurangzeb?

The book fills up a gap in the literature on the Mughal period, and should be useful to the students specialising in that period. The publishers could have used a better press. Many of the types, specially in the footnotes, are broken.

—ASHIM KUMAR ROY

Fundamentals of Factory Management by S.K. GHOSH, Calcutta, Eastern Law House, 1975, pp. xii+271, Rs. 40.

The ambitiously titled book deals mainly with the legal aspects of labour management in Indian industry. The book is divided into nineteen chapters. It has in addition a foreword, an introduction, a preface, and appendices.

and depersonalisation of individuals in industry.

Chapters 2-8 deal in detail with the various industrial laws such as the Factories Act, the Indian Boilers Act the Industrial Employment (standing orders) Act, etc. Most of these Acts are intended to protect certain industrial and occupational interests of factory workers and their obeyance is the statutory responsibility of the management. A number of case laws are cited and analysed to illustrate the various sections. These will be of value to personnel managers, legal officers and general managers of small factories.

Chapters 9-12 deal with problems

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of industrial relations. Chapter 9 covers general aspects of personnel management and brings out the well-known theme of the desirability of workers' participation in management. Chapter 10 is on legal interpretations of the various sections of the Industrial Disputes Act and on the powers of the Board of Conciliation, the Court of Enquiry, the Labour Court and Tribunals, supported by a number of law cases. The author concludes that the ready availability of an adjudication machinery and the political patronage indulged in the constitution of tribunals by some State Governments have not helped the employees or the employers in assuming responsibility for settlement of disputes; but have, on the other hand, led to increased litigation. Chapter 11 deals briefly with the provisions of the Trade Unions Act. Chapter 12 surveys the history of labour legislation and the difficulties in its implementation. It highlights the role played by the conciliation officer in reducing the differences between the two parties by suggesting mutual accommodation. There is some duplication in this chapter of the details concerning conciliation procedures, the role of welfare officers and personnel managers, etc., which have been covered in earlier chapters, and could be avoided.

Chapters 13-15 deal with security management—an important area generally neglected. The author has expertise in this area and has given valuable suggestions on external and internal security measures required for factory premises,

industrial safety and fire protection. Effective methods of recruitment and training of security personnel both in public and private sectors are described and the cost benefit economics of security protection is analysed. Chapter 15 brings out the role of police in industrial disputes. This chapter is, however, redundant since it is addressed more to the police officers than to the factory managers.

Chapters 16 and 17 deal with some of the technical aspects of management. Chapter 16 describes briefly the techniques of production planning and control, quality control, methods, engineering and cost control. Chapter 17 describes some of the computer applications in management and the impact of electronic data processing on industry. The coverage in these two chapters is sketchy and inadequate to be of much use to factory managers.

Chapter 18 fills up missing gaps in earlier chapters on industrial disputes and industrial employment. It takes a number of illustrative law cases and answers some important questions on misconduct and disciplinary actions facing labour officers and personnel managers every day.

In the 19th chapter, *Ramifications of Industrial Employment*, the author sums up by evaluating the impact of laws on factory management.

Throughout the book, there are a number of typographical errors. It is hoped that the author will correct them in the next edition. The author

in his preface says: "The purpose of this book is to provide an up-to-date handbook containing statutory security and technical aspects with a view to helping management and factory executives in the efficient discharge

of their duties." The author has succeeded to some extent in dealing with the statutory and security aspects but the technical aspects are certainly not up to the mark.

—G.K. AMAR

West Bengal and Delhi Sales Tax Laws by PAL AND BOSE, Calcutta, Eastern Law House, Rs. 100.

Broadly this book deals with law relating to sales tax in Bengal and Delhi. The authors have, however, discussed the provisions of the Constitution of India and the Central Sales Tax Act at various places. The discussions are mostly based in relation to the Bengal Sales Tax Act. Since the book came in the market early in 1975, I find that some of the important decisions by the Supreme Court and High Courts, which have altogether changed various concepts of sales tax, could not be dealt with. The authors have, however, given their extensive comment based on case law.

The Delhi Sales Tax Act has now been enacted and, as such, it has brought far reaching effects on the West Bengal Sales Tax Act as extended to Delhi territory. The Bengal Sales Tax Act is now not applicable to the territory of Delhi. In view of this legislation, the Delhi Sales Tax Rules, incorporated in this book, have become obsolete.

The judgement of the Supreme Court pronounced in the first quarter of 1975 in the case of Md. Serajuddin & Co., reported in (1975) 36 STC

136, has altogether changed the concept of 'sales in the course of export'. The authors could not discuss this matter in their book and their discussion on the subject is not much relevant now. The concept of 'inter-State sales' has also considerably changed in view of a recent judgement of the Supreme Court in a bundle of cases filed by the jute mills in Orissa.

The authors on page 194 of their book have stated that in M/s. Kelvinator of India Ltd. Vs. The State of Haryana [AIR 1973 SC 256 : (1973) 32 STC 629] the Supreme Court has held that if a manufacturer in Haryana State sends its products to the distributors at Delhi who in turn make sales, then it will be treated as inter-State sales. In this connection I may point out that the Supreme Court's decision is contrary to what has been stated in the book.

No doubt the commentary is exhaustive but it will be more useful if it is revised and the recent important decisions are incorporated and dealt with in their proper perspective.

—Dr. O.P. MOTIWAL

Appraisal for Staff Development—A Public Sector Study by RONALD WRAITH, London, Royal Institute of Public Administration, 1975, pp. 89, £ 1.80.

The importance of staff development is uniformly recognised. The philosophy and structure of any system of management inevitably reflect the particular characteristics of the organisation, notably, the managerial climate and the degree and nature of unionisation in an enterprise. The book is the outcome of a research study conducted by Mr. Ronald Wraith of the Royal Institute of Public Administration in the post office, the National Coal Board, the British Broadcasting Corporation and the Department of Environment and the local government of U.K. The study is a search for methods that are open and objective in staff appraisal by which individuals may find satisfaction and the public be better served. The study covers the entire gamut of appraisal for staff development. Starting with the 'Purposes of Appraisal and Counselling', the study deals with areas like the 'Tactics of Appraisal', 'Administrative Methods Employed in Appraisal,' 'Who is Appraised', 'Who are the Appraisers', the 'Consequences of Appraisal' and 'Target-setting and Management'

Objectives'. Having reviewed the above areas, the author points out some of the problems which directly affect the appraisal scheme in any organisation. These relate to the nature of the partnership between line and staff management, the policy of promotion in the organisation and the frequency of appraisal, etc. This is the latest research study on the much talked topic of staff appraisal. Though the practices that may be appropriate in a particular system and environment may not be suitable elsewhere, yet this study provides very useful guidelines for staff appraisal and indicates the areas of future research in this important field. The study may serve as a good guide to all those concerned with the formulation of personnel policies in India both in terms of undertaking staff appraisal and stimulating researchers to make similar studies in the services as well as in public sector undertakings in this country for evolving more appropriate and scientific methods of staff appraisal relevant to our conditions.

—S.N. SWAROOP

A Handbook of Small Scale Industries by P.M. BHANDARI, Calcutta, Peerless Publishers, 1975, p. 485, Rs. 50.

Way back in 1962, the author had written a useful book 'A Guide to Small Scale Industries' which was well received, and was brought out in Hindi too. He has now followed

it up—though belatedly—by the present volume improving its quality and coverage in the light of the experience gained by him during the intervening period of over a dozen years.

Though the author has entitled the volume as 'A Handbook of Small Scale Industries', suggesting a wider and all-India coverage, in fact, the book has been written with his Rajasthan experience in view. However the chapters dealing with licensing and registration of industries, preparation of feasibility reports, applying PERT to a small industry project, import control, export promotion, hire purchase of machinery, ancillary industries, standardization, and marketing and industrial research, must all be found applicable throughout the country. The author's position of being Deputy Director in

the Industries Department of Rajasthan Government has helped him in visualising properly the needs of small-scale industrial entrepreneurs from the operational angle.

The book is thus a welcome addition to the literature on the subject and is timely in view of the present concern with creating greater opportunities for self-employment.

However, the index of just three pages to this 485-paged volume is inadequate. The utility of the volume could have been enhanced by giving a comprehensive index to facilitate quick reference by the busy executives.

—M. K. GAUR



BOOK NOTES

Punjab Disturbances 1919-1920, Delhi, Deep Publications, Volume One—Indian Perspective, Rs. 40. Volume Two — British Perspective, Rs. 60.

What have been commonly come to be known as the Punjab disturbances, 1919-20, constitute a significant milestone not only in the struggle for Indian independence against the British rule but also because of its impact on the nature of Indo-British relations in general. The Jalianwala Bagh episode left a profound imprint on the Indian psyche. This period broadly marks the emergence of Mahatma Gandhi's leadership in Indian politics. The Disorders Inquiry Committee, 1919-20, under the chairmanship of Lord Hunter was set up primarily due to the revulsion of public feeling when the facts regarding the incident came to be known though the disturbances in Bombay and Delhi were also included in the terms of reference for the purpose of investigation. The Committee could not come to any unanimous finding and the minority report was separately submitted by the three Indian members of whom the late Shri Chimanlal Setalvad is most well-known. It is also a matter of common knowledge that the questioning by him of General Dyer and others, mainly concerned with the Jalianwala-bagh atrocities, brought out the facts because of which the majority report

could not do the whitewashing in its entirety.

The Congress was naturally dissatisfied with the composition and mode of working—and even the motivation—of the enquiry committee set up by the Government. The Congress appointed a commission which consisted of Gandhiji, C.R. Das, Abbas Tayabji, M.R. Jaykar (replacing Fazlul Haq) with K. Santanam as secretary. The commission went at great length into the Punjab disturbances and submitted quite a balanced and perspective report which was naturally banned by the then foreign government. It has a site plan of Jalianwalabagh and a few photographs which tell their own story. Probably this must have been the last document of the National Congress which refers to Gandhiji as Mr. Gandhi! The publishers have done an excellent job in making available to the public both the versions—the official as well as the non-official. Both volumes are welcome addition to libraries and will be of considerable interest to the students of the freedom movement in our country. ●

Administration of Law and Order. Ed. by N.K. SETHI AND JAGDISH C. KUKKAR, Jaipur, Rajasthan Regional Branch, IIPA, pp. 172, Rs. 25.

This is a collection of eight articles on different aspects of law

and order administration contributed both by academicians and practising administrators. While some of the articles examine the issues in a wider perspective, the others are concerned with the operational and procedural aspects. Some of the articles refer to the role of various sections of the community, while others take into account the legal and adjudicative issues. The volume provides a useful overview of the issues involved in the administration of law and order in the Indian context. The editors have done well in adding a small bibliography. It has a brief but a very perceptive foreword by Shri S.L. Khurana, the then Chief Secretary of Rajasthan. The book will be of use to students of public administration as well as to fresh entrants to public services.

Banned by N. GERALD BARRIER, New Delhi, Manohar Book Service, 1976, pp. 324, Rs. 50.

This book is concerned with the question of controversial literature and political control in British India from 1907-1947. It is divided into two parts. Part one deals with the "politics of proscription" consisting of five chapters in the background of 'governmental surveillance and intervention' in the circulation of controversial printed matter, the policy and procedures of such control during 1907 to 1947 and the legacy of the policy and the system. While one may not agree always with the author's interpretation and approach, the analysis makes absorbing reading. According to the author, the British

action produced a two-fold legacy. Firstly, the formerly banned literature technically remains proscribed even today as no specific steps have been taken to reverse the decisions in the majority of cases by the successor State Governments. Secondly, despite this persisting legal issue, the British action had the beneficial effect of preserving a good deal of literature which would have otherwise been scattered and lost. The difference in approach between the imperial masters in India and the Secretary of State for India in London regarding the mode of disposal of the proscribed literature has also overtones of academic pressure.

Part two provides a brief annotated guide to such legally banned printed matter. It covers literature relating to religious controversy, nationalist and secular politics and poetry or songs of patriotism. The volume has a useful bibliography and author as well as subject indices. The author has taken considerable pains in collecting the material not only in India but also in Pakistan and U.K. It will help to throw light on many episodes of modern Indian history and will be of great help to students of the subject. The printing and get-up are of a high standard.

The Santals : A Classified and Annotated Bibliography by J. Troist, New Delhi, Manohar Book Service, 1976, pp. 234, Rs. 70.

The socio-economic compulsions are adding a new dimension to the study of the problems of the tribal

population in the country. The tribal administration, because of the complexities involved, is almost becoming a discipline in itself both as a focus for multi-disciplinary study as well as operational administration. The Santals are not only the biggest tribe, with their characteristic homogeneity, but are also spread over a number of States in the country. The Santals have also shown remarkable socio-political consciousness and some of the movements during the foreign rule share the glory of the freedom struggle. Besides providing a comprehensive introduction, the author has brought within the fold of the book all important documents, articles, reports, etc. that have been published during the last two hundred

years or so not only in English but also in Santali and Italian. The author has covered all the aspects of life, thought, culture, language, folklore, religion and organisation, of the Santals. The material relating to social movements and social change also finds ample place here since it is of great relevance to the process of policy making as well as programme administration. The thematic classification and scientific annotation of the various items enhance the usefulness of the volume. An outcome of painstaking research, it will be of real value to the scholars interested in the study as well as further research about Santals. Though elegantly brought out the price is rather on the high side.



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SPECIAL NUMBER
ON
STATE ADMINISTRATION IN INDIA

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EDITORIAL

The present number of the IJPA is devoted to some of the problems and issues relating to State Administration in India. This is an area of administration where systematic and comprehensive studies have been lacking. State Administration is the resultant of historical accidents—forces of challenge and response. It does not yet have any conceptual mould. Even operationally it cannot be treated as an isolate. In a federal set-up, there are problems which are equally the concern of the Centre as well as the States. It is evident that many administrative issues are regional in character. The question of even the Centre-State relationship is not only a constitutional and political problem but also has its administrative implications. In a written constitution some of these problems are spelt out in specific terms. Since the constitution is a living document, representing as it does the aspirations of the people, and as the administration is concerned with the organisation, management and direction of human affairs, new problems crop up and old problems assume new complexion. The process of planning by democratic means in a federal set-up gives rise to many problems of roles and relationships. From time to time we have published Special Numbers on themes primarily related to State Administration. Similarly we continue to publish articles on subjects which are deemed to be the constituent elements of State Administration. In the present Special Number we have attempted to take an integral view of the development, structures, processes and problems in State Administration. It has neither been our intention nor is it practicable to present a treatise on State Administration, complete in all its details and despite all its variants. An attempt has been made to discuss some of the aspects of State Administration which when taken in their totality may present a coherent overview of our theme.

The administrative evolution of the States in India has been intimately linked with the constitutional and political developments. The question of the adequacy of the State level Administration has been discussed by committees and even individual experts from time to time. It was so during the alien rule. It has been the same since the country attained freedom. Even a cursory reference to these reports reveals the changing perspectives in State Administration. The change in the political and constitutional context, the greater political articulation and aspirations of the people, the new socio-economic objectives as State policy, the problems inherent in comprehensive planning effort through consensus and persuasion, the compulsions of environmental changes as well as technological and scientific developments and many other considerations necessitate a continuing look at the problems of State Administration. State Administration is nearer to the people and naturally their expectations as well as their grievances find more intensive expression in terms of its working. State Administration along with its basic component, *viz.*, district administration, therefore, also received the attention of the Administrative Reforms Commission that was set up by the Government of India. A detailed study of State Administration was made by the M.P. Administrative Reforms Commission which submitted a number of reports about its functional areas and departments. A similar attempt in a series of reports was made in Tamil Nadu also. Such reports embody a wealth of material of considerable relevance for the students of public administration. In order to have a more integrated picture of the functioning of the State Administration, the reports of the committees of the State legislatures are also useful. Besides the studies commissioned by the Union or the State Governments, reports submitted by many committees and commissions entrusted with the task of looking into such specific areas as planning, community development and panchayati raj, State enterprises, agriculture, irrigation, cooperation, social welfare, tribal development, etc., contain a good deal of valuable information. The Indian Institute of Public Administration has itself contributed to the preparation of many such in-depth papers and reports. We do believe that many scholars will like to take up comprehensive and analytical studies of State Administration on the basis of published as well as unpublished documents either on regional or functional basis in days to come.

While the Prime Minister has been emphasising the importance of improved efficiency all along, last year in April she addressed a communication to the Chief Ministers and Governors on the subject. The Union Government has, in a manner of speaking, assumed a new role of leadership, guidance and support to administrative improvement even in studies. This trend gathered strength because of the added responsibilities of administration in the wake of the announcement of the 20-point economic programme. A conference of the Chief Secretaries of the State Governments and the Union Territories was summoned by the Cabinet Secretary on May 7 and 8, 1976

in New Delhi to discuss the broad frame of 'Administrative Improvement and Personnel Management' in specific terms. The Prime Minister delivered the inaugural address and while covering a wide range on matters administrative, stressed that reforms and efficiency should not be confined to the headquarters only, but should percolate to the lowest units at the district level so as to have an impact on the people. A conference of this nature further highlights the pivotal role of State Administration. It is in the light of these developments that we are humbly of the view that our effort is timely and in keeping with the changing administrative requirements.

Shriram Maheshwari in his article has traced the growth and development of States in India. It is a broad survey of the constitutional, political and administrative developments in the country. Maheshwari provides a broad perspective for the study of State Administration and has tried to identify forces leaving their impress on the evolution of State Administration and has drawn certain conclusions with which we may not find ourselves in full agreement but which do merit further analysis to assess their academic authenticity. While affirming that the State Administration performs both regulatory and developmental functions, C.P. Bhambri refers to the so-called proliferation of administrative agencies and organisations as a part and parcel of State Administration and raises a series of questions to examine the multi-dimensional contextual framework of State Administration in our federal structure. He provides an analysis of what he has termed as the 'diverse profiles of States' and advances four propositions about the relationship between environment and administration at the State level which should provoke further discussion among the students of comparative political system.

S.N. Sadasivan's contribution about the impact of political processes and the working of district administration can be viewed as the problem of the interaction of operating environment and the administration at the field level. It is the mutual perception of the role and relationship of the politician and the administrator at the grassroots level that will condition the nature and extent of public participation and involvement, monitoring of field programmes and even the quantum of administrative responsibility. In recent years there has been a fresh realisation of the significant place that the administration at the district level has in our set-up. Recommendations in authoritative circles have been made to strengthen the position of the district officer so that the entire machinery operates with the necessary coordination, speed and impact. It will be interesting in this regard to refer to some of our old issues on different aspects of this subject.

The functional competence of the personnel that run the administrative machinery and gives significance to organisational structures as well as goals

is a subject of vital importance. As the Prime Minister stated in her inaugural address at the conference of Chief Secretaries, "whatever machinery we had, the machinery would be only as good as the person who worked it." P.K.J. Menon analyses some basic aspects of personnel administration including career management in the States and makes suggestions in the light of his experience. Due to the variegated tasks of administration, the personnel has to be drawn from various disciplines and the need for professionalisation, training and development acquires a sense of urgency. It is not only the all-India services but also the many State services which man the State administration system. The question of morale, motivation, discipline and training of the State services merits increasing attention by State Governments. The problem of having more all-India services as a tool of uniform administrative standards, economy and efficiency as well as national integration still persists. Occasionally the State Governments have to draw upon the Central services for specific functional requirements, say, for finance or taxation. Again, there are the specialized needs of State enterprises. The staff policy for State enterprises in the States is of no less importance. It is this amalgam of personnel in the State Administration which has to evolve its culture and ethos for greater administrative effectiveness. Besides, the need for manpower planning in States still continues. Static or satellite minds cannot cope with the dynamics of the environment.

Our Constitution provides institutions for recruitment to public services. The adequacy of personnel policy is very largely determined by the modes and practices of these constitutional bodies. R.B. Jain, in his analytical study, makes out a case for institutional linkage between the Union Public Service Commission and the State Public Service Commissions. While one may not agree with this stand-point, the leadership role of the Union Public Service Commission is self-evident. The report of a committee appointed by the Union Public Service Commission on the mode and pattern of recruitment to public services has engendered some interest, though the findings and their logic have yet to be made public. We hope to publish some case studies dealing with the organisation and working of some select State Public Service Commissions in subsequent issues.

The problem of the redressal of the grievances of the individual citizen or even groups of citizens is the *sine qua non* of democratic administration. A good deal has been written on the subject even in our country. We have also made our contribution to this debate and search in some of our issues. Some of the State Governments have already established institutions and organisations for vigilance as well as redressal of citizens' grievances. But proper assessment about their working and problems has yet to be made by students of public affairs and public administration. In his contribution, A. Avasthi, with his experiences as a member of the M.P. Administrative

Reforms Commission, analyses the institutional model as propounded by the Commission to safeguard public interest and administrative proprieties.

B.D. Sharma and Harshad Trivedi analyse the different aspects of the complex problems of tribal development. The strategy of tribal development is one of the main planks of the Prime Minister's 20-point programme. In one of our recent issues we have published a perceptive exposition of the strategy of tribal development. The programme for tribal development has to be basically implemented by the State Administration with the support and guidance of the Union Government. While Sharma pinpoints for us the administrative aspects of marketing in tribal areas from the viewpoint of economic uplift of the tribal population, Trivedi outlines for us critically the main features of the machinery set up as part of the State Administration to implement policies and programmes of tribal development. N.R. Inamdar in his contribution makes an appraisal of the Employment Guarantee Scheme initiated by the Maharashtra Government. It has some novel features and has a relevance in our approach to the solution of the problem. The experience gained so far and its assessment may be of use to policy makers in other States.

In his exposition of the machinery for the administration of social welfare programmes for the backward sections of our society, G.B. Sharma has made an informative survey of the instrumentalities, procedures and problems. He has also some useful suggestions and comments to make as to how social welfare administration which is "the most neglected aspect of Indian administrative system" can be placed on a sound footing.

The pattern of local government is one of the key issues in State Administration. In his article relating to control over municipal bodies, Mohit Bhattacharya touches upon a number of inter-related problems of urban government. In the next issue we intend to have another contribution by N.N. Vohra indicating some of the problems that the State Administration faces in the wake of increasing urbanisation. The local government cannot be viewed as a fragmented system. The community development and panchayati raj are aimed to provide the rural counterpart. The problems of rural-urban relationship has been the principal concern of one of the committees set up by the Union Government a few years ago. The problems of housing and environmental improvement exist in both the sectors and have begun to receive more intensive attention under the Prime Minister's 20-point programme. At times it seems that the community development movement has lost its momentum and the panchayati raj its elan. Probably it may be a superficial reading of the situation. In a vast country like ours, there is no alternative except the panchayati raj approach if mass mobilisation for developmental tasks is to be achieved to any significant extent.

G.C. Singhvi, in his own way, takes a backward and forward look at the panchayati raj. We have particularly examined the problems of urban and rural government as well as development from various angles in the two Special Numbers in the previous years.

The successful working of cooperative institutions will go a long way in strengthening the economic fabric of the weaker sections of society. We have therefore to devise ways and means to improve and reinforce the cooperative administration in general. Cooperative movement in the country has broadened itself as regards its aims, objectives and scope. It has become an integral part of the socio-economic structure envisioned for the country. The co-operative institutions and organisations that come up to seek and fulfil new purposes need administrative support. It is in this light that J.G. Kanga highlights some problems of cooperative administration. The entire range of cooperative administration including the purposes, institutional models and relationships deserves scrutiny in the light of new expectations and new responsibilities.

Police constitutes the basic framework for law and order and it is on the basis of the faith in and the fact of the maintenance of peace and security that the welfare state can be built. Various State commissions have reported from time to time as to how the effectiveness of the police can be improved. Not long back a committee appointed by the Union Government also made comprehensive suggestions about training and other allied aspects of this vital wing of the law and order administration. P.D. Sharma covers a wide ground indicating organisational as well as operational problems of police administration in the States. He makes a plea for initiative by the Union Government. One can, however, see that both initiative and action have been evident during recent years in an ample manner and with substantial impact. One would endorse his suggestion for 'creative thinking' at all levels to enable the police to cope with its increasingly difficult tasks, but it may be difficult to agree with some of his other conclusions or even with the very concept of 'bargaining counters' in public services in general in a democratic system.

Along with administrative stability, planned development and welfare state need resources to sustain them. Sales tax has become one of the principal sources of revenues to States for their nation-building activities. It has flexibility and resilience and conforms to the principle of equity. But it has given rise to a number of administrative problems. S. Ramamurthi takes a look at the administration of sales tax and puts forward some proposals to reform and improve the machinery as well as the policies. This leads to the entire question of resources mobilisation by the States. They have to deepen and broaden the developmental programmes. The way the resources are mobilised and the manner in which they are spent determine the socio-economic character of the

economy. The separation of audit from accounts has added another responsibility to State Administration. The different aspects of the economic and financial administration that have received attention in our Journal from time to time have acquired all the greater significance in State Administration.

In his article espousing the need of setting up of Inter-States Council, which the author categorises as 'an aspect of cooperative federation', S.K. Sharma expresses a view point which has many more angles to it. As the Prime Minister has stressed more than once, it is an approach of accommodation and an awareness of commonality of goals between the Union Government and the States that will determine the harmony of partnership and mutuality of endeavour transcending fissiparous tendencies and parochial considerations. It may be pertinent to add that we have earlier in a Special Number covered many of the significant aspects of Centre-State relations in the broad administrative context.

The public services in our country have an element of protection provided in the Constitution. It is in the nature of a hang-over from the past. Some feel that this sort of protection is unusual so far as most of the constitutional laws are concerned and has served its purpose. O.P. Motiwal, while discussing the legal status of State services, refers to the recent trends in thinking and proposed amendments on the subject. It is hoped that the intended changes, while acting as a countervailing force to the tendency towards complacency, will, in no way, undermine the sense of self-confidence and drive necessary for improved performance. The author also makes mention of the proposed institution of administrative tribunals. The State Governments of Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh have already introduced such administrative institutions for State services. This is a fruitful area for enquiry and study specially by students of administrative law.

The planning process has conditioned in ways more than one the complexion of the State Administration. The plan documents from the very beginning have stressed, more often than not, at great length, the need for measures to strengthen the administrative machinery in the States for the purposes of plan implementation. With a view to add to planning capability, the suggestion to set up State Planning Boards has been made in various forums, with varying success in practical terms. The peculiar conditions in States have also influenced the administrative structures as well as the thought processes about planning in the country. Rakesh Hooja presents a case study on State level planning. We have examined the issues relating to planning processes and the concepts of multi-level planning, local planning, district planning, area and regional planning in one of our earlier issues.

The theme of continuing administrative reforms in the States is of perennial interest. It may not be worthwhile to go into the complex of reasons for the same. It may suffice, as the Prime Minister recently said, "State Administration is extremely important because that is our implementing agency." Bata K. Dey presents a 'kaleidoscopic panorama' of this striving for administrative reforms in the States and has summed up succinctly the recent push provided by the Union Government to these efforts. While his conclusion may unwittingly smack of an element of despair, there is no denying the fact that the 'integrated strategy planning' for administrative dynamism as an attitude and as a process will always merit attention of the administrative and political leadership. A.P. Saxena carries on this theme at a higher conceptual level. In the background of today's compulsions and tomorrow's imperatives, he focuses attention on some of the newly emerging areas of State Administration and the need for organisational change, and the use of management perspectives in consonance with technological advancements. He rightly stresses the need for "a search for directions". Quite appropriately, he affirms that as a part of integrated strategy, "it may be necessary to concurrently operate over a range to secure the validity of directions for improving State Administration."

In the 'administrative jungle', however, the intensity of gaze should not be sacrificed at the altar of the width of vision. A selective approach and intensive concentration on priorities may not prove to be ultimately less useful. Administrative reform can be both an instrumentality as well as an end in itself. In the zeal for administrative reform in the field, it is well to remember that the steady and the stable should not be lost sight of in pursuit of the glossy and the spectacular. Administration, particularly in the field, is concerned with pedestrian details. The projects and programmes consist only a minor part of an administrator's work. The need is to motivate the individual and thus the system so as to tackle with a sense of purpose and urgency what has come to be called as 'the administrative routine'. This requires imagination, empathy and integrity of approach on the part of the administration. Administrative reform has a psychological dimension. It is a matter of attitude, insight and outlook. Administrative reform is not confined to the consultant's paradise of institution buildings and organisational structures. Administrative reform is not merely the question of having the borrowed plumes, however tantalising, of high flown jargon of sophisticated techniques. More often than not they serve as a cloak of ostensible modernity and substitute to administrative realism and application to details. The quest for excellence in administration becomes a matter of psychological inner compulsion which is almost akin to conscience or commitment and identification to social good. For its fulfilment, the training institutions and the creation by administrative leadership of an appropriate climate of work-ethic and suitable operating environment, as pointed out by the Minister of State

for Home Affairs at the conference of the Chief Secretaries, have a role to play.

We thought of giving a number of extracts, having a bearing on State Administration from some of the reports and other official documents not readily available. But we had to abandon the idea due to constraint of space. We have, however, added a select bibliography on different segments of State Administration compiled by Mohinder Singh and R.N. Sharma. We hope that it will be handy by way of ready reference on the subject to scholars as well as practising administrators.

State Administration is not simply a geographical or areal concept. It comprehends a web of institutional as well as interpersonal relationships. It has a vast complex of constituent elements. It has developed many substantive areas of its own, both as an academic as well as an operating discipline. While trying to cover a wide spectrum ranging from the evolution of State Administration to 'the search for new directions' of administrative reforms, we are acutely conscious of many lacunae and inadequacies though the exhaustive treatment of the subject in its multifacet complexity has not been our object. The focal point of our approach is to highlight some of the pressing problems and raise some of the more important issues.

We feel that there are a number of other parameters and areas in State Administration which merit attention. They extend to structures and organisations, procedures and processes besides a number of functional, socio-psychological and politico-economic areas. Only by way of illustration without any attempt of being exhaustive, some discussion of subjects like Policy Formulation and Decision-making; the role of the Chief Secretary whom the Prime Minister described as 'the kingpin of State Administration'; Administration of Land Reforms; Revenue Administration and institutional arrangements; Crisis (natural calamities) Administration; Plan Administration, including Evaluation and Monitoring; the Role of Training; Public Relations; State Enterprises (including electricity boards); Educational Administration; Relationship between the Secretariat and Heads of Departments; Regional and Divisional Administration; Economic as well as Financial Administration; Administrative Tribunals and the like would have been useful. We have already referred to the constraints of time and space besides the unfortunate default in respect of promised contributions in respect of one or two important topics. We do propose to examine some aspects of Agricultural Administration in the next issue of the Journal. The entire area of Union Territory Administration, except a few official reports, remains unexplored. Studies relating to the implementation of the 20-point programme and the State Administration need to be undertaken. Our effort will be to see that

some of the topics listed above and others, as may be further suggested, may be covered in times to come.

There are many research gaps in the field of State Administration, whether one views it as an operational or academic discipline. It will be a significant service if some scholars and State training institutions try to identify them with a view to initiate meaningful action to fill such gaps as far as possible through a cooperative effort between the academics and the administrators. The Department of Personnel and Administrative Reforms can also provide a lead in the matter.

We take this opportunity to express our thanks to our distinguished contributors for their cooperation which we greatly value and to our discerning readers for their guidance and support which we deeply cherish.

—Editor

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EVOLUTION OF STATES IN INDIA

Shriram Maheshwari

SURPRISING though it may sound, it was the provinces, the earlier nomenclature of the States, which first came into existence in British India, not the Central Government. Indeed, a kind of Central Government could make its appearance, only in the year 1773—long after the three Presidencies, namely, the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal, the Presidency of Fort St. George, Madras, and the Presidency of Bombay had come into existence. The first-named Presidency was the largest of the three, covering as it did nearly the whole northern India and, therefore, was the first to be subjected to political reorganization. The Charter Act of 1833 provided for its division into two: (*i*) the Presidency of Fort William in the Lower Provinces in Bengal and (*ii*) the Presidency of Agra. The proposed bifurcation, however, was postponed; eventually the creation of the Presidency of Agra was cancelled, and in its place the North West Provinces under a Lt. Governor was set up in 1836. Sindh was annexed in 1843 and except for a short spell of period was administered as part of Bombay until the enactment of the Government of India Act, 1935. Punjab became a separate province in 1849 followed by Oudh in 1856, the Central Provinces in 1861, Assam in 1874, the North Western Frontier province in 1901, the United provinces of Agra and Oudh (formed by merging the North Western Provinces and Oudh) in 1901, Bihar in 1912, Sindh and Orissa both in 1936. In addition to these twelve Governors' provinces, there were six Chief Commissioners' provinces. They were: (1) British Baluchistan, (2) Delhi, (3) Ajmer-Merwara, (4) Coorg, (5) Andaman and Nicobar Islands, and (6) Panth Piploda. Consequent upon India's division in August 1947, both the North Western Frontier Province and Sindh became

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part of Pakistan, and Punjab and Bengal were each partitioned between the two countries. Independent India thus comprised nine Governors' provinces (Madras, Bombay, West Bengal, the United Provinces, Bihar, East Punjab, the Central Provinces and Berar, Assam, and Orissa), and five Chief Commissioners' provinces (Delhi, Ajmer-Merwara, Panth Piploda, Coorg and Andaman and Nicobar Islands.)

The provinces, as they were called until 1950, came into being in a fortuitous way—more through the accidents of history than on the basis of any cultural or administrative principles or criteria. A most noteworthy feature of the internal political formations in India lay in their emergence being dependent upon the vicissitudes of the political fortunes of the British. As the report on Indian Constitutional Reforms (1918) pointed out, "the present map of British India was shaped by the military, political, or administrative exigencies or conveniences of the moment and . . . with small regard to the natural affinities or wishes of the people."¹

INDEPENDENCE AND PROVINCIAL ALIGNMENT

One of the earliest measures which independent India took was the integration of princely states with the rest of the country. This acquired three forms. Some of them were straightaway merged into the provinces contiguous to them; others were consolidated into clusters of states and along with large-sized princely states they were designated as Part B States. There were a few others which on strategic or political grounds were kept as separate political entities and called Part C States. In 1950 when the present Constitution came into operation, the constituent units of the Indian Union thus found themselves classified into Part A, Part B, Part C, and Part D States. As stated earlier, Part A States included the erstwhile Governors' provinces, Part B States the erstwhile princely jurisdictions, Part C the erstwhile Chief Commissioners' provinces as well as some of erstwhile princely states, and the Andaman and Nicobar Islands the solitary Part D State. Three principal features distinguished Part B States from Part A States: (i) Part B States were bound by certain special agreements entered into in consequence of their financial integration; (ii) the Central Government was endowed with the constitutional power to exercise general control over them, a provision made in Article 371 of the Constitution; and (iii) the head of a Part B State was the Rajpramukh, not Governor. A State labelled Part C was administered by the President, acting to such extent as he thought fit, through a Chief Commissioner or a Lt. Governor and, further, Parliament was empowered to create a body, whether nominated or elected,

¹Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms, Calcutta, Superintendent, Government Printing, 1918, p. 28.

to function as its legislature as well as a Council of Advisers or Ministers. Part C States were originally the Chief Commissioners' provinces, and the single most distinctive feature of this category of political units was the vesting of their administration directly in the hands of the Central Government. Starting with five such units in 1947, their number rose to ten in 1950 when the Constitution came into force. Constitutionally, they did not follow a uniform pattern in the internal ordering of their institutions in the sense that some had local legislatures and ministries while others enjoyed only advisory councils and, besides, two of them were administered through the Lt. Governors while the others were under Chief Commissioners. Nevertheless, all of them were governed by a single statute, namely, the Government of Part C States Act, 1951. The Part D State was also administered by the President, acting to such extent as he thought fit, through a Chief Commissioner, but there was no provision whatsoever for a legislative body or a Council of Advisers or Ministers in such a jurisdiction. However, the most differentiating mark of this class of States lay in the President not only exercising regulation-making power for the "peace and good government of any such territory" and any regulation so made enjoying superior validity; the Presidential regulation could repeal or amend any law made by Parliament or any existing law applicable to such a territory.²

STATE SET-UP AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION

In 1950 the States of all these four categories numbered no less than twenty-nine, their names being as follows:

Part A

1. Assam
2. Bihar
3. Bombay
4. Madhya Pradesh
5. Madras
6. Orissa
7. Punjab
8. The United Provinces
9. West Bengal

Part B

10. Hyderabad
11. Jammu and Kashmir

²Article 243(2) of the Constitution.

12. Madhya Bharat
 13. Mysore
 14. Patiala and East Punjab States Union
 15. Rajasthan
 16. Saurashtra
 17. Travancore-Cochin
 18. Vindhya Pradesh

Part C

19. Ajmer
 20. Bhopal
 21. Bilaspur
 22. Cooch-Behar
 23. Coorg
 24. Delhi
 25. Himachal Pradesh
 26. Kutch
 27. Manipur
 28. Tripura

Part D

29. The Andaman and Nicobar Islands

HISTORY OF DEMAND FOR REDISTRIBUTION OF STATES

The demand for a redrawing of the State boundaries in India is long-standing, dating back to the year 1903³ when Sir Herbert Risley, Home Secretary in the Central Government, wrote to Bengal proposing the historic partition of that province, effected in 1905.

The authors of the report on Indian Constitutional Reforms were well disposed towards provincial reorganisation for three principal reasons. First, the provinces as they existed bore an artificial character. Secondly, if these units were made smaller in size and more homogeneous in character, the business of government was to become simplified, which was a factor of special significance in the context of the proposed transfer of the burden of provincial government to 'comparatively inexperienced'⁴ Indian hands. Finally, the linguistic provinces were to lend themselves to the adoption of regional languages for purposes of transaction of governmental business

³Report of the States Reorganization Commission, New Delhi, Manager of Publications, 1955, p. 10.

⁴Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms, op. cit. p. 159.

which was to attract to public affairs persons not acquainted with English and thus to broad-base Indian polities.

Mahatma Gandhi, who entered the Indian political scene in 1919, realised at the outset that his message could be transmitted to the people at large only if the provincial units of the Congress Party were organized on a linguistic basis. Accordingly, in 1921, the Congress Party gave effect to the linguistic principle in its own constitution by dividing the existing provinces into linguistic ones for its organization purposes.

It was, however, the committee appointed by the conference to determine the principles of the constitution for India (1928) which, for the first time, made a systematic effect on the part of the nationalist political parties of India to evolve a considered approach to the question of formation of provinces. Its report, popularly known as the Nehru Report, after the name of the committee's chairman, Motilal Nehru, makes out a most cogent, even if somewhat romantic, case for the redistribution of provinces on the basis of linguistic affinities. The principles to govern redistribution of provinces are, according to this committee, partly geographical and partly economic, but two main considerations are the popular wishes and the linguistic unity of the area. In a democracy the language of official communication cannot but be the language spoken by the people, which means that so far as the provinces are concerned, it must be the provincial language; any other course is bound to keep the development of the common man stunted. "If a province has to educate itself and do its daily work through the medium of its own language, it must necessarily be a linguistic area. If it happens to be a polyglot area, difficulties will continually arise and the media of instruction and work will be two or even more languages. Hence it becomes most desirable for provinces to be regrouped on a linguistic basis. Language, as a rule corresponds with a special variety of culture, traditions and literature. In a linguistic area all these factors will help in the general progress of the province.... Another principle which must govern a redistribution of provinces is the wishes of the people concerned. We who talk of self-determination on a larger scale cannot in reason deny it to smaller area, provided, of course, this does not conflict with any other important principle or question. The mere fact that the people living in a particular area feel that they are a unit and desire to develop their culture is an important consideration even though there may be no sufficient historical or cultural justification for their demand. Sentiment in such matter is often more important than fact. Thus, we see that the two most important considerations in rearranging provinces are the linguistic principle and the wishes of the majority of the people. A third consideration, though not of the same importance, is administrative convenience, which would include the geographical position, the economic resources and the financial stability of the area concerned. But administrative convenience is

often a matter of arrangement and must as a rule bow to the wishes of the people."⁵

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The Indian Statutory Commission, also called the Simon Commission (after the name of its chairman, Sir John Simon) was much more analytic and balanced in its examination of this question. In its report, submitted in 1930, it gave what may be construed to be but a qualified support to the proposal for linguistic provinces. The Simon Commission did not view the existing provincial set-up as 'altogether satisfactory' on the ground that in many cases not only did these boundaries include areas and sections of population having no 'natural affinity' but also kept separated those who could be more 'naturally united'. Yet it warned: "There are...very great difficulties in the way of redistribution, and the history of the partition of Bengal stands as a warning of the caution needed before undertaking any operation so likely to run counter to old associations or to inflame suspicion and resentment. Moreover, the consequential administrative and financial adjustments are bound to be of an extremely complex character.... If those who speak the same language form a compact and self-contained area, so situated and endowed as to be able to support its existence as a separate province, there is no doubt that the use of a common speech is a strong and natural basis for provincial individuality. But it is not the only test—race, religion, economic interest, geographical contiguity, a due balance between country and town and between coast line and interior may all be relevant factors. Most important of all, perhaps, for practical purposes, is the largest possible measure of general agreement on the changes proposed, both on the side of the area that is gaining, and on the side of the area that is losing, territory."⁶ The Commission concluded: "It is manifestly impossible for us to recommend a redrawing of the map of India according to some new pattern."⁷

But the Congress Party continued renewing its commitment to the formation of linguistic provinces. Following the announcement of the Simon Commission it adopted a resolution in 1927 affirming that the "time has come for the redistribution of provinces on a linguistic basis".⁸ In 1937 and 1938⁹ it renewed its pledge to recarve the provinces on the principle of linguism. In its election manifesto of 1945 it reiterated its pledge to set up linguistic provinces: "The Congress has stood...for the freedom of each

⁵Report of the Committee appointed by the Conference to determine the Principles of the Constitution for India quoted in Maheshwari, S.R., *The Evolution of Indian Administration*, Agra, Lakshmi Narain Agarwal, 1970, pp. 123-24.

⁶Report of the Indian Statutory Commission, Cmd. 3568, London, H.M.S.O., 1930, para 38.

⁷Ibid., para 38.

⁸Quoted in Report of the States Reorganization Commission, op. cit., p. 13.

⁹Ibid., p. 14.

group and territorial area within the nation to develop its own life and culture within the larger framework, and it has stated that for this purpose such territorial areas or provinces should be constituted, as far as possible, on a linguistic or cultural basis."¹⁰

Quite unexpectedly, the question of formation of linguistic States became intensely live when the Constituent Assembly of India was engaged in the task of constitution-making for the country. As demands were being repeatedly made on the floor of the Assembly to redraw the internal political boundaries of India, it announced, in June 1948, the Linguistic Provinces Commission, under the chairmanship of S.K. Dar, to examine the question of formation of certain new provinces. Reporting in December 1948, the Commission summed up the pros and cons of linguism in the way judges do: "The case for the formation of linguistic provinces rests upon two alternative grounds: upon the theory that these linguistic groups are sub-nations and as such contracting parties to the Constitution from which the Federation and the Centre derive their existence and power; alternatively it rests upon the unwieldy size of the existing provinces, their heterogeneous composition and the administrative advantage, which may result from bringing together people speaking one language, in imparting education and in the working of courts, legislatures, governmental machinery and democratic institutions. The case against the formation of these linguistic provinces rests upon the intolerance which they breed against the minority speaking a different language in the same province, the inter-provincial isolation and antagonism which they bring into existence, the parochial patriotism which they emphasise as against the growth of the nascent national feeling and lastly the bitterness which is likely to be generated as a result of marking off the boundaries of these provinces between rival claimants and the allotment of the capital cities of Madras and Bombay. The arguments in favour of the immediate formation of linguistic provinces are that, on account of Congress pledges, the demand has got deep down into the masses and its postponement is creating bitterness, impatience and frustration and the country cannot settle down to constructive work till the demand is conceded, and that the Constitution will start on a faulty basis without the linguistic provinces being put in its schedule. The arguments in favour of its postponement are that the country is not yet free from the dangers of external aggression, that it is in the grip of an economic crisis of great magnitude, that Indian States have not yet been properly integrated, that the Government is pre-occupied with more urgent problems, that the country cannot at this moment bear the financial and administrative strain which these new provinces will put upon it, and that it does not possess the necessary peaceful atmosphere in which new provinces can be scientifically

¹⁰The election manifesto has been reproduced in Sitaramayya, Pattabhi, *The History of the Indian National Congress*, Vol. II, Bombay, Padma Publications, 1947, Appendix I.

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and properly planned and a new map of India rationally drawn up."¹¹ The Commission, however, set its face firmly, even grimly, against the constitution of new provinces, atleast in the near future much less did it have any sympathy for the linguistic principle of State formation. Frankly, the report of the Dar Commission marks unmistakably a swing of the pendulum to the other extreme and in the process could not help becoming an autocratic document. To quote from the report : "The existing Indian provinces are administrative units of British imperialism. They came into existence in a somewhat haphazard way, and were not designed to work as democratic institutions; they are certainly susceptible of more scientific and rational planning. But they have taken root and are now living vital organisms and have served the useful purpose of bringing together people, who might otherwise have remained separated. And though they may be somewhat disadvantageous in working modern democracy, they are not bad instruments for submerging a sub-national consciousness and moulding a nation. In any rational and scientific planning that may take place in regard to the provinces of India in the future, homogeneity of language alone cannot be decisive or even an important factor. Administrative convenience, history, geography, economy, culture, and many other matters will also have to be given due weight. It may be that the provinces thus formed will also show homogeneity of language and, in a way, might resemble linguistic provinces. *But in forming the provinces, the emphasis should be primarily on administrative convenience, and homogeneity of language will enter into consideration only as a matter of administrative convenience and not by its own independent force.*"¹² (italics supplied)

But such an exercise had to wait until the process of national integration of India was completed and even when taken in hand, factors like geographical contiguity, financial self-sufficiency, administrative convenience, capacity for future development and consent of the people concerned were to be the true criteria for formation of provinces. "Till nationalism has acquired sufficient strength to permit the formation of autonomous provinces, the true nature and function of a province under our Constitution should be that of an administrative unit functioning under delegated authority from the Centre and subject to the Centre's overriding powers in regard to its territory, its existence, and its functions. ...As soon as India has been physically and emotionally integrated, the Indian State problem solved and the national sentiment strengthened, the scientific planning of the existing provinces of India can be taken in hand as far as practicable and this invidious distinction obliterated; but till then it has to be accepted as an accident of history and all sub-national tendencies

¹¹ Report of the Linguistic Provinces Commission, New Delhi, Constituent Assembly of India, 1948, pp. 2-3.

¹² Ibid., p. 29.

in the existing linguistic provinces should be suppressed.”¹³

The Dar Commission Report was too chastising for the protagonists of the linguistic province, and no wonder it met with extremely chilly reception in the country, particularly in south India which was more insistent on linguistic provinces. Even the Congress Party viewed the Dar prescription as too severe to be acceptable to the people whose expectations in this regard had been consistently aroused by the political leadership itself all these years. Meeting shortly after the publication of this report, the Congress Party, therefore, announced its own committee to consider the question of linguistic provinces and “to review the position and to examine the question in the light of the decisions taken by the Congress in the past and the requirements of the existing situation”. Appointed at the Jaipur session of the Congress held in December 1948, the Linguistic Provinces Committee consisted of three members, namely, Vallabhbhai Patel, Pattabhi Sitaramayya and Jawaharlal Nehru.¹⁴ The report of this Committee is in a way a less harsh echo of the Dar Commission Report, coming as it did to the general conclusion that “the present is not an opportune time for the formation of new provinces,”¹⁵ asserting at the same time that “it (reformation of linguistic provinces) would unmistakably retard the process of consolidation of our gains, dislocate our administrative, economic and financial structure, let loose, while we are still in a formative state, forces of disruption and disintegration, and seriously interfere with the progressive solution of our economic difficulties.”¹⁶ Nonetheless it did not completely shut its door upon the demand, for it conceded: “We would prefer to postpone the formation of new provinces for a few years so that we might concentrate during this period on other matters of vital importance and not allow ourselves to be distracted by this question. However, if public sentiment is insistent and overwhelming, we, as democrats, have to submit to it, but subject to certain limitations in regard to the good of India as a whole and certain conditions which we have specified above. Public sentiment must clearly realise the consequences of any further division so that it may fully appreciate what will flow from their demand. We feel that the case of Andhra Province should be taken up first and the question of its implementation examined before we can think of considering the question of any other province.”¹⁷

History has often the uncanny habit of embarrassing people by making

¹³*Report of the Linguistic Provinces Commission*, op. cit., p. 29.

¹⁴The expression ‘VPJ’ Committee is not historically quite correct. This committee consisted of these members in this particular order and had no chairman or convener.

¹⁵*Report of the Linguistic Provinces Committee appointed by the Jaipur Congress*, New Delhi, AICC, 1949, p. 9.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 10.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.

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them recant. The nationalist leaders were now being seen publicly and loudly to repudiate and foresake a cause which they had at heart until a short while ago. The Dar Commission and the VPJ reports are examples of such historical oscillations, and are the lineal descendants of the Simon Commission.

CONSTITUTION AND FORMATION OF STATES

Torn between the pledges made in the past, continually reminded by popular demands and the verdict given by the Dar Commission and the VPJ reports, the Constituent Assembly could not firmly make up its mind on linguistic provinces, which is reflected in its keeping this question open as a matter of deliberate choice. This is the sociology of Article 3 of the Indian Constitution which, it may be recalled, provides for the creation of new States in an incredibly simple and swift manner—by a bare majority of those present and voting in Parliament, subject only to two procedural stipulations, namely, that such a bill can be introduced only on the recommendation of the President, and further that the legislature of the State concerned has been given an opportunity of ‘expressing its views’ thereon. There is a historical explanation of why such a provision could find a place in the Constitution. As K. Santhanam observes:

“It was not done in any flippant spirit. At that time the Indian states had come in, and they were of varying size—small, medium and big. Provinces had been formed through historical forces or in a chaotic and haphazard manner. There were three or four linguistic groups in a single province or State. There were insistent claims that these anomalies should be removed before the Constitution was put on the statute book. The Constituent Assembly thought and rightly that any such attempt would delay the Constitution and it was imperative for the welfare of India that the Constitution should be drafted, approved and implemented at the earliest possible moment. Therefore, this wide provision, inconsistent with the spirit of any federation, was put in and you know the tremendous use that has been made of it.”¹⁸

The 1951 election manifesto of the Congress Party was much more cautious in its tone and guarded in its promise and said that whilst linguistic regions had undoubtedly cultural and other importance, other, factors—economic, administrative, and financial—also had to be taken into consideration; where, however, such a demand represented the agreed views of the people concerned, the necessary steps prescribed by the Constitution, including the appointment of a boundary commission, were to be taken.¹⁹

¹⁸Santhanam, K., *Union-State Relations in India*, Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1960, p. 7.

¹⁹Keesings *Contemporary Archives*, Vol. VIII, 1950-52, p. 11662.

The first organized popular agitation for setting up a linguistic State—namely, the Andhra State—was launched in Madras which, it may be recalled, was in the early fifties bilingual. The Telegu-speaking people, who were for quite sometime demanding a separate State are as a class highly volatile by temperament and the movement quickly snowballed. To press for immediate creation of the Telegu-speaking State, Potti Sriramulu, a Congressman of sufficient standing, undertook on October 19, 1952 a ‘fast unto death’. On December 15, the fasting leader died, which at once triggered off incidents of violence all over the State which had the immediate effect of paralysing the administration. Andhras, once enraged, are not easily controllable. Four days after the passing away of Sriramulu, the Central Government reluctantly bowed to the local pressures and announced the establishment of Andhra State to be carved out of Madras. On October 1, 1953 the first State, established on purely linguistic basis and bearing the name of Andhra State was inaugurated, the Andhra State Act having been passed by the Parliament on September 12, 1953.

This event directly and immediately led to the intensification of the demand for a comprehensive examination of the question of formation of linguistic States in India. The political situation on this issue became by this time apparently irretrievable. In December 1953 the Central Government announced the setting up of the three-man States Reorganization Commission to examine “objectively and dispassionately” the reorganization of the States of the Indian Union, taking into account “the conditions of the problem, the historical background, the existing situation and the bearing of all important and relevant factors thereon.”²⁰ After scrutinising over 150,000 memoranda that were submitted to it, touring the entire country involving travelling over 28,000 miles and interviewing over 10,000 persons, the Commission submitted in September 1955 its much-awaited 252-page report which included two dissenting notes, one each on Himachal Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh. The report is an illuminating document probing into the problem of formation of States in a remarkably balanced way, and is indispensable to the students of Indian affairs. It recommended that the constituent units of the Indian Union be the following sixteen States and three Centrally Administered Areas:

- States :* (1) Madras, (2) Kerala, (3) Mysore (Karnataka), (4) Hyderabad,
 (5) Andhra, (6) Bombay, (7) Vidarbha, (8) Madhya Pradesh,
 (9) Rajasthan, (10) Punjab, (11) Uttar Pradesh, (12) Bihar,
 (13) West Bengal, (14) Assam, (15) Orissa, and (16) Jammu-Kashmir.

²⁰Resolution No. 53/69/53-Public, dated 29 December 1953, Ministry of Home Affairs.

Centrally Administered Areas : (1) Delhi, (2) Manipur, (3) Andaman and Nicobar Islands.

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The Commission's proposals for redistribution of States were, in some cases, drastically revised by the Government. On January 16, 1956 the Government announced its decisions on the report, which may be summarised as follows: (1) The Government accepted the Commission's recommendations regarding the formation of the new States of Kerala, Karnataka (which was to be named Mysore), and Madhya Pradesh, and regarding the continuance of the States of Madras, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, West Bengal, Assam and Orissa, broadly on the basis proposed by the Commission. In other words:

(a) Uttar Pradesh²¹ was to continue in its existing form.

(b) Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, and Orissa were to be as proposed by the Commission.

(c) Madras, Kerala, Karnataka (Mysore), Bihar, and West Bengal were to continue as wished by the Commission, subject, of course, to minor boundary adjustments.

(d) Assam was to be as desired by the Commission except that Tripura was not to be included in its territory.

(e) Maharashtra was to consist of the Marathi-speaking areas of Bombay, Madhya Pradesh, and Hyderabad, and Gujarat of Saurashtra, Kutch and the Gujarati-speaking areas of Bombay. "The Government of India has carefully considered the Commission's recommendation regarding the formation of Bombay and Vidarbha States. The proposal appears to be fair and reasonable. But in view of the strong opposition from the Marathi-speaking areas to the creation of the proposed bilingual State and in view also of the special position of the City of Bombay and public opinion in this area generally, the Government of India has arrived at the conclusion that two States—namely, a Gujarat State comprising the Gujarati-speaking areas, with its capital within the State, and a Maharashtra State comprising the Marathi-speaking areas, including the areas of the proposed Vidarbha State, with its capital within the State, as well as one centrally-administered area, namely, Bombay should be constituted in place of the States of Bombay and Vidarbha as proposed by the Commission.... The question of devising a

²¹K.M. Panikkar, one of the members, wrote a dissenting note in which he recommended its splitting into two.

suitable form of administration for Bombay and associating the people of this area with its governance is under examination.”²²

(f) The existing constitutional disparity between the different categories of States was to disappear. This meant that Part B States were to be equated with Part A States by deleting Article 371²³ of the Constitution and abolishing the institution of Rajpramukh and Part C States were to disappear altogether as a separate cluster of States and such of the existing Part C States as could not be merged in adjoining States were to be directly administered by the Central Government, thus becoming centrally administered areas.

(g) Tripura was to remain as a centrally administered area. Similarly, the Laccadive, Minicoy and Amindivi Islands, which till then formed part of the Madras State were to become centrally administered.

(h) The Central Government had ‘under consideration’²⁴ the Commission’s recommendation about the formation of (i) a Punjab State comprising the territories of the existing States of Punjab, Pepsu, and Himachal Pradesh²⁵; and (ii) a residuary Hyderabad State, or alternatively a larger Andhra State.

Accordingly, the States Reorganization Bill, prepared by the Government, provided for the following fifteen States: (1) Andhra-Telengana, (2) Assam, (3) Bihar, (4) Gujarat, (5) Kerala, (6) Madhya Pradesh, (7) Madras, (8) Maharashtra, (9) Mysore, (10) Orissa, (11) Punjab, (12) Rajasthan, (13) Uttar Pradesh, (14) West Bengal, and (15) Jammu-Kashmir. In addition, it set up the following seven Union Territories, a nomenclature devised at this time for what were hitherto called centrally administered territories or areas: (1) Bombay City, (2) Delhi, (3) Himachal Pradesh, (4) Manipur, (5) Tripura, (6) Andaman and Nicobar Islands, (7) Laccadive, Minicoy and Amindivi Islands.

²²Quoted in *Keesing's Contemporary Archives*, Vol. X, 1955-56, p. 14688.

²³Article 371 read as follows: “Notwithstanding anything in this Constitution, during a period of ten years from the commencement thereof, or during such longer or shorter period as Parliament may by law provide in respect of any State, the Government of every State specified in Part B of the First Schedule shall be under the general control of, and comply with such particular directions, if any, as may from time to time be given by, the President : Provided that the President may by order direct that the provisions of this article shall not apply to any State specified in the order.

²⁴It needs to be pointed out here that the Central Government did not issue any press communiqué or resolution setting forth its decisions relating to Punjab and Himachal Pradesh. It was only in the explanatory note on the draft states Reorganization Bill and the proposals for amendment of the Constitution that its decision on this issue was embodied.

²⁵S. Fazl Ali, Chairman of the Commission, opposed in his dissenting note the merger of Himachal Pradesh with Punjab; he favoured the status of ‘centrally administered area’ for it.

The Parliamentary Joint Select Committee appointed to consider the Bill did not recommend any basic departure from the pattern visualised in it. Broadly speaking, this Committee wanted the proposed new Karnataka State to be known as Mysore, and Andhra-Telangana as Andhra Pradesh; in addition, it proposed an amendment seeking restriction on the President's power to make regulations for the Union Territories to only two, namely, the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, and the Laccadive, Minicoy and Amindivi Islands, and providing that Parliament should be the law-making body for the other Territories.

The scheme of reorganization of States as emerged from the Joint Select Committee's deliberations was to undergo further modifications before it could be finally put on the statute book. But the most noteworthy change made related to the Bombay State. Instead of suffering division into the two States of Maharashtra and Gujarat, with the City of Bombay becoming a Union Territory, it acquired new tracts of Saurashtra and Kutch and, moreover, was retained as a bilingual State. Unexpected as this decision undoubtedly was, its more interesting feature was the manner of its making. The resignation of C.D. Deshmukh, Finance Minister in the (Jawaharlal) Nehru Cabinet and his controversy with Jawaharlal Nehru, initiated efforts in the political quarters both within and outside the ruling Congress Party to evolve a scheme acceptable to both the Maharashtrians and the Gujaratis, and the upshot was the proposal for the bilingual State of Bombay including Maharashtra, Gujarat, Bombay City, Saurashtra, Kutch, Vidarbha and Marathwada. On August 6, 1956, this proposal received the stamp of approval of the Congress Parliamentary Party, and on the following day, the Home Minister, Govind Ballabh Pant, proudly announced in the Lok Sabha the Government's formal decision to accept it.

Nonetheless, the whole scheme of bilingual Bombay was naive, negating the basic principle governing demarcation of linguistic boundaries particularly at a time when it was being loudly applied elsewhere. The earlier proposal for the separate States of Maharashtra and Gujarat was in keeping with the linguistic basis of reorganization of States but the one for making Bombay City centrally administered was too glaring a departure from such a principle. Much more sore, from the popular perspective, was the scheme for a bilingual Bombay State, which would keep both the Maharashtrians and the Gujaratis dissatisfied and discontented. This kind of political trait, encouraged to give primacy to party decisions over popular sensibilities, assisted considerably, particularly, in the earlier years of the Republic, the State-building processes in a developing democracy. But its persistence beyond a point also tended in the long run to somewhat impair in the eyes of the people at large the complete credibility of the political system which embodies such traits.

The States Reorganization Act, therefore, marked departures from the Government's communique on the recommendations of the States Reorganization Commission, the States Reorganization Bill as originally introduced in the Parliament as well as the report of the Parliamentary Joint Select Committee. It needs to be noted here that of what were once princely states only seven—namely, Kerala (old Travancore-Cochin), Mysore, Rajasthan, Jammu-Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, Manipur, and Tripura—stayed more or less intact, the first four as States, the last three as Union Territories, the remaining ones having been merged with other States. The Act came into operation on November 1, 1956 redrawing the political map of India which came to comprise the following fourteen States and six Union Territories:

States : (1) Andhra Pradesh, (2) Assam, (3) Bihar, (4) Bombay, (5) Kerala, (6) Madhya Pradesh, (7) Madras, (8) Mysore, (9) Orissa, (10) Punjab, (11) Rajasthan, (12) Uttar Pradesh, (13) West Bengal, and (14) Jammu-Kashmir.

Union Territories : (1) Delhi, (2) Himachal Pradesh, (3) Manipur, (4) Tripura, (5) Andaman and Nicobar Islands, (6) Laccadive, Minicoy and Amindivi Islands.

It may be of interest to compare the SRC scheme of States with the one which finally emerged and was implemented.

S.R.C. Scheme		States As Implemented	
States	Area (Sq. miles)	States	Area (Sq. miles)
Andhra Pradesh	64,950	Andhra Pradesh	105,963
Assam	89,040	Assam	50,043
Bihar	66,520	Bihar	67,164
Bombay	151,360	Bombay	190,919
Jammu-Kashmir	92,780	Jammu-Kashmir	85,861
Hyderabad	45,300	—	—
Kerala	14,980	Kerala	15,035
Madhya Pradesh	171,200	Madhya Pradesh	171,201
Madras	50,170	Madras	50,110
Karnataka	72,730	Mysore	74,326
Orissa	60,140	Orissa	60,136
Punjab	58,140	Punjab	47,456
Rajasthan	132,300	Rajasthan	132,077
Uttar Pradesh	113,410	Uttar Pradesh	113,409
Vidarbha	36,880	—	—
West Bengal	34,590	West Bengal	34,945

Union Territories

S.R.C. Scheme		As Implemented	
Union Territories	Area (Sq. miles)	Union Territories	Area (Sq. miles)
Delhi	578	Delhi	578
Manipur	8,628	Manipur	8,628
Andaman and Nicobar Islands	3,215	Andaman and Nicobar Islands	3,215
		Himachal Pradesh	10,904
		Tripura	4,032
		Lacadive, Minicoy and Amindivi Islands	10

This was the most comprehensive reorganization of the internal political boundaries of the constituent units of the Indian federation. Never in India's past was an exercise of this kind and on this scale attempted. Nor had it any parallel anywhere else in the world.

Surely, this was not to be the last of the exercise. The political solution devised for the Marathi and Gujarati speaking people sounded more imperial than popular, and not surprisingly, did not go down the throats of the local population. Popular agitations against the decision not to create two separate States of Maharashtra and Gujarat continued and even got intensified; the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti and the Maha Gujarat Janata Parishad quickly emerged to mobilise popular opinion against the bilingual State and popular support to the cause became conclusive when the electoral results in both the Marathi and Gujarati speaking parts proved highly embarrassing to the ruling Congress Party. S.A. Dange was correct in asserting: "...For five years the fundamental principle of organization of States stood violated in the Constitution of the bilingual State (of Bombay)."²⁶ It was a mark of the contemporary top political leadership's instinct for democracy that this demand was ultimately conceded. And this happened in 1960.

In 1961 the Naga Hills-Tunesang Area, constituted as a centrally administered area in 1957, emerged as Nagaland, a separate State, thus raising the number of States in India to sixteen.

PUNJAB

With the break-up of Bombay into Maharashtra and Gujarat, Punjab's

²⁶ *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XLI, No. 38, 31 March, 1960, col. 8977.

continuance as a bilingual State looked apparently illogical, the only other instance of bilingualism was Assam. Punjab's case, however, was rendered much more intractable on account of the overlay of religion; the demand for a Punjabi Suba was emanating from the Akalis, a section of the Sikhs, and had its historical antecedents in the outrageous proposal for an independent sovereign Sikh State made by the Akalis before the Cabinet Mission in 1946. The demand for a Punjabi Suba was being renewed repeatedly but the disintegration of Bombay in 1960 and, further, the formation in 1962 of Nagaland with a population of only about five lakhs gave powerful stimulus to the demand. But language and religion were inseparably inter-mixed in this case; the entire leadership for the demand had a narrow base, coming as it did from only one segment, the Akalis, thereby rendering difficult a satisfactory solution of the problem. The Akalis' charge of discrimination against the Sikhs was caused by New Delhi to be examined by a commission which concluded: "No case of discrimination against the Sikhs in the Punjab has been made out."²⁷ The Akalis' agitation for a Punjabi Suba, however, continued and was even intensified. Jawaharlal Nehru,²⁸ who had never seen any justification, whatsoever, in the demand for a Punjabi Suba, passed away in 1964, and the new political leadership at the Centre appeared to give indications of greater receptivity, or susceptibility, to such insistence. In September 1965 the Home Minister announced in the Lok Sabha: "The whole question (of formation of a Punjabi-speaking State) can be examined afresh with an open mind"²⁹; shortly afterwards, he requested the Speaker of the Lok Sabha to set up for this purpose a Parliamentary Committee of Members of both Houses of Parliament. The Parliamentary Committee on the Demand for Punjabi Suba having Hukam Singh as chairman, reported on March 15, 1966, declaring that "it would be in the larger interests of the people of these areas and the country as a whole that the present State of Punjab be reorganized on a linguistic basis."³⁰ It further recommended that the Punjabi

²⁷ *Report of the Punjab Commission*, Delhi, Manager of Publications, 1962, p. 16. The Central Government had set up this Commission consisting of S.R. Das, retired Chief Justice of India, as chairman and C.P. Ramaswami Aiyar and M.C. Chagla as members.

²⁸ Jawaharlal Nehru for instance observed on January 8, 1961: "So far as Punjab is concerned, I am convinced that any kind of division would be very harmful to Punjab, to Sikhs, to Hindus and to the whole of India." (Quoted in *Report of the Punjab Commission*, Delhi, Manager of Publications, 1962, page 4). On another occasion he observed: "The Punjab is a brave province with a brave people and it is a tragedy that this courage and ability to work should be wasted in internal troubles... (The demand for Punjabi Suba) was a pure communal issue which was raised in the guise of language. It is impossible to divide Punjab in any way without leaving a large number of people who do not fit in with that principle of division, whichever way you divide and you produce the same problem in a more acute form." (*Lok Sabha Debates*, Third Series, Vol. LVII, No. 11, 21 August 1961, cols. 3686-87).

²⁹ *Lok Sabha Debates*, Third Series, Vol. XLV, No. 15, 6 September 1965, col. 3956.

³⁰ *Report of the Parliamentary Committee on the Demand for Punjabi Suba*, New Delhi, Lok Sabha Secretariat, 1966, p. 27.

region should form a unilingual Punjabi State, the hill areas of Punjab included in the Hindi region, which are contiguous to Himachal Pradesh, and have linguistic and cultural affinity with it, should be merged with Himachal Pradesh, and, finally, the remaining areas of the Hindi-speaking region of Punjab should be formed as a separate State to be called Haryana. Within a week of the submission of the Hukam Singh Report, the Central Government announced its decision to reorganize Punjab on a linguistic basis. In April 1966, it set up the Punjab Boundary Commission³¹ to recommend demarcation of the political boundaries of the proposed Punjab and Haryana States. The Central Government accepted most of the Punjab Boundary Commission's recommendations but acting contrary to the latter's advice decided to make Chandigarh a Union Territory and divide the rest of the Kharar tehsil between the two States. The Punjab Reorganization Bill was introduced in the Lok Sabha on September 6, 1966. In the words of the Home Minister, "the most outstanding event which this (Punjab Reorganization) Bill inaugurates is the formation of new States, namely, those of Haryana and Punjab and the transfer of a certain area of the existing Punjab State which goes to the existing Union Territory of Himachal Pradesh. There is also the creation of the Union Territory of Chandigarh."³²

The Bill was passed the following day despite a sharp criticism of the Government's decision to make Chandigarh a Union Territory, "this (decision regarding Chandigarh) is a rather completely opportunistic impromptu solution," alleged one Member.³³

NORTH EASTERN INDIA

It was, however, the north-eastern region of India which was to undergo a massive reorganization in years that followed and a beginning in this direction was made in April 1970, when a separate 'autonomous' State of Meghalaya was created within the State of Assam. Strictly speaking, this period was characterised more by conversion of Union Territories into States than by redrawing of the political boundaries. In January 1971 Himachal Pradesh, a Union Territory, was elevated to the level of a State. Also, the Parliament passed the North-Eastern Areas (Reorganization) Act, 1971 which came into force in January 1972. As visualised under this Act, Meghalaya, Manipur and Tripura emerged as three separate States, and Arunachal Pradesh and Mizoram as Union Territories.

³¹Its Chairman was J.C. Shah, a judge of the Supreme Court.

³²*Lok Sabha Debates*, Third Series, Vol. LIX, No. 31, September 6, 1966, col. 9480.

³³*Lok Sabha Debates*, Third Series, Vol. LIX, No. 31, September 6, 1966, col. 9511. It is to be noted that on January 29, 1970 the Central Government announced the transfer of Chandigarh to Punjab within the next five years. It, however, continues to be a union territory.

A new class of statehood under the Constitution was devised on September 7, 1974 when Parliament passed an Act extending to Sikkim, an Indian protectorate since 1947, the status of an 'associate' State. The associate status lasted for less than a year, and on April 26, 1975 Sikkim formally became the twenty-second State of the Indian Union when the Constitution (thirty-eighth amendment) Act was passed by the Parliament. The Constitution (thirty-eighth amendment) Bill, seeking to make Sikkim a State of India was moved in the Lok Sabha on April 21 and passed on April 23, 1965—after nearly 6 hours' discussion. An issue like the accession of a new State to the Indian Union is a most momentous one entailing grave implications and consequences, and, therefore, a decision on it must not be seen to have been taken in a hurry. It can only be said here that the haste in accepting Sikkim's request for accession would not be allowed to become a precedent in future.

Mention ought also to be made of the use of vanity surgery by the States, inspired by a desire to accommodate the cultural aspirations of the people. The United Provinces was the first State to have been renamed as 'Uttar Pradesh', and this happened on January 25, 1950. On January 14, 1969, Mysore was rechristened as Tamil Nadu. On November 1, 1973 Mysore and the Union Territory of Laccadive, Minicoy and Amindivi Islands got the new names of Karnataka and Lakshadweep respectively.

To sum up, the Indian Union at present comprises the following twenty-two States and nine union territories.

STATES

Area and Population

S. No.	State	Area (Sq. km.)	Population number (in 1971)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
1.	Madhya Pradesh	442,841	41,654,119
2.	Rajasthan	342,214	25,765,806
3.	Maharashtra	307,762	50,412,235
4.	Uttar Pradesh	294,413	88,341,144
5.	Andhra Pradesh	276,814	43,502,708
6.	Jammu-Kashmir	222,236	4,616,632
7.	Gujarat	195,984	26,697,475
8.	Karnataka	191,773	29,299,014
9.	Bihar	173,876	56,353,369
10.	Orissa	155,782	21,944,615

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
11.	Tamil Nadu	130,069	41,199,168
12.	West Bengal	87,853	44,312,011
13.	Assam	78,523	14,625,152
14.	Himachal Pradesh	55,673	3,460,434
15.	Punjab	50,362	13,551,060
16.	Haryana	44,222	10,036,808
17.	Kerala	38,864	21,347,375
18.	Meghalaya	22,489	1,011,699
19.	Manipur	22,356	1,072,753
20.	Nagaland	16,527	516,449
21.	Tripura	10,477	1,556,342
22.	Sikkim	7,299	209,843

UNION TERRITORIES

<i>Union Territories</i>	<i>Area (Sq. km.)</i>	<i>Population number (in 1971)</i>
1. Andaman and Nicobar Islands	8,293	115,133
2. Arunachal Pradesh	83,573	467,511
3. Chandigarh	114	257,251
4. Dadra and Nagar Haveli	491	74,170
5. Delhi	1,485	4,065,698
6. Goa, Daman and Diu	3,813	857,771
7. Lakshadweep	32	31,810
8. Mizoram	21,087	332,390
9. Pondicherry	480	471,707

EPILOGUE

A few broad observations seem to flow from the foregoing discussion. First, political entities possessing differing historical backgrounds have come now to be constitutionally grouped into one unit, namely, the States. Broadly, the States have acquired their present constitutional status through three principal historical processes. Bengal, Madras and Bombay were Presidencies and their successor States have inherited, among others, the Presidency

traditions.³⁴ Rajasthan, Karnataka, etc., emerged out of princely States which had evolved their own distinct ethos and style of administration. Also, as several present-day States have come to comprise former princely jurisdictions it is not unlikely for them to embody and reflect two distinct though disappearing administrative sub-cultures in the light of two different socialisation patterns of their public personnel. Finally, Himachal Pradesh, Manipur, Tripura, etc., were once Union Territories and only recently were elevated to statehood, thus lacking any previous experience and traditions of autonomy in the ordering of their internal affairs. It may not, therefore, be entirely out of place to speculate, that consequent upon the three distinct patterns of socialisation processes and influences through which the States have individually passed, their personalities are likely to have flowered on somewhat different lines. An analysis of the impact of such historical processes on the individual State's administrative culture may prove to be an interesting exercise.

Secondly, it is generally a practice on the part of the Central Government to set up formal committees to report on problems relating to reorganization when it decides to constitute some new States. Yet, the Central Government has freely modified their recommendations and thus there has been no tradition of accepting the verdicts of such bodies.

Thirdly, anomic movement has been at the back of 'evolution' of States in India and thus viewed, the process of emergence of States has been, in a way, more forced than evolutionary. The Central Government, which is endowed with the necessary constitutional authority to form new States, has been spurred to action almost without fail only by local popular agitations generally accompanied by violence. It is notable that the publication of the report of the States Re-organization Commission was followed by widespread demonstrations in various parts of the country and many modifications which the Central Government made in the Commission's recommendations can be understood only in this context. Even the admission of a new State, namely,

³⁴Indeed, the following comment made in the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms is interesting: "The three Presidencies (are) distinguished not merely by their history and tradition and the presence of great centres of commerce, but also by their more elaborate system of government. Each is administered by a Governor with a council of three members, including since 1909 as a matter of unbroken practice, one Indian member. In an emergency the Governor can overrule his colleagues, but otherwise the decision are those of a majority. Presidency governments still enjoy some relics of their former independence: they have the right to correspond direct with the Secretary of State unless financial issues are involved; they can appeal to him against orders of the Government of India; they have full discretion in selecting for important offices under them; and they are less liable to supervision than other provinces in the administration of their revenue and their forests." *Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms*, op. cit., pp. 28-29.

Sikkim, into India was possible only as a result of local agitations in its favour!

Fourthly, ample use has been made of Article 3 of the Constitution as is vividly borne out in this paper. Yet this Article has not been deleted from the Constitution or even frozen, which seems to imply or at least suggest that there is a probability of regions, at least some of them, gradually ripening to statehood. At any rate, such a provision entails profound implications and consequences for the bigger States embodying within their jurisdictions many sub-cultures, for it serves to hold the hope of statehood to regional personalities. It also tends to weaken the position of the State Government *vis-a-vis* such sub-state 'centrifugalism'. In a federal-cum-competitive polity of the kind that we have in our country, it is not entirely unusual on the part of the Central Government to try to pressurize a persistently dissenting State by inciting or fomenting, directly or indirectly, such regional elements and demands. Nor is it utterly uncommon for the regionalists to cherish a tie-up with the Centre at the back of the State Government to obtain support for separation and statehood. Taken all together, a region becomes, in the context of this paper, a potentially powerful entity in Indian politics.

Finally, although the number of States has increased from fourteen in 1956 to twentytwo in 1976 many of them are still quite large sized—larger, indeed, than many sovereign States in the world. The following Table indicates the area and population of States in comparison to some other countries of the world:

Area and Population : Indian States Compared with Some other Countries of the World

<i>State</i>	<i>Area (in Sq. km.)</i>	<i>Population (in million)</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>Area (in sq. kms.)</i>	<i>Popula- tion (in million)</i>
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Madhya Pradesh	443,000	41.4	Sweden	411,406	7.0
Rajasthan	342,000	25.8	Rhodesia	390,622	5.0
Maharashtra	308,000	50.4	Finland	305,475	4.6
Uttar Pradesh	294,000	88.3	Algeria	205,033	12.1
Andhra Pradesh	277,000	43.5	Ghana	238,537	8.4
Jammu-Kashmir	222,000	4.6	Uganda	236,037	9.5
Gujarat	196,000	26.7	Great Britain	230,609	51.4
Karnataka	192,000	29.3	New Zealand	103,736*	2.6
Bihar	174,000	56.3	Austria	83,849	7.0

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Orissa	156,000	21.9	Sri Lanka	64,644	10.5
Tamil Nadu	130,000	41.2	Denmark	43,069	4.8
West Bengal	88,000	44.3	Malawi	36,350*	4.0
Assam	78,000	14.6	Netherlands	33,808	12.7
Himachal Pradesh	56,000	3.4	Belgium	30,513	9.1
Punjab	50,000	13.5	Jamaica	11,525	1.6
Haryana	44,000	10.0			
Kerala	39,000	21.3			
Meghalaya	22,000	1.0			
Manipur	22,000	1.1			
Nagaland	16,000	0.5			
Tripura	10,000	1.5			
Sikkim	7,300	0.2			

* Denotes area in square miles.

“... Administration is meant to achieve something, and not to exist in some kind of an ivory tower, following certain rules of procedure and, narcissuslike, looking on itself with complete satisfaction. The test after all is the human beings and their welfare”.

—JAWAHARLAL NEHRU
 (Address delivered at the
 Inaugural Meeting of IIPA
 on 29th March, 1954)

CONTEXTUAL FRAMEWORK OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION IN INDIAN STATES

C.P. Bhambhani

PUBLIC administration in the Indian States performs both regulatory and developmental functions. Under the impact of economic planning and the successive five-year plans, the tasks of administration at the State level have expanded in those areas of social life which had been neglected by the rulers earlier, i.e., in the pre-independence period. The consequence of such an expansion has been a large-scale proliferation of administrative agencies and organizations in the Indian States. The Administrative Reforms Commission noted this fact, and observed:

"There has been, in recent years, quite an increase in the size of the secretariat in several States and accumulation of multifarious and unnecessary tasks and executive work. The secretariats are tending to become unwieldy, slow-moving organizations with a built-in propensity for delays. Though attempts at reform have been made in some of the states, the ailments which affect the State secretariats still remain by and large unremedied."¹

The Central Government of India depends on the State Governments for the implementation of many national programmes of development. This fact has also increased the importance of administration at the State level. Paul H. Appleby maintained that the Central Government in India was unduly dependent on the States and that the Centre was "fundamentally lacking in administrative authority".²

The functioning of Indian federalism during the past three decades shows that there are many elements of "cooperative functioning" between the Centre and the States in the planning process of the country. And this cooperative functioning implies that administration at the State level is involved in policy formulation and in the implementation of the various developmental projects.³

¹See "State Administration", in Government of India, Administrative Reforms Commission, *Report* New Delhi, 1969, p. 19.

²Paul H. Appleby, *Public Administration in India: Report of a Survey*, New Delhi, Government of India, 1953, p. 10.

³Refer to A.H. Hanson, *The Process of Planning*, London, Oxford University Press, 1966. See especially the chapters on the Centre and the States.

Any study of India's political development of the past three decades at once makes it clear that the various levels of administration in the country are organically integrated and that the role of administration at the State level is very crucial for the development of the country. The question that needs investigation here is: What has been the quality of administration at the State level? Are the efficiency and the performance of administration of a uniform standard in all the Indian States? Or do we witness variations? If the standards of administration at the State level have been significantly uneven as regards tackling the tasks and challenges of development, what is the explanation for it? Our quest here is for some valid explanation for the disparity in the standards of administration at the State level. It can be conducted by following the various methodological approaches of social science. The present approach is based on an attempt to relate social environment to the actual functioning of the administration in a State. The assumption is that the administrative actions of a Government are an epiphenomenon, and as such they are a product of the forces related to the social and economic structure of society.⁴

We are not maintaining that governmental administration cannot change the environment and sometimes act autonomously. All that we wish to say is that the environment plays a very crucial role in determining administrative behaviour; and that a rigorous exercise should be undertaken to understand the nature of the relationship obtaining between the environment and administration. Such an exercise would solve many of the riddles about administrative behaviour at the State level.

ENVIRONMENT OF ADMINISTRATION

The States of the Indian Union function under a legal framework provided by the Constitution of India. That the whole of India is governed by a single constitution—the Constitution of India—is an important element of the environment of the administration in the Indian States. The constitutional framework provides for uniformity in administration in the States by providing an "institutional arrangement" for governance. The States of India have a common normative framework for governance on the basis of institutions legitimized by the fundamental law of the land. This common normative constitutional framework, however, is sometimes found to be incompatible with specific historical experience and the level of socio-economic development of the various States.

No doubt every State in India follows a parliamentary system of

⁴See Richard Bendix, *Nation-Building and Citizenship*, New York, John Willy & Sons, 1964. State and society are interdependent. They are also relatively autonomous spheres of thought and action. Hence interaction between the two needs serious analysis.

democracy, with the permanent civil service accountable to the elected representatives of the people. In practice, however, we witness many deviations in the behaviour of the administrative organizations because of the compulsions of the specific situations obtaining in the various States. The actual functioning of administration within the States should be placed in the proper perspective by examining similar and dissimilar factors which impinge upon administration and influence its actual behaviour. This exercise gives rise to a set of following questions:

- (1) What is the politico-administrative history of the Indian States? What is the impact made by differences in historical experience on the actual organization and functioning of administration in the various States?
- (2) What is the legal framework in which administration operates in the States? How far does the common legal framework provide for uniformity in administration in the States?
- (3) What is the level of economic development of the States and its impact on State administration?
- (4) What is the political context of State administration? What political forces and factors shape the actual functioning of the State administration? How does the leadership of the Chief Minister influence the administration in a State? What impact does cohesion or factionalism in the majority party make on administration? How do conflicts between the Central and State Governments influence decision-making at the level of State administration? What is the nature of the linkages and cleavages between the Central and State Governments? What is the nature of the relationship between the State political leadership and the leadership at the national level?
- (5) What is the nature of the bureaucracy in the various States of India? What are the traditions of State administration? Is bureaucracy a cohesive group, or does it consist of serious intra-bureaucracy tensions? How has the State level bureaucracy responded to the political pressures? Does any relationship exist between the level of political participation and performance of the bureaucracy?
- (6) What is the loyalty network of society and State level bureaucracy? What is the role of localism or regionalism in State administration? What kind of traditional "pull and pressure" factors operate on the administrators who are nearer to the soil? What is the nature of linkages between the local administrators and the vertical and horizontal loyalty structure?
- (7) How far has the institutionalization of authority taken place in the

administration of the States? How far has the 'personal influence' been subordinated to the rule by procedures? One of the indicators of political modernization is the institutionalization of governmental authority in the modernizing societies. Eisenstadt observes the phenomenon of 'split-up' modernization in which elements of the previous society co-exist and come into conflict with the modernization process in the countries of the third world. This has resulted in the 'break-downs' of modernization in the transitional society. If such break-downs in modernization have to be checked, institution-building should be given top priority by the elite of the transitional societies. On the basis of this argument of Eisenstadt, we would like to ask a question: What is the stage of institution-building in the States of India?⁵

(8) Is there any relationship between the size of a State and the quality of its administration?

An attempt would be made to study the above-mentioned questions with a view to finding the correlationship between environment and administration of the various States of India.

DIVERSE PROFILES OF THE STATES

The States of the Indian Union have diverse profiles. The politico-administrative evolution of the Indian States is characterized by a diversity of experience. British rule provided a common umbrella to the 'two Indias', viz., the British provinces and the princely states. Under this common umbrella the 'two Indias' have had different political and administrative development. The system of administration and the nature of the struggle waged for national freedom in the British provinces clearly differentiated them from the princely states.⁶

The British established a well-knit hierarchical system of administration in the Indian provinces to safeguard their interests. They placed the authority structure in the Indian provinces under the hegemonic control of the Indian Civil Service (ICS), whose loyalty to British rule was unquestioned. They also evolved a system of rules and procedures to regulate relationships between the administration and the citizen. Thus the colonial administration

⁵S.N. Eisenstadt "Varieties of Political Development : TheTheoretical Challenge" in S.N. Eisenstadt and Stein Rokkan (eds.), *Building States and Nations*, London, Sage Publications, 1973, pp. 41-72; also S.N. Eisenstadt, *Modernization, Protest and Change*, Englewood Cliffs, N.J. Prentice-Hall, 1966.

⁶C.P. Bhambari, "Political Parties and State Politics in India", in Iqbal Narain (ed.), *State Politics in India*, Meerut, Meenakshi Prakashan, 1968, pp. 499-515. Also: Biplob Dasgupta and W.H. Morris-Jones, *Patterns and Trends in Indian Politics*, 1976, Delhi, Allied Publications.

established a network of organizations and procedures of work to exercise authority over the natives of the country.

The administration of the princely states, which were more than 550 in number, was governed by the doctrine of paramountcy. The princely states had a patriarchial system of administration under the leadership of the princes. Unlike in the British provinces, the administrative personnel in the princely states were recruited and promoted on the basis of the personal preferences of the rulers and their kinsmen. The kind of administrative uniformity that the ICS provided in the British provinces was non-existent in the erstwhile princely states of India.

The political history of the 'two Indias' is also different. Under the leadership of the Indian National Congress a strong movement against foreign rule emerged in the British provinces. In the course of the movement there also arose political organizations at the provincial level as a very important constituent element of the national organization for freedom. In the struggle for freedom, national and provincial leaders played an active role; and when freedom was achieved, India had a national network of national and provincial leadership to form governments at the national and provincial levels. B.C. Roy in West Bengal, Govind Ballabh Pant in Uttar Pradesh, and many others like them emerged as natural leaders to head the State Governments.

In the princely states, too, there were struggles. The aim of these struggles was to end the 'autocratic' rule of the princes. They were led by organizations like the Praja Mandal. The leaders of these struggles were not, however, able to forge a united front of all the organizations operating in the 550-odd princely states. Hence struggles remained just local phenomena. With Independence, the princely states were all integrated with the rest of India. In the process there arose numerous clusters of States which had no common political or administrative experiences or which could not throw up any commonly acceptable group of political leaders. Thus, after Independence the 'two Indias' created two different kinds of politico-administrative problems and two different sets of challenges.

The first category of 'environmental' differences in administration at the State level is provided by the fact that we inherited 'two Indias', each based on a different concept of political and administrative authority. Diversities among the Indian States do not end here. The States in India differ in terms of population, size, financial resources, and levels of economic development. And these differences are so sharp that their impact on administration is felt at every step.

Under British rule, India remained underdeveloped. The basic interest of the British was to extract and transfer surplus value from India to Britain. They, therefore, followed a policy of exploiting the resources of the country. India was reduced to the position of a producer of raw materials for export abroad. In the process some areas of the country developed more than the others, though, on the whole, the country passed into a state of 'arrested growth'. This meant small but scattered pockets of well-developed areas, which created serious regional imbalances. If in a backward country the various regions suffer uneven development, it can prove an explosive political issue. By the close of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, industrialization appeared in India in an embryonic form. The sugar, textile, jute, tea, and tobacco industries emerged. The process of industrialization that one witnessed in India was, however, a strange one; for, the kind of infrastructure needed for modern industrial development was not sufficiently developed. The socio-economic development of India during colonial rule had the following characteristics: (i) an agrarian structure based on archaic, feudal, and semi-feudal relations; (ii) a lumpen capitalist class around a few industries; (iii) serious regional imbalances; and (iv) a multi-terraced socio-economic life, characterized by a co-existence of feudalism, semi-feudalism, and merchant and capitalist classes.

These complex social formations in a backward society like India's, created serious social and political cleavages and provided respectability to all kinds of archaic loyalties which interfered in the functioning of politics and administration in the country. The social reality which we inherited at Independence can be best described as follows:

"The summary nature of the social conflicts, the multilevel social functions of various classes and the abundance of transient, social types that are intermediary between the contemporary and traditional societies explain why 'the class appurtenance' of a majority of population (in Asia and Africa) does not lead itself to a clear and unique definition."⁷

While delineating the context of administration of the Indian States, we are confronted with inter-State and intra-State diversities, unevenness of development, and serious imbalances. A few more facts would bring into sharp focus inter-State and intra-State diversities. The Indian States differ in size, population, density of population, religious composition, and the number of towns and villages.

Table I shows that the population is densest in Kerala and West Bengal,

⁷Oriental Countries, To-day, Calcutta, Statistical Publishing Society, 1976, Vol. 2, p. 19.

TABLE I
Area and Density of Population

<i>State/Union Territory</i>	<i>Area (sq. km)^a</i>	<i>Population 1971</i>	<i>Density of popu- lation per sq. km</i>
INDIA	3,287,782†	584,159,652	177‡
<i>States</i>			
Andhra Pradesh	276,814	43,502,708	157
Assam	78,523	14,625,152	186
Bihar	173,876	56,353,369	324
Gujarat	195,984	26,697,475	136
Haryana	44,222	10,036,808	227
Himachal Pradesh	55,673	3,460,434	62
Jammu & Kashmir	222,236 ²	4,616,632	N.A.
Karnataka	191,773	29,299,014	153
Kerala	38,864	21,347,375	549
Madhya Pradesh	442,841	41,654,119	94
Maharashtra	307,762	50,412,235	164
Manipur	22,356	1,072,753	48
Meghalaya	22,489	1,011,699	45
Nagaland	16,527	516,449	31
Orissa	155,782	21,944,615	141
Punjab	50,362	13,551,060	269
Rajasthan	342,214	25,765,806	75
Sikkim	7,299	209,843	29
Tamil Nadu	130,069	41,199,168	317
Tripura	10,477	1,556,342	149
Uttar Pradesh	294,413	88,341,144	300
West Bengal	87,853	44,312,011	504
<i>Union Territories</i>			
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	8,293§	115,133	14
Arunachal Pradesh	83,578	467,511	6
Chandigarh	114	257,251	2,257
Dadra and Nagar Haveli	491	74,170	151
Delhi	1,485	4,065,698	2,738
Goa, Daman and Diu	3,813	857,771	225
Lakshadweep	32	31,810	994
Mizoram	21,087	332,390	16
Pondicherry	480	471,707	983

* Provisional, as on 1 July 1971. N.A.—Not available.

† Includes area under illegal occupation of Pakistan and China.

‡ Density worked out after excluding population and area figures of Jammu & Kashmir.

§ As on 1 January 1966.

Source : "India : A reference Annual 1976", Publication Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, New Delhi, p. 7.

which are also politically very sensitive States. The problems of administration in these two densely populated States have been quite serious during the post-Independence period. When we probe into the infrastructural differences in the States further, a few other revealing facts emerge. Per capita expenditure on development varies sharply from State to State. As Table II shows, the

TABLE II
Per Capita Development and Non-Development Budgetary Expenditure:
1973-74
(Revenue and Capital Accounts Combined)

State (a)	Development expenditure		Non-Development expenditure		Total expenditure	
	Total (Rs. crores)	Per capita (Rs.)	Total (Rs. crores)	Per capita (Rs.)	Total (Rs. crores)	Per capita (Rs.)
Nagaland	29	544	12	225	41	750
Meghalaya	22	214	6	58	28	272
Manipur	22	196	10	89	32	285
Tripura	30	184	12	74	42	258
Himachal Pradesh	61	174	20	57	81	231
Jammu & Kashmir	84	174	48	99	132	273
Punjab	152	108	61	43	213	152
Kerala	195	87	84	37	279	125
Haryana	88	84	44	42	132	126
Maharashtra	429	81	382	72	811	153
Assam	120	77	62	40	182	116
Karnataka	229	75	175	57	404	132
Gujarat	204	72	139	49	343	122
Tamil Nadu	296	69	178	41	474	110
Orissa	150	65	78	34	228	99
Rajasthan	173	64	150	55	323	119
Madhya Pradesh	277	63	107	24	384	87
West Bengal	254	54	173	37	427	91
Uttar Pradesh	479	52	261	28	740	163
Andhra Pradesh	228	50	179	40	407	90
Bihar	275	47	155	26	430	73
All States	3,797	67	2,336	41	6,133	108

Note : (a) States are ranked by per capita development expenditure.

Source : Reserve Bank of India Bulletin, June 1973.

Adopted from : Basic Statistics Relating to the Indian Economy, Vol. II, States, 1974, Commerce Research Bureau, Bombay (Table 9.2)

State with the highest population, Uttar Pradesh, has a very low development budget. Developmental expenditure is a very important indicator of a State's resource position.

K. Venkataraman in his excellent study, *States' Finances in India*, highlights the differential rate of developmental expenditure by the various States.

TABLE III
Trends in Revenue Expenditure

States	(Per capita, Rupees, current prices)					
	1951-52			1965-66		
	Total expenditure	Development expenditure	Per centage of (3) to (2)	Total expenditure	Development expenditure	Per centage of (6) to (5)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Andhra Pradesh	12.1	6.0	50	40.7	26.4	65
Assam	12.4	6.4	52	49.9	31.3	62
Bihar	8.5	4.5	54	22.0	12.9	58
Bombay	15.7	7.6	49	49.6	25.8	52
Kerala	14.1	7.2	51	43.5	30.7	71
Madhya Pradesh	8.7	4.2	48	32.6	20.4	62
Madras	11.0	6.3	57	45.5	28.1	62
Mysore	19.0	11.1	58	42.2	27.2	64
Orissa	7.4	4.2	56	46.5	28.0	60
Punjab	12.9	5.1	40	52.1	29.2	56
Rajasthan	9.8	4.0	40	38.0	22.2	58
Uttar Pradesh	8.8	4.1	47	28.7	16.2	56
West Bengal	14.2	6.3	45	42.2	23.4	55
All States	11.6	5.8	50	38.9	22.9	59

Source : Tables 3 and 4, State Governments' Expenditure, 1951-52 to 1965-66, *Reserve Bank of India Bulletin*, June 1966.)

Adopted from : K. Venkataraman, *States' Finances in India* London, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., pp. 1-50.

Table 4 reveals that the per capita expenditure in Kerala, which is the highest (15.5), is four times as much as the per capita expenditure in Bihar (3.9). In a number of States, e.g., in West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Orissa and

Bihar, the per capita expenditure on education is less than the all-India average.⁸

TABLE IV
Per Capita Expenditure on Important Items

(Rs. current prices)

States	Education		Medical and Public Health		Agriculture and Veterinary	
	1951-52	1965-66	1951-52	1965-66	1951-52	1965-66
Andhra Pradesh	2.0	8.1	0.8	3.3	0.7	3.6
Assam	2.0	8.9	0.9	3.7	0.9	3.7
Bihar	0.9	3.9	0.5	2.0	0.6	2.0
Bombay	2.8	8.4	1.0	3.7	0.9	3.4
Kerala	2.5	15.5	1.2	3.7	0.9	3.4
Madhya Pradesh	1.3	8.7	0.6	2.6	0.5	2.3
Madras	1.9	10.5	0.9	3.7	0.8	3.7
Mysore	3.1	9.8	1.2	3.2	0.9	3.4
Orissa	0.9	5.9	0.5	3.5	0.5	5.1
Punjab	1.5	9.0	0.7	3.7	0.8	4.3
Rajasthan	1.4	8.0	0.9	4.2	0.2	2.9
Uttar Pradesh	1.2	5.5	0.5	2.3	0.8	2.0
West Bengal	1.3	7.3	1.6	3.7	1.0	4.0
All States	1.7	7.8	0.8	3.2	0.7	3.1

(Source : Table 5, State Governments' Expenditure, 1951-52 to 1965-66, Reserve Bank of India Bulletin, June 1966.)

Adopted from : K. Venkataraman, *States' Finances in India*, London, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1968, p. 153.

⁸K. Venkataraman, *States' Finances in India*, London, George Allen & Unwin, 1968, pp. 148-54.

IMPLICATIONS OF DIVERSITIES IN STATE ADMINISTRATION

Before analysing the implications of inter-State and intra-State diversities for administration, the unifying factors should be highlighted. After Independence, the States were reorganized many times, and some of the States underwent substantial changes in size and shape and sometimes lost their identity in the process of reorganization. The exercise, however, took place under two basic parameters of national life. The Constitution of India determines the basic structure of administration at the Central and State levels. The institutional arrangement of administration at the State level draws its sustenance and legitimacy from the Constitution. The Constitution, as the fundamental law of the country, provides for a unifying and uniform set of inter-related institutions for the governance of the country under a federal system. Areas of governance are demarcated between the Central Government and the State Governments. The Constitution also provides for a very strong Central Government which should be able to provide direction and leadership to the State Governments. The practice of the last three decades of Indian federalism has strengthened some of the centralizing trends in the country and also created some new dimensions of cooperative federalism. The formal and informal processes of politics have created new vistas of cooperation between the Centre and the State Governments. The State Governments operate under a constitutional framework which attempts to integrate them in the common endeavour of nation-building.

The second factor which has acted as a unifying force is the mechanism of national economic planning in India. All the indicators of backwardness were present in India when it won its Independence in 1947. India was a backward agricultural country, with a weak industrial base, low incomes, low level of consumption, low gross employment, and underemployment, low capital formation, and lack of fruitful channels of investment. To overcome this backwardness and to accelerate the tempo of economic development, as well as to augment the resources needed for a diversification of the economy, a system of 'planned economy' was adopted by the Government of India. The emphasis in planning was to develop all regions and areas of the country. In this task of economic planning, the Central Government provided leadership to the whole country, and the State Governments were involved in the tasks of nation-building. Many formal and informal institutions were established to provide a common forum to the leaders of the Central and State Governments for evolving a national consensus for development. The National Development Council (NDC) plays a significant role in the planning process of the country: the State Chief Ministers are actively involved in its deliberations and discussions. The need for an institution like the NDC was first pointed out by the Planning Commission in the draft outline of the First Five Year Plan. The Planning Commission said that the need had arisen for a

"forum . . . at which, from time to time, the Prime Minister of India and the Chief Ministers of the States can review the working of the Plan and of its various aspects". By a Cabinet resolution of 6th August 1952, the NDC was established to perform the following functions:

- "(a) To review the working of the national plan from time to time;
- "(b) to consider important questions of social and economic policy affecting national development; and
- "(c) to recommend measures for the achievement of the aims and targets set out in the national plan, including measures to secure the active participation and cooperation of the people, improve the efficiency of the administrative services, ensure the fullest development of the less advanced regions and sections of the community, and, through sacrifices borne equally by all citizens, build up resources for national development."⁹

The functions and composition of the NDC ensure involvement of the Central and State Governments in planning and in the developmental activities of the country. Besides, the Central Government regularly convenes conferences of the Governors, Chief Ministers, and Chief Secretaries of the States. At such meetings, general problems affecting the whole country are discussed and reviewed. Also, the Ministers of the Central Government dealing with agriculture, education, irrigation and power, labour, etc., convene meetings of the ministries dealing with those subjects at the State level. Such meetings are held to evolve some common policies in those areas of public activity. Many policies of all-India significance emerge at the meetings of the Ministers of the Central and State Governments. Thus economic planning provides a very important contextual framework for the functioning of administration at the State level.

ALL-INDIA PERSPECTIVE IN POLICY MAKING

The Constitution of India and 'economic planning' provide the necessary all-India perspective for the Indian States to tackle their local problems. The politics of the country is also an important contextual factor for administration of the Indian States. India has opted for an 'open' and competitive political system in which decisions are made on the basis of consensus and compromise. The political system recognizes the legitimacy of lobbying and bargaining. In any competitive political system, pressure groups operate to promote and protect their respective sectional interests. Policy making in a liberal democratic set-up is thus an exercise in reconciling diverse pulls and pressures.

⁹A.H. Hanson, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-62.

The Indian political system is based on the belief that the legitimacy of governance depends on the participation of the people. In this participatory democracy, the people elect or reject their leaders on the basis of regular, periodical elections. Such elections are fought by organized political parties which compete to capture political power. Political parties form alliances and coalitions with important social groups in order to compete with others. This competition among political parties to capture power and to defeat the opponent is a very important fact of the Indian public life. And the impact of this political competition is felt at all levels of administration. Administration has to respond to political pulls and pressures. It has to show adequate political sensitivity and awareness. Public administrators have to understand the correlation of political forces in society, and also act as shock-absorbers to prevent political upheavals. In one sense, public administration under acute political competitiveness gets politicized; and it is its job to create a proper balance between 'government by procedures' with 'political pressures' from organized groups. Hence public administration in a democracy is a very difficult task; but the challenge is worth accepting.

During the last three decades, while the Central Government has been managed by one political party, most State Governments have experienced competitive politics and rule by a multiplicity of political parties. Alternation of parties, a coalition of parties forming the Government, and break-up of coalitions are accepted methods of governance in a liberal democratic system. The States in India have undergone such an experience. In the light of the experience of the last three decades, we may say that we should be prepared to be ruled by one political party at the national level, and by a set of other parties at the State level. What are the implications of this political reality for administration at the State level? We may face a situation where some State Governments may establish political alliances and linkages with the Central Government, and a few other State Governments may adopt the posture of confrontation and opposition. Since political probabilities in India are of a complex nature, the State Governments should develop a capacity for dealing with difficult political situations; and the formal and informal political institutions and forums developed during the last three decades should serve to reconcile conflicts between the Central Government and the State Governments.

Hence it seems worthwhile to take stock of the main trends of the three decades of the functioning of the Indian political system with special reference to the impact of politics on the State Governments.

It is difficult to find a behavioural pattern or a set of such patterns, but a few facts need to be underscored. The role of Chief Ministers as leaders of the administration in their respective States is quite crucial. The States in India

have witnessed both weak and strong Chief Ministers. A Chief Minister with unambiguous majority support in the legislature can deal with the situation at the State level more effectively than one who commands a precarious majority. Some of the Chief Ministers of the past three decades were important State leaders during the struggle for freedom. After Independence they stood out as the obvious men to be elected to lead their State Governments. Such State leaders had good rapport with the leaders of the Central Government as well, because they had all worked as comrades-in-arms during the movement for national freedom. This linkage with the Central leadership helped them in developing their States. The Central Government showed great respect for the views and opinions of such Chief Ministers. B.C. Roy of West Bengal and G.B. Pant of Uttar Pradesh were such Chief Ministers.

A Chief Minister leading a faction-ridden political party cannot provide effective leadership. On the contrary, the administration under him is exposed to a variety of pressures and counter-pressure. Factions in the party in power also factionalize the bureaucracy of the State. Officers receive patronage and protection on the basis of their loyalty and linkages with powerful factional leaders in the ruling party of their State.

The report submitted by the commission of inquiry instituted against a former Chief Minister of Bihar established this fact.¹⁰ Some Chief Ministers have developed their States and provided effective leadership in administration. It is important to study the salient features of their style of work. Partap Singh Kairon of Punjab and Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad of Jammu and Kashmir were, for instance, very controversial Chief Ministers. Both followed very unconventional procedures of work. Both showed great drive and initiative and implemented many developmental schemes in the face of the problems created by the partition and the uncertainties generated by the wars with Pakistan. Their style of administration was based on the dictum that "the procedures are subservient to the goals". Both Chief Ministers were backed by the Central Government because of their drive and dedication. Both showed scant regard for established procedures. The consequences were, however, disastrous both for them individually and for the administrative system, for both had to face inquiry commissions which censured them severely.

Mr. Justice Das passed the following strictures on the State administration under Kairon :

"The speed with which those officers moved was unusual and

¹⁰Refer to B.L. Chak, "Five Commissions of Inquiry", *Journal of the National Academy of Administration*, Mussoorie, Vol. 15, nos. 2-3, April-September, 1970.

remarkable. It is true that there can be no objection to expedition if the thing done is not, in itself, objectionable. But where, as here (Elite Cinema, Hissar), the hurry led to non-observance of normal rules and procedures and was patently responsible for most perfunctory inquiry, it cannot be overlooked merely as an innocent expedition resulting from a natural desire on the part of the officials to please an applicant who is known as the son of the Chief Minister. Such breakneck speed in the disposal of a serious matter for which elaborate rules have been framed to be observed and performed is not at all normal and can be attributable only to some powerful force regulating the speed."¹¹

In a similar vein, Mr. Justice N. Rajgopala Ayyangar, in his report on Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, observed:

"The most saddening and depressing of the materials placed before me were the affidavits of the officials who confessed to have knowingly done improper acts extending even to tampering with official records to the prejudice of the State and State property and monies in carrying out the desires or orders of the respondent to benefit himself or his relations."¹²

What were the reasons for the collapse of the administrative procedures and methods of work in these two States of India? Would such a thing have happened in Tamil Nadu, where the ICS tradition is firmly established? What kind of politico-administrative environment existed to permit such a thing to happen in these States? E.N. Mangat Rai, who has occupied crucial administrative positions in these States, identifies some reasons for this phenomenon. According to him, the present State of Jammu and Kashmir was for long under a Maharaja who had developed a highly centralized and personalized system of administration. This heritage was not thrown overboard after Independence. Mangat Rai writes :

"Many of the officers of the civil administration had been recruited to it by the Maharaja from among the influential families loyal to the ruler. Their standard of education was usually good, but there was the tradition of *ashaira* (meaning indication or gesture), that is, performance following the personal priorities of the court, particularly the Maharaja's. If he was keen on schools, there would be schools; if he was keen on palaces, there would be palaces."¹³

Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad moulded

¹¹ Report of the Das Commission of Inquiry, New Delhi, Government of India, 1964, p. 155.

¹² Chak, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

¹³ E.N. Mangat Rai, *Patterns of Administrative Development in Independent India*, London, The Athlone Press, 1976, p. 106.

the administration of the State according to their lights. Both of them were strong and self-willed personalities.

"They continued a highly personalized administration where the drive lay with them and a few chosen individuals. This fitted in with the kind of government people had known and did not meet with surprise or resistance. Much of Bakshi's business was transacted at a Sunday morning gathering at his house; no one was specially invited but everyone who was anyone in the crucial decision-making process was present. If you did not, or could not, secure entry, you did not in fact partake in these decisions."¹⁴

This centralized, personalized government under the first two Chief Ministers of Jammu and Kashmir owed its survival to the presence of Pakistan "as an untiring contestant for jurisdiction in Kashmir".

The State secretariat was not a highly developed institution, and it failed to provide administrative leadership. The briefest record of the pros and cons of a policy was maintained at the secretariat. Hence the political and personal preferences of the State leaders played a crucial role in administrative decision-making.

The civil service in the State of Jammu and Kashmir is a very heterogeneous group. The various categories of the higher civil service in the State are recruited on the basis of different procedures. Consequently they do not share the traditions of administration. The State started accepting the directly recruited personnel of the Indian Administrative Service (IAS) only in 1961. The higher civil service of the State today consists of ten members belonging to the 'initial service', fortythree members of the State Civil Service, and thirtytwo directly recruited IAS officers. These three categories of personnel have different backgrounds and outlooks towards the administration. To sum up, traditions of princely rule, the geographical situation of the State, the heterogeneous character of the civil service, and the absence of traditions of bureaucracy helped the Chief Ministers to establish their own personalized rule in the State.

Partap Singh Kairon was Chief Minister of a State sadly affected by the horrors of the partition. After the partition, Punjab experienced many agitations over language and communal issues. Since it was a border State, the Central Government was keen that Punjab should emerge as a strong, stable and viable State. Partap Singh Kairon came up as a strong leader of the Congress Party to face the challenge posed by the separatists and the communists. He fully utilised his position to transform the face of the State, but,

¹⁴E.N. Mangat Rai, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

in the process, reduced administrative institutions and procedures to shambles. Power ultimately came to be concentrated in the hands of the Chief Minister, with the people looking to him as the leader for everything: the bureaucracy and procedures of work went for nothing. Mangat Rai comments: "When the Chief Minister is in his office, he will be besieged daily by a lot of visitors, to an extent where access to his office door requires determination and dexterity."¹⁵

Further, Mangat Rai, in his report, rightly mentions that the present State of Punjab is an amalgam of the partitioned part of the British Punjab and the adjoining princely states which were merged with it in 1956:

"This involved a whole series of problems, such as the unification of the legal and the taxation system, apart from the problem of the absorption, at all levels, of the officials in these areas. Some personnel were excellent, but there were also a substantial number of people who had been recruited by the previous rulers, for reasons which had nothing to do with their ability for the public service. All these men had to be persuasively and gently moulded and drawn into a common civil service structure."¹⁶

Many Chief Ministers in other States, too, have provided effective leadership without damaging the administrative structure. They have initiated policies of development and involved the administration of their respective States in their implementation. The biographers of Y.B. Chavan and K. Kamaraj clearly underscore this point.¹⁷

Quite a few State Governments have been run by unstable coalitions or by factional leaders of the majority party. Pressures and lobbying play a very important role in State administration, especially when political cleavages are apparent in the leadership. Rich farmers and caste and kin groups are other organized and unorganized social and economic sections of society which try to penetrate into the public administrative decision-making structures. And the nature of alignments, which emerge by the interaction of the various pressure groups, influences both the policies and the day-to-day functioning of the administration. A question that arises here is: how far has the State level bureaucracy withstood the pressures of local political and social alignments? There are two categories of social groups in the bureaucracy of a State.

¹⁵E.N. Mangat Rai, *Civil Service in the Punjab: An Analysis of a State Government in India*, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1963, p. 56.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 3.

¹⁷See T.V. Kunhi Krishnan, *Chavan and the Troubled Decade*, Bombay, Somaiya Publications, 1971; and R.P. Kapur, *Kamaraj: The Iron Man*, New Delhi, Deepak Associates, 1966. Morarji R. Desai and D.P. Mishra also provide an account of their functioning in their autobiographies.

The first group consists of the directly recruited personnel of the IAS, who are seconded to the States. The IAS is an *elite* group in administration and occupies critical positions in the State administration. The second group consists of administrators recruited by the State Public Service Commission. These two groups of administrators tend to react differently to the local currents of politics. Half the IAS officers do not belong to the State in which they work. The other half may belong to the State to which they have been allotted; but their reference points are the same as those of the other IAS officers. The ambition of an IAS officer is always to show good work at the State level and then go up on promotion to the Central Government for further recognition of merit. Generally speaking, compared with the local element of the State Civil Service, the IAS officers work hard to follow and protect the procedures of administration. Those who belong to the State Administrative Service, on the other hand, are born and brought up in the State, and their social and group affiliations continue even after their entry into service. This group is likely to respond to local pressures because its linkages are intact. While the bureaucracy in a democratic system gets politicized, the degree of politicization tends to vary if the stakes of an administrative group are different. In the two diverse groups of bureaucracy mentioned above, the vulnerability of the locals is greater than that of the outsiders. State bureaucracy operates in a dual environment. One aspect of this environment is provided by national goals and national institutions. The other aspect of the environment is local in character. The local and national environments are linked by various political and social processes, but the impact of this dual environment on the State-level bureaucracy is felt on a differential basis.

This longish discussion on the relationship between the environment and administration at the State level can be summed up as follows:

- (1) Administration at the State level operates in the context of national uniformity and local diversities. The diversities are intra-State and inter-State, and they have micro as well as macro dimensions.
- (2) History, politics, and geography exercise their impact on the functioning of the State administration.
- (3) Autonomy of State administration from the pressures and lobbies of the entrenched interests is difficult to maintain because of the nature of State politics and bureaucracy.
- (4) If we measure the performance of the administration in any State with the yardstick of changes brought about during the last three decades, we shall find that some States have performed better than the other States.

This is due to the complexity of factors operating in the body politic of the States concerned and of India as a whole.¹⁸

"The administrator, whether he is low down or high up in the scale, must give the impression, even if that impression is not cent per cent correct, that he is working through the public will and carrying it out. Of course, this cannot always be done; the administrator cannot carry out everybody's will; but he must give the broad impression that he is functioning in accordance with the public will, always thinking of public grievances, trying to remedy them, and consulting the people."

—JAWAHARLAL NEHRU
(quoted in "Glorious Thoughts
of Nehru" by N.B. Sen)

¹⁸ For some minor explanation of such a difference between Bengal and Bihar, refer to J.D. Shukla, *State and District Administration in India*, Delhi, National Publishing House, 1976. For a basic explanation see Fred J. Carriat, *The Third World Revolution*, Amsterdam, B.R. Gruner, 1976, ch. 3.

SOME ASPECTS OF PERSONNEL ADMINISTRATION IN STATES

P.K.J. Menon

AT the recent conference of Chief Secretaries in Delhi, it was decided that Departments of Personnel should be set up in States not having any and those in existence should be strengthened suitably. The idea was to have efficient personnel as effective instruments for translating into action the policies laid down by Government from time to time. There is, however, an aspect of personnel administration, though of vital importance, which has not been given the importance it deserves, in most States. The work of the Home, Appointment, Personnel or General Administration Department does not end with looking after only the services dealing with general administration. As in the Union Government, it is the function of the Personnel Department in the States not only to be the adviser to all departments on matters relating to personnel administration, but also to function as a monitoring organisation. It should ensure a high degree of efficiency in the sphere of personnel management in all departments and attached offices, so that Government business is transacted quickly, efficiently and to the public satisfaction. This can be achieved only by getting periodical reports and returns from all concerned, monitoring them and giving constant guidance to the officers requiring them.

As everyone knows there are in the States, departments of government, departments under heads of departments, attached offices, regional, divisional and district offices and various subordinate offices. Recruitment, training, postings and transfers, disciplinary action, etc.—all are given effect to by various authorities according to prescribed rules and regulations and executive instructions issued from time to time. Then there are a large number of State public sector undertakings, many of which have been set up during the last few years. Quite a good proportion of the staff has been deputed initially from the State services, to whom Government rules would continue to apply. In respect of newly recruited staff, declaration would have been made that service conditions as for Government servants will apply, until such time as rules and regulations are framed by the undertakings themselves. Also, where the Governor is the principal or majority shareholder, Government have always taken the precaution to have a clause in the memoranda and articles of association reserving the power to the Governor to issue directives which are mandatory. Then there are a large number of long established

self-governing institutions which have their own rules and regulations notified. In respect of those established recently, where this has not been done, it has been declared that Government rules and regulations will apply until they frame their own rules and regulations. These are quasi-government institutions and as the bulk of the funds required for their functioning is provided by Government they are answerable to the State legislature, and Ministers in charge have their responsibilities for the proper utilisation of Government moneys and their efficient functioning and this cannot be achieved without proper personnel administration. Then there are the teaching and non-teaching staff of the universities, secondary schools and primary schools. The same principles apply but with variations. The Education Minister has his own responsibility to ensure the proper utilisation of the large funds placed at the disposal of these institutions. Even from autonomous institutions like the High Court and the Public Service Commission, a large number of references are received, and without the advice of the Personnel Department, they would find it difficult to run their personnel administration, especially as a certain measure of uniformity in administration is desirable.

RECRUITMENT

Recruitment is the first step which leads to employment in Government service. There are various classes of posts, I to IV, usually with varying pay scales. The Union Government has recently changed the nomenclature to Groups A to D. The first item which the Personnel Department has to ensure is that there are proper recruitment rules framed for every cadre of service and for each and every post. Unless this is done, there can be considerable delay in filling up vacancies when they occur, as disputes crop up about the exact manner of filling up the vacancy. The rules are framed taking into consideration the sources from which suitable candidates are likely to be available, the amount of fresh blood that needs to be injected, the extent to which chances for promotion should be provided to departmental candidates, in order to prevent stagnation and so on. The manner of departmental promotion is also to be specified, by promotion, on the basis of seniority-cum-merit or merit-cum-seniority, or by limited competitive examination confined to departmental candidates. In regard to recruitment from the open market, quite often the departmental candidates are also allowed to take their chance, along with those from the open market.

Recruitment rules are shown to the Public Service Commission before being finalised on the basis of their comments. Once the rules are notified they have to be followed, otherwise *mala fide* may be attributed to the appointing authority and the appointment orders can be set aside by a civil court. The Personnel Department has to ensure, by constant reviews, that recruitment rules have been framed by all departments/appointing authorities. This

is essential as framing of such rules is delayed sometimes by years through sheer carelessness.

For recruitment by open competition, careful advance planning is necessary. For each category, the time schedule has to be worked out, of the time that it will take the PSC or the recruiting authority, the time lag for character verification, medical examination, and the period of training. If the total time thus expected to be taken is 2 years, then the requisition for successful candidates to report for duty in April 1979 will have to reach the PSC by April 1977, two years earlier. The number of officers who will retire between April 1978 and 1979, the number of others likely to be wasted out by other means, and the additional number likely to be required for filling up freshly created posts, due to expansion of work, increased developmental activities and so on, have to be added up. Out of these, only the number required under the recruitment rules to be taken by open competition, plus a certain percentage to be kept in reserve, is to be communicated to the PSC. Some, offered appointment, may not join, and some may be disqualified at the medical examination or at the enquiry into antecedents. Also the requisition for the vacancies as due on 1st April 1978 would have reached the PSC by 1st April 1976 and this has to be kept in view. In regard to departmental promotion, the department has to calculate similarly the number of posts to be filled, the manner of filling and take steps accordingly, so that a sufficient number of names is kept ready in advance. Proper cadre control can be exercised only by taking such advance action and it is the business of the Personnel Department to ensure by careful monitoring that all departments take such advance action. Otherwise, administrative work will suffer badly due to lack of staff and *ad hoc* recruitment through various means will become necessary which is not very satisfactory in the long run. *Ad hoc* recruitment means taking candidates from various sources, e.g., other departments, or the open market through selection committees or through very brief competitive examinations through the PSC or otherwise, giving successful candidates abbreviated courses of training and appointing them on temporary basis. After a few years, these candidates are invariably made permanent and the situation becomes quite unsatisfactory for two reasons: (a) the quality of the candidates is sub-standard and, without full and proper training, the entrants are of inferior quality leading to dilution of standards, and (b) there is constant friction between these temporary hands and the regular recruits, recruited after them, but made permanent earlier as soon as they completed their probation. Therefore, the departments which do not take advance action suffer a handicap and hence the need for vigilance and timely guidance by the Personnel Department.

TRAINING

It is necessary that every Government servant (except Class IV or Group

D who do only on the job training) should undergo a proper course of training for the duties that he has to perform, and thereafter, if possible, refresher courses of training once or twice during his career. The Defence Services are the best example of those arranging suitable training programmes. Throughout their career, a large number of courses in various fields are arranged for the army officers. There are courses for non-commissioned officers also, but these presumably serve a lesser percentage of troops. They have their regular training programmes, training exercises, etc. In fact, there is often talk of over-training troops. They have certainly more of spare time at their disposal than their civilian counterparts. Finances provided are also more liberal, according to tradition and very wisely not cut down. The Defence Services have to keep themselves fit and properly trained to perform their duties in emergencies, which may arise. With civil services it is slightly different. They have to do initial training in order to be able to do public service throughout their career, day in and day out, and do not wait for emergencies. In fact, the police and para-military forces are so busy with their ordinary day-to-day work that most often they have no time for their regular training or refresher courses. In fact, it is sometimes difficult to get even 10 per cent of the district police for the daily parade. Therefore, it cannot be over-emphasised that it is of the utmost importance that every Government servant down to Class III or Group C category undergoes an initial properly prepared curriculum of training for a suitable period varying from 6 months to 2 years and thereafter at least the officers should undergo refresher courses once or twice during their career, not including workshops, seminars, symposia, etc., which they may attend. This will certainly improve their quality of work and also keep them abreast of the times.

Every State will be having an administrative training institute where IAS/SCS officers get their training. At this institute, a foundation course should be initiated of three months' duration, which should be attended by every gazetted officer recruited, irrespective of the service to which he belongs. After attending the foundation course, the trainees should go to their respective departmental training institutions and into the field for completing their training programme, which should have been laid out in consultation with the Personnel Department. Under no circumstance should an officer be allowed or made to join for regular work before completing his training. Hence the importance of formal planning and programming for recruitment and training, well, in time.

Each department should consider the number and type of courses required as refresher courses and training in specialised fields. These should be arranged in a suitable manner at the administrative training or departmental training institutes. Workshops, seminars, and symposia should also be arranged liberally so that officers get opportunities to make

themselves up-to-date with the latest developments in their specialities. Courses thrown open by the ministries of the Union Government and other all-India institutions and bodies should also be availed of by sending the more brilliant officers of the various cadres in an effort to groom them for undertaking their future responsibilities. Many departments will not make available the services of good officers to attend training courses saying that they cannot be spared. This is a short-sighted policy as these officers are deprived of the opportunity to better themselves and their prospects. Therefore it is for the cadre controlling authority to insist on selected officers being relieved to attend such courses, workshops and seminars.

Insofar as arrangements for training by the Union Government are concerned, there are three premier institutions involved. The first is the training wing of the Department of Personnel which is the administrative department in the Cabinet Secretariat and responsible for all training activities. The Indian Institute of Public Administration continues to be the focal point for the executive development programmes sponsored by the Training Division of the Department of Personnel for middle level administration. Last year they had 23 training programmes covering 40 course weeks, many of them on very interesting subjects. The Lal Bahadur Shastri National Academy of Administration, Mussoorie, covered broad areas of training, besides the foundation course for all-India services and Central Class I services, and professional training of IAS probationers, in the shape of in-service training programmes for officers belonging to all-India and Central services.

It is really in the sphere of higher training abroad that the Training Division and the Establishment Branch excelled themselves. Such programmes were arranged under the Colombo Plan, the Asian Institute of Economic Development and Planning, the World Bank, the UNDP and other U.N. agencies. Apart from this, deputation on foreign assignments for short or long periods proved to be very good training ground for officers. On a bilateral contract basis, 2,341 assignments were arranged in 1975 against 1,761 in 1974. Apart from this, specialist officers were deputed for work with U.N. agencies, the World Bank, the I.L.O., the ADB, etc. There is no reason why more than half of the placements available for training programmes/foreign assignments cannot be given to State Government nominees. It is in this that the Chief Secretary and Secretary, Personnel Department, can play a great part. Apart from seeing that replies to requisitions are sent in time to the Establishment Officer (and this can be done only if suitable names for various specialities are kept in advance), the Chief Secretary and Secretary, Personnel Department, should keep in touch with the Establishment Officer and other concerned officers of ministries so that the largest number of names are sponsored for foreign training/assignments. The experience gained abroad will not only broaden the outlook of the officers but also keep them upto date with the latest

developments all over the world, and help to groom them for future responsibilities.

The State Governments should realise that the money spent in training is not wasted and that it is really in the nature of an investment, and will pay rich dividends. They should study the manner in which the army authorities and the Union Department of Personnel arrange training programmes. The only precaution to be taken is to see that no training course is unduly long or wasteful.

POSTINGS AND TRANSFERS

The biggest bugbear of heads of departments/offices is the problem of arranging postings and transfers of officers and even staff. This takes a lot of their time, causes dissatisfaction and displeasure and morale is affected by orders, counter-orders, and cancellations. Recently many Government servants have gone to court to get orders held in abeyance or set aside. It is the business of the Personnel Department to ensure that each department of Government/head of department/head of office, to the extent to which they possess powers, to order postings and transfers of officers and staff, prepare proper criteria for this and get these approved by the authority next higher to them, and thereafter give effect to them in an objective, impartial manner. It should be the consistent advice of the Personnel Department that the competent authority should not take any notice of any extraneous effort to interfere with his authority, but to give effect to lawful orders of his superior authorities, if any of his own orders are countermanded or cancelled, after due lodging of protest, if he considers this necessary. It should also be the advice of the Personnel Department that the authority concerned should prepare a list of unauthorised instances of attempts at interference, and a list of orders countermanding his own orders by superior competent authority, if such instances are in such number as to render this exercise necessary. It should not be necessary for the Personnel Department to advise the authority concerned that if he himself is transferred or kept on the shelf, being deemed inconvenient or un-cooperative, then he should take this merely as a risk of his trade and console himself in the belief that virtue is its own reward.

However, it is necessary for the authority concerned to ensure that he keeps his own house in order, to ensure that his subordinates are not coerced or influenced to depart from the criteria evolved, do not listen or succumb to extraneous pressures and so on. It is when carelessness, or wickedness, makes his subordinates depart from the straight and narrow path, laid down by the criteria, that evil raises its ugly head and quotes such bad precedents to commit more sins and the situation soon gets out of hand, everyone gets a bad name, *Pairvi* and *Sipharish* flourish and half the time of the head of the

department/authority concerned is wasted in sorting out difficulties and fighting last ditch battles. It is not really a simple solution for a head of a department to throw up his hands and say "(a) Government need not consult me and may do what they like about transfers of officers for which they have the powers; (b) I delegate my full powers to my deputy i/c administration to do his best about transfers for which powers are vested in me, or (c) I would like to be left alone to carry on my more important work", as the placement of the correct person in the proper place in his department is a matter of the utmost importance to him for carrying on his work efficiently, and this will certainly be affected if the wrong persons are posted in difficult and important places and changes are made every few months.

It will be for the Personnel Department to bring to the notice of the Chief Secretary/Chief Minister if such large scale irregularities are committed in any department/attached office by not adhering to the criteria and Government can be expected to take suitable action to rectify defects before the situation gets out of hand.

PROMOTIONS

It is the business of the Personnel Department to ensure that the morale of the services remains high. Timely promotions to posts lying vacant is the one step which can be taken by cadre controlling departments and ensured by the Personnel Department to achieve this objective. The Personnel Department should set an example and see that promotions take place in time in cadres controlled by them. This will give the members of the cadres confidence when they have the belief that there is someone to look after their interests. If, in addition, the Personnel Department also keeps a careful watch and gives proper guidance to other cadre controlling authorities, then confidence will be generated in members of those cadres also. In any case, the posts are there, the men deserving promotion are there, and all that is necessary is to see that sufficient steps are taken in advance, to ensure that those deserving promotion get the promotion and posting orders in time and those not fit are superseded after following the proper procedure. It is simple administrative action to be taken in time.

In respect of persons fit only for supersession, it is only proper that they get a fair deal, that annual confidential reports on those within the range of promotion are brought up-to-date, representations made by any against adverse entries made in their character rolls are disposed of by obtaining the orders of competent authorities, vigilance cases, if any, are expedited, and so on. In respect of certain categories of staff, Government's proposals have to be prepared after consideration by a DPC and then sent to PSC with up-to-date records for their concurrence. In such cases, it will save months

if the DPC is set up with a member of the PSC as chairman and the nominations made by this DPC can be accepted by Government without question and presumably by the PSC also. This will certainly ensure that only up-to-date records are placed before this DPC and obviate months of delay that takes place now in interminable correspondence between Government departments and the PSC. As far as possible, *ad hoc* promotions should be avoided, but when this becomes unavoidable, should be given effect to, with the least possible delay so that work may not suffer and the morale of the departmental officers is also kept high. The importance of having proper recruitment has been emphasised earlier. It is certainly surprising that in many States finalisation of such recruitment rules for certain key posts has been kept pending for years, not intentionally, but due to inability to take firm decisions. *Ad hoc* promotions are made, leading to avoidable civil litigation.

It is an unhealthy feature of the last few years that there has been a spate of cases taken to civil courts and injunctions being obtained on flimsy grounds in respect of service matters like recruitment, postings, transfers, etc. It is certainly necessary that administrative tribunals should be constituted and the Union Government has recently made an announcement deciding to constitute such tribunals to deal with Central Government servants' grievances and the jurisdiction of civil courts will also be curtailed through a constitutional amendment. Such tribunals should be constituted by States also, and this step will also give the employees confidence, especially if these tribunals are presided over by judges, and as announced by the Union Government, the decisions of these tribunals will be accepted by Government.

The Personnel Department can greatly help if they get a statement from every department of promotion posts expected to fall vacant a year hence and the steps proposed to be taken to fill up these posts. Also the number of posts actually lying vacant, the reasons therefor, and the steps now proposed to be taken. Sometimes the Personnel Department can help in removing hurdles and, in any case, the departments will be vigilant in taking advance action, when they realise that the situation is under watch by some one.

CAREER MANAGEMENT

There is probably no State where any attempt is being made of career management. For IAS/IPS officers, attempts at career management have to be made by the Union/State Governments together as part of the career of the officers will be with the Union Government on tenure basis. Therefore career management of all-India service officers will have to be dealt with separately. Let us take the case of State civil service officers. There are many who have the potential to get into the IAS through the promotion quota. Let us also take, at the same time, outstanding officers of the other State

services who can also get into the IAS through the 15 per cent quota kept for them out of the 25 per cent quota kept for the SCS. It is the duty of the Personnel Department to prepare a list of all such officers who have a chance of being considered for selection by the committee and groom them for entry into the IAS. The list should be prepared by the Personnel Department Secretary helped by a committee of senior officers of the various cadres. Thereafter the Secretary, Personnel Department, and the concerned heads of departments should chalk out a programme for grooming these officers. These officers should be given a chance to work in secretariat posts in varied field posts, in independent charge, to gain experience in taking quick decisions and to wield authority with confidence, encouraged to attend seminars, workshops, symposia, etc., to write technical articles and get them published and also sent on deputation to the Government of India, and if possible to foreign countries, and so on.

Career planning for officers of non-SCS services should be arranged by their respective heads of departments. It is unfortunate but too true that the head of the department himself may not be very much interested in this aspect of personnel management as he might feel, quite erroneously, that he might himself be supplanted by one of his nominees. However, there are alternative posts for the head of the department with the Union Government, or with the Union or State public sector undertakings, or on deputation to foreign countries where there are many demands for experts. If he keeps this in view, he will take more interest in the career planning of the senior officers of his cadre. However, unless the Chief Secretary and the Secretary, Personnel Department take interest, there will be no serious career planning in the technical services.

STATE PUBLIC SECTOR UNDERTAKINGS

Now we come to a new development in State administration, namely, the setting up of a large number of public sector undertakings in each State. On a modest estimate, there should be at least 500 such undertakings in the country, set up by the State Governments. They have to be properly staffed. Apart from chairmen and managing directors, they require a number of company secretaries, chartered accountants, managers, technical officers and staff. This is a glorious opportunity for those who have hitherto been steeped in frustration due to stagnation, and applies equally to gazetted as well as non-gazetted staff. They can undergo special courses, attend evening classes, take postal tuition and qualify themselves as company secretaries, chartered accountants and specialise in various types of business administration and seek posts in State public sector undertakings. These opportunities will also increase as the number of such undertakings will increase (it is the vogue now to set up joint sector undertakings, as the initial investment is small and a great deal can be expected from banking institutions). Government should

also welcome specialised and professional managers to run these rather than entrust these to run-of-the-mill bureaucrats.

This is where the Personnel Department will have to function with imagination, to avoid the errors committed in the Central public sector undertakings in the earlier days when all those who could not be found a posting were dumped in the public sector, whether fit or unfit. Officers of the IAS/SCS who cannot be found a place should not be dumped in the State public sector undertakings. The proper man has to be found for each post. Some of the posts of chairmen will be filled up by public men with experience but a good many of the posts will have to be filled by administrators and technocrats. A cadre of such officers will have to be built up offering them attractive terms and the best and most suitable man should be chosen irrespective of his source. Here is an avenue for advancement and opportunity to excel himself for a versatile head of a department, in an undertaking allied to his subject or even otherwise. He should also be allowed to continue up to 60 years or more after retiring if he does outstanding work and, as in the Centre, allowed to draw his salary in addition to pension.

A small cell should be set up in the Personnel Department to look after the recruitment and supply of personnel of various categories to the State public sector. It will be worthwhile for the chief of this cell to make a thorough study of how this matter of recruitment of personnel for the Central public sector was dealt with from the beginning in the Government of India, especially by the Bureau of Public Undertakings. He will be able to gain very useful knowledge and apply this in his future work in the State.

I am not sure whether the State should impose a condition that the officer should make up his mind within two years whether he would continue permanently in the State public sector and resign from his parent cadre or revert to it. I think that an officer should be allowed to remain in his post for up to five years before making up his mind, as there will be opportunities for such officers to go to the Central undertakings also. Secondly, the condition in the Centre that an officer who has opted to remain in the public sector and has resigned from his parent cadre, should fend for himself thereafter and cannot be assured of a post in any other undertaking, in case he is forced to leave the undertaking in which he is presently employed, requires modification. In the State, if such an officer is found unfit, his services should be rightly dispensed with; but if his work is satisfactory, and he is compelled to leave an undertaking for reasons beyond his control, a suitable place should be found for him in another undertaking.

RESERVATION FOR SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES

The provisions in the Constitution and the decisions taken by Govern-

ment have to be given effect to without prevarication. The Government of India has broadly kept 15 per cent reserved for scheduled castes in direct recruitment through open competition and 7½ per cent for scheduled tribes, and similarly for promotion. The State Governments are expected to make suitable provision similarly, but the percentage would depend on the proportion of population of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes to the population of the State. Unfilled vacancies are to be carried over for three recruitment years. In the last year of carry-forward, unfilled reserved vacancies can be mutually exchanged between the two categories. But even within the three years, many departments seek exemption from the rule for the reason adduced that candidates of either category are not available. But all such proposals have to be checked carefully by the Personnel Department. In some States, there are complaints of delay in the Personnel Department giving their advice. This is a matter of procedure. In view of the frequent and flagrant violations which have taken place, greater strictness is required and posts kept reserved should not be allowed to be filled in by general candidates, without the specific concurrence of the Personnel Department. In this particular instance, silence cannot be taken to mean consent.

Similar are the observations in regard to promotions. Here the main difficulty is that candidates from the two categories are not available and may not be available for many years. As a matter of fact, there may be none who has put in the qualifying period of service of two or three years in the lower category for promotion. Government can reduce this qualifying period, but this will mean considerable dilution in quality and this power should be exercised with caution. A better method will be to arrange for special training programmes for candidates from the two categories with a view to grooming them up for promotion. Here, the Department of Personnel and the administrative training institute can play an important part in arranging special courses. The number of candidates will be small and dotted about among the various departments. The purpose of the nation and the States will be better served in training up these officers for promotion rather than in promoting sub-standard officers, who may run into difficulties and earn lukewarm if not adverse remarks in their promotion posts.

ANNUAL CONFIDENTIAL REMARKS, DISCIPLINARY CASES AND ENQUIRIES

Final decisions are yet to be taken in respect of the ARC recommendations for a result/performance oriented system of writing confidential reports. ARC had also made the suggestion that the officer reported on should be allowed to present a brief resume of work done by him during the period reported upon and secondly that the reporting officer's remarks should be shown to him. Meanwhile the Union Department of Personnel has issued certain instructions introducing new forms applicable to secretariat personnel

to ensure a high degree of objectivity in personnel appraisal. Until such time as final decisions are taken on the ARC recommendations, the present system with improved forms has to continue. Existing Government orders are quite clear and comprehensive. Every department has to ensure that remarks are recorded completely for the year on all the employees, and adverse remarks communicated in time, to enable the person concerned to make a representation, if he so likes. The competent authority should see that the representations are disposed of without delay. This will ensure that (a) DPC's get up-to-date CR's of concerned officers, and (b) DPC's are able to satisfy themselves that persons against whom adverse remarks had been made, have had an opportunity to make representations against them and that these have been dealt with and disposed of by a competent authority. It will certainly eliminate delay in according promotions to deserving persons and ensure that no injustice is done.

Similar is the case in regard to disposal of disciplinary cases and vigilance enquiries, especially where persons are under suspension. Where persons are kept under suspension for long periods, this does no good either to the Government or to the person concerned. While Government loses money, the person gets frustrated. Therefore, a periodical review of suspension cases is essential. Only those whose services are likely to be dispensed with should continue under suspension. The case of the other category, of a person placed under suspension for flagrant disobedience of orders, to make an example of him, should be considered carefully and if it is clear that he will not repeat his conduct, then he should be put back on duty, if it is also clear that he is not likely to be dismissed or removed from service. The disposal of enquiries and disciplinary cases should be expedited and where the person concerned is himself delaying matters an interim recording to this effect should be made with details. The vigilance cases need a special review every month departmentwise to be conducted by the vigilance department. It is in vigilance cases that the person proceeded against more often than not tries to delay the matter and he deserves no sympathy.

PREMATURE RETIREMENT

It is the Personnel Department which keeps a watchful eye on the utilisation of this weapon. It is erroneously called compulsory retirement, as every Government servant has to retire compulsorily at the age of 58 years and in some States at 55 years. All Government orders, directives and guidelines are issued by the Personnel Department. It ensures the maintenance of uniformity and also ensures that a periodical review is held every six months by duly constituted committees, on which the Personnel Department is invariably represented. This will ensure some measure of uniformity in dealing with the cases. Otherwise, the work is done in fits and starts and sometimes

in a fit of enthusiasm a large number of persons are proposed for premature retirement, without adequate justification. Secondly, there may be no uniformity in application of standards, and, lastly, decisions are taken on mere whims and fancies. All these defects can be overcome if the proposals to be placed before the Council of Ministers for approval are first checked by being placed before a Cabinet Committee. The issue of orders for premature retirement is a powerful weapon and there is real danger of misuse and wrong use and hence the staff side is pressing that this should also be a ground for reference to administrative tribunals.

PENSION CASES

When a Government servant retires after rendering many years of service, one would expect that he would be treated with some consideration by his fellow officers and that his pension case would be disposed of without undue delay. This is an important welfare measure with which the Personnel Department and Finance Department are vitally concerned. Unfortunately it is seen that in the great majority of cases it is the retiring Government servant himself who is to blame. The parent department and the Accountant General should know the period of qualifying service put in and whether there are any dues to Government. A complete and detailed account of the provident fund is also required. About the latter, theoretically there should be no difficulty if the Government servant has not taken any refundable advances, as at the end of every financial year an annual statement is furnished to the Government servant showing the balance at the end of the year. But if some refundable loans had been taken, then the A.G. has to make a thorough check of all the amounts refunded as also the interest and each repayment has to be supported by a Treasury voucher number. This applies also to other loans taken for purchase of land, conveyance, etc. It is a golden rule for every Government servant to keep with him throughout his service one copy of his pay bills. With increased cost of living, most of the Government servants have been living from hand to mouth and taking frequently advances from their provident funds. If details of these transactions had been maintained carefully and the Government servant devotes some time during the last few months of his service to the squaring up of his accounts, there is no reason why he should not get his pension finally sanctioned and withdraw his gratuity, P.F. accumulations, etc. within a few days of his superannuation. However, if he spends all or most of his time in trying to get extension of service or re-employment, then he need not be surprised, nor aggrieved, if his pension is not sanctioned for months together.

As with many other important items, the Personnel Department should get a monthly statement of pending pension cases with details of the period for which each case is pending from all departments and with the help of the

Finance Department make a thorough scrutiny of each long pending case and take suitable steps for expediting disposal. At any rate, there is no reason why prompt orders cannot be issued for payment of provisional pension of 75 per cent to 90 per cent on the basis of available information.

PERIODICAL CONFERENCES

The secret of successful implementation of programmes lies in getting prescribed reports and returns in time and analysing them carefully and thereafter holding regular and periodic meetings and discussions with all concerned and taking corrective action. It is not easy to get regular reports and returns from 30 or so departments of Government in a State, with innumerable attached and subordinate offices. There should be one or two key officers in the Personnel Department given the specific responsibility for getting these from all departments. If not received, they should chase their opposite numbers in the defaulting departments, until the reports are received. Where necessary, higher officers should be contacted. Where the situation is quite unsatisfactory, the matter should be taken up at the Secretary's level and in very bad cases the matter reported to the Chief Secretary.

Every department of Government has a secretariat officer, usually a part-time Deputy Secretary, entrusted with administration and personnel matters. Every head of a department has a deputy or joint director in charge of administration, whoetime. The Secretary, Department of Personnel should hold a meeting once a quarter with his opposite numbers of departments/heads of departments and go over the whole gamut of personnel matters. His own office would have prepared a comparative statement of performance/status up to the end of the previous month on the basis of reports and returns received from departments. Every Secretary of a department should sit with the concerned heads of departments and officers dealing with personnel and administration once a month, which should be attended by an officer from the Personnel Department. The Chief Secretary may like to have a six-monthly or at least an annual meeting with all Secretaries and heads of departments. The discussions should be held in a frank and forthright manner especially as there may be many cases of delays attributed to the Personnel, Finance and other departments. These reviews will go a long way towards improving the tone of the administration.

It has to be realised by everyone that without proper personnel management there cannot be any improvement in Government transaction of business. Also, without unity and cohesion among officers concerned with implementation, there cannot be a successful battle waged against disruption and disintegrating forces tending to pull down the administration.



THE UNION PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION AND THE STATE PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSIONS IN INDIA: THE CASE FOR AN INSTITUTIONAL LINKAGE

R. B. Jain

THE constitutional framework in India provides for a system of federal polity in which the relations between the Centre and State Governments cover a wide range of political and administrative activities. Unlike many other federal systems, e.g., the United States of America, Australia and Switzerland, where the usual constitutional provisions clearly delimit the rules of the various governmental organs within the levels of their respective governments, the Indian system, in contrast, specifically mentions certain institutions and functionaries having an impact on the quality of the administrative set-up in the country as a whole irrespective of their locations either at the Centre or at the State levels or at both. In a country where the need for a national policy on administration is widely accepted more than ever before, it is axiomatic that such a policy should not only set up national standards and patterns for efficient administration in various functional and policy areas at the two levels of Governments, but that it should also cover such institutions towards which a uniform and rationally accepted approach is nonetheless desirable for an overall administrative development. Apart from a number of areas, where a plea for such an approach has been repeatedly made, none has been so crucially important—yet neglected—as has been the sphere of the operation of the public service commissions. Although the Constitution provides for the establishment of such institutions both at the Centre and the State levels, the absence of a national uniform policy on the standards of their performance has led to their functioning with varying degrees of success and effectiveness in different States. The strengthening of the administrative recruitment and socialization functions in a polity within the compass of a national framework are of vital importance, if the personnel of the requisite calibre and competence are to be secured for achievements of the desired socio-economic goals. This paper is an attempt towards an analysis of the existing relationship pattern (or the lack of it?) between the Union Public Service Commission (UPSC) and the State Public Service Commissions (SPSC) in India with a view to suggest a strategy for suitable linkages for the evolution of a rational and uniform national policy in the field of personnel administration.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL BACKGROUND

Before the enactment of the Indian Constitution in 1950, the Government of India Act of 1935 provided for a public service commission for the federal government and a public service commission for each province.¹ It also provided for a joint commission, if any two or more provinces agreed to form one, and said that in certain contingencies the federal public service commission might also be asked to undertake in one or more provinces the responsibilities of the provincial public service commission.² With the enforcement of the Act of 1935, every province had a provincial commission and in some cases joint commissions were also set up.³ The provincial commissions became independent statutory state commissions after the republican Constitution came into force in January 1950.

Besides the UPSC in India, there are 21 other State Public Service Commissions,⁴ which enjoy the same constitutional status as that of the former.⁵ Because of the peculiar characteristics of the all-India service (which are recruited and trained by the Centre, but work both for the Centre and the States) and because of the provisions for promotions from the State service to the Central service and the all-India service, and the necessity of holding the UPSC examinations at various centres in the States, contacts between the UPSC and the SPSCs are inevitable. Constitutionally speaking, however, no formal relationship exists between the UPSC and the SPSCs. Although the Constitution has a provision for a joint commission serving the needs of two or more States,⁶ in practice, no such joint commission has so far been established. The Constitution also provides that the UPSC may, if requested to do so by the Governor of a State, with the approval of the President, agree to serve all or any of the needs of the State.⁷ This provision has been made use of only recently.⁸ The UPSC, has had no formal links with its

¹Government of India Act, 1935, Section 264.

²Ibid., Section 264(2)(3).

³Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province and Sind, for instance, combined to constitute one public service commission; and Bihar, Orissa, and the Central Provinces had one commission. The proposal for a joint commission for Assam and Bengal fell through.

⁴One for each State, Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Gujarat, Haryana, Jammu & Kashmir, Karnataka, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mysore, Nagaland, Orissa, Punjab, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal. The State of Sikkim has very recently decided to set up a statutory Public Service Commission. See *Times of India* (New Delhi), August 29, 1976.

⁵Article 315 of the Indian Constitution, which establishes the UPSC also, prescribes for a Public Service Commission for each State of the Indian Union.

⁶Constitution of India, Article 315 (2).

⁷Constitution of India, Article 315 (4)

⁸With the emergence of Manipur, Tripura and Meghalaya as full-fledged States with effect from January 21, 1972, the UPSC agreed, with the approval of the President, to the requests made by the Governors of these States, under the provisions of Act 315 (4) of the

(Contd. on page 365)

counterpart in the States except in respect of certain duties such as constituting the selection committee for the purpose of considering promotion from the State service to the Central or all-India service at State headquarters⁹, and considering representations from the service in matters arising from the reorganization of the States in India in 1956.¹⁰

However, some kind of organisational relationship between them is essential to the evolution of a uniform standard of public service throughout the country. As matters stand today, there is not only large variation in salaries and in other conditions of service of the members of the different public service commissions but also in the public service of the different States. This variation is in turn reflected in the methods of work, procedures, and relationship of the commissions with the Government.¹¹

It is thus surprising that despite the Constitution makers' intention to make the Central Government in India stronger in comparison to the States there was little discussion in the Constituent Assembly concerning the relationship between the Central and the State PSCs. A lone member of the Constituent Assembly, Brijeshwar Prasad (Bihar), was opposed outright to the establishment of the State PSCs. He based his case on the plea that the members of the provincial public service commissions had not been able to prevent corruption, inefficiency and nepotism in the provincial governments.¹²

(Contd. from page 364)

Constitution, to function as the Public Service Commission for these States for a period of six months with effect from January 21, 1972 or till other arrangements were made, whichever was earlier. See UPSC, 22nd Report (1971-72), p. 1.

On further request made by the Governors of the States of Manipur and Tripura, the above arrangement was extended, with the approval of the President, for another period of three months, i.e., upto October 20, 1972 or till other arrangements were made, whichever was earlier. In respect of the States of Manipur and Tripura, separate Public Service Commissions for Meghalaya, Manipur and Tripura were set up with effect from September 14, 1972, September 27, 1972 and October 30, 1972 respectively. See UPSC, 23rd Report (1972-73), p. 2.

⁹UPSC, 7th Report (1956-57), p. 8.

¹⁰UPSC, 9th Report (1958-59), p. 17.

¹¹For a detailed description of the working of State Public Service Commissions in India, See C.J. Hayes, *Report on Public Service Commissions in the Commonwealth Countries* (London, 1955), pp. 158-62. See also D.V. Rege, "The Public Service Commission—Its Powers and Functions", in G.S. Halappa (ed.), *Studies in State Administration* (Dharwar, 1963), pp. 129-46. Also see B.A.V. Sharma, "Public Service Commissions in India", in S.P. Aiyar and R. Srinivasan (ed.), *Studies in Indian Democracy* (Bombay, 1965), pp. 217-56. See also C.N. Bhalerao, *Public Service Commissions of India: A Study* (Delhi, 1956). Some references may also be found in M.A. Muttalib, *The Union Public Service Commission* (Delhi 1966), and R.B. Jain, "A Comparative Study of the Union Public Service Commission in India and the United States Civil Service Commission", Ph.D. Dissertation, Indian School of International Studies, New Delhi, 1969.

¹²India, *Constituent Assembly Debates*, Vol. 9, 22 August 1949, p. 560.

PERIODICAL CONFERENCES : THE INFORMAL LINK

In the absence of such formal links, the relations between the UPSC and the SPSCs are of an informal nature inasmuch as the State Commissions help the Union Commission and *vice versa* in many areas of their functioning. Before the coming into force of the new Constitution, the federal public service commission had already established some unofficial contacts with the provincial public service commissions. These informal contacts consisted of periodical conferences of the chairmen of the UPSC and the State Public Service Commissions, presided over by the chairman of the UPSC. The first such conference was held in 1949 at the time when the Constituent Assembly was debating the new Constitution. The conference made several suggestions to the Constituent Assembly regarding the status of these bodies. A number of conferences have been held since the Constitution was adopted. The second conference of the chairmen and the first of the secretaries of the UPSC and the SPSCs were held simultaneously in 1953, which discussed matters of common interest and made several recommendations for the consideration of the Government.¹³ The third conference held in 1958 in New Delhi discussed certain matters concerning procedures, the conditions of service of the members, methods of recruitment, and the development of sound relationships with the Government. It was felt that on account of the increased tempo of recruitment for the technical services, especially as a result of the five year plans, and the changes brought about by the introduction of a welfare-state type of administration, the Commissions were confronted with new problems which would require more frequent consultations between the UPSC and the SPSCs, as well as pooling of their experience.¹⁴

However, even the most informal type of contact between the UPSC and the State Commissions by way of conferences could not be kept up on a continuous basis. At the conference of the chairmen in 1958, it was felt that it would not be practicable to hold conferences of the chairmen of all the Commissions oftener than once in two or three years. It was, therefore, suggested that the chairmen of the Commissions meet in smaller groups from time to time to discuss common problems and communicate the views expressed at such meetings to all the chairmen of the PSCs. A small conference of the chairmen of UPSC, Assam, Bihar, West Bengal, and Orissa State Public Service Commissions was held in Calcutta in 1959, and another such meeting was held at Bangalore, attended by the chairmen of Bombay and other State Commissions of Andhra Pradesh, Kerala, Madras and Mysore. The discussions in these conferences regarding procedures of recruitment, examinations, relations with educational and other institutions,

¹³UPSC, *3rd Report* (1952-53), pp. 3-4 and *4th Report* (1953-54), p. 4.

¹⁴UPSC, *8th Report* (1957-58), p. 2.

and other problems relating to the functioning of the various Commissions, proved quite fruitful. These conferences were considered quite essential to enable the Commissions to discharge their functions assigned under the Constitution more efficiently and expeditiously.¹⁵ Another regional conference was held in Srinagar in June 1960. The fourth conference of the chairmen of all Public Service Commissions in the country was held in March 1961 to discuss certain problems relating to exemption regulations in various States, competitive examinations, principles of promotion, disciplinary cases, etc., and to evolve uniform standards of approach and working procedure throughout the country.¹⁶

The fifth conference of the chairmen of the UPSC/SPSCs was held in 1968 after a lapse of almost seven years. The matters which came in for discussion as usual related generally to the procedures, principles and methods of recruitment. But one of the items that came in for comment and lengthy arguments concerned the service conditions of the chairmen and members of the Commissions and other allied matters.¹⁷ This was an important move as hitherto the members seemingly felt shy of discussing their own positions and emoluments. The service conditions of the chairmen and members of the UPSC/SPSCs had indeed been far from satisfactory—the kind which would only deter the best talents to accept the membership of the Commissions.

The sixth conference of the chairmen of the UPSC/SPSCs, held in New Delhi in November 1971, was a significant departure from the earlier conferences. The deliberations in the earlier conferences used to remain mostly confined : (i) to benefit mutually from each other's experience and ideas, (ii) to tackle common procedural problems, and (iii) to adopt some recommendations needing specific attention and gaps. The 1971 conference comprehensively highlighted discussions on some abnormal and peculiar situations.¹⁸ Taking a serious view of the reported harmful tendencies in the operation of the Public Service Commissions, it was felt necessary to emphasise to the Union Government the desirability of ensuring, even through constitutional amendments: (i) the enforcement of the improved service conditions proposed by the Central Government on a uniform basis statutorily (being no more left at the discretion of the State Government), (ii) adequate working conditions (staff, funds, etc.) to keep the SPSCs no more dependent on the discretion of their State Governments in respect of these essential

¹⁵See UPSC, *9th Report* (1958-59), pp. 1-2 and *10th Report* (1959-60), p. 3.

¹⁶UPSC, *11th Report* (1960-61), p. 2.

¹⁷UPSC, *19th Report* (1968-69), p. 6.

¹⁸See Darbari Lal Gupta, "Too Many Executive Discretions" in *The States*, 27 April, 1974, p. 14.

pre-requisites, and (iii) also that the matters referable to the Commission should be rarely excluded from their purview, except in unavoidable circumstances and under some broad guidelines. A summary of the conclusions arrived at in the conference was sent to the Government of India and other State Governments for comments.¹⁹

For the first time the conference also decided to formally submit these basic matters to the President and the Prime Minister through a memorandum on behalf of all the State PSCs to be elaborated and emphasised by their deputation led by the chairman of the UPSC. Accordingly, a delegation consisting of three chairmen of the SPSCs and headed by Shri R.C.S. Sarkar, the then chairman of the UPSC, besides meeting the Prime Minister, also held comprehensive discussions with the Minister for Home Affairs during November 1972. Though in the final analysis these deliberations did not seem to have produced any productive results, they did, however, lead to a better appreciation of the Commissions' point of view by the Government.

The latest conference of the chairmen held in November 1974 went a step further. For the first time, perhaps, it was realised that the deliberations of the conference need not be considered a secret—not to be publicly reported. The conclusions of the deliberations of the conference were duly reported in a summary form in one of the annual reports of the UPSC.²⁰ The discussions also were not confined merely to the framework of their constitutional functions and responsibilities which, nevertheless, received the greater attention of the conference. In particular the conference laid emphasis on four different aspects of their functioning: (i) the increased importance of the role of the UPSC/PSCs in the socio-economic development of the country in providing efficient public services and the need for consequent enlargement of their activities under Article 321 of the Constitution, (b) establishment of a national data bank for recruitment of specialists in social sciences, humanities and other technical and scientific fields, (c) creation of a new central agency to conduct a single competitive examination and training programme on a national level to enable the appointing authorities to select qualified personnel without conducting separate recruitment tests (Such a step, it was argued, would reduce the widely prevalent tension and frustration among the youth and would ensure higher standards of education), and (d) the adoption of some technical and other innovations and the mechanisation of the processing of the steadily increasing number of applications for competitive examinations.²¹

¹⁹See Darbari Lal Gupta, *op. cit.* See also UPSC, 23rd Report, (1972-73), p. 2.

²⁰See UPSC, 25th Report (1974-75), p. 1 and Appendix III (a).

²¹*Ibid.*

THE CONFERENCE 'DEVICE' : AN ASSESSMENT

The following Table gives the frequency of the conferences of the chairmen of the UPSC/SPSCs, the secretaries and the regional meetings. In a span of 29 years of Independence, there have been only 7 conferences of the chairmen of the UPSC/SPSCs, one of the secretaries of the UPSC/SPSCs and 3 regional meetings of the SPSCs.

The Informal Linkage : Frequency of Conferences*

<i>Conference Number</i>	<i>Chairmen of the UPSC/SPSCs</i>	<i>Secretaries of the UPSC/SPSCs</i>	<i>Regional Conferences of SPSCs</i>
I	1949	1953	1959 (Calcutta)
II	1953		1959 (Bangalore)
III	1958		1960 (Srinagar)
IV	1961		
V	1968		
VI	1971		
VII	1974		

Thus it is very clear that the device of a conference as a 'linkage' between the various Public Service Commissions has not been adopted on a regular basis. The interval of time between the second, third, fourth and fifth conferences of the chairmen of the UPSC/SPSCs has been 4, 5, 3 and 7 years respectively, while the last two conferences were held at an interval of 3 years each. The experience of the secretaries' conference seems to have been abandoned altogether and the regional conferences have also not taken place since 1960. The largest gap between the fourth and the fifth chairmen's conference has been seven years. The Ministry of Home Affairs in one of its notes to the Estimates Committee had stated that this gap was because of the emergency (due to the Chinese attack) and because there was *no* immediate problem arising for discussion.²² This is a clear indication of the negative outlook on the part of both the Commissions and the Government of India towards the problems of personnel recruitment and selections. Positive personnel practices require a continuous evaluation and experimentation of new methods, procedures and techniques on a national basis. Assumption of the non-existence of any such problems only confirms the slackness and the complacency with which our PSCs have been performing their functions.

* As detailed in the UPSC reports.

²²India, Estimates Committee, 4th Lok Sabha, 47th Report, Ministry of Home Affairs: Union Public Service Commission (New Delhi, March 1968), pp. 125-26.

Among the various issues that came before the conferences for discussion, in general, some productive results have been obtained by sharing experiences and developing uniform conventions and procedures in certain important areas e.g., promulgation of exemption regulations; speedy disposal of a large number of applications through the adoption of mechanical devices; use of languages prescribed in the Constitution as medium of examinations; timely publication of the Commissions' reports; recognition of equivalent qualifications and equivalent procedure; acceptance of a uniform policy with regard to recruitment of candidates belonging to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes; methods of preventing abuse of power relating to temporary appointments and taking quick decisions on disciplinary cases.²³

In respect of certain vital problems relating to the organisational issues of the Commissions and the service conditions of their personnel, the steps taken by the seventh conference are significant. The five major issues that came in for a comprehensive discussion were: (a) the appointment of the Commission members through a procedure of consultation with the UPSC and the SPSCs as the case may be, (b) salary structure of the chairmen and members of the SPSCs to be on par with that of the Chief Secretary and other heads of departments in the State Governments and availability of pension benefits for the non-official members, (c) delegation of full financial and administrative powers to the Commissions, (d) raising of the age limit for the retirement of the members of the State PSCs to 62 years, and (e) the abolition of the ban on the members of the UPSC/SPSCs for further employment in Government after the expiry of their term under Art. 319.²⁴ Although the Government has not positively reacted to some of the recommendations of these conference; and, therefore, it is somewhat difficult to make a proper assessment of their precise contribution, the very fact that the Government has very recently adopted and passed a Statute Amendment Bill²⁵ for raising the retirement age of the members of the SPSCs to 62 years is a clear indication of the growing importance and necessity of such discussions at a national level to enable these institutions keep pace and adjust their working pattern with the changed socio-economic environment.

But the important reason why such conferences need to be institutionalised into a regular linkage pattern lies in their utility to think ahead for developing positive personnel practices on the basis of their pooled experience with a view to standardize these in a uniform manner throughout the country.

²³UPSC, 25th Report (1974-75), Appendix III (A), para 2.I.

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵The Constitution 43rd Statute (Amendment) Bill was introduced in the Lok Sabha on August 26, 1976 and enacted on September 1, 1976. See *The Hindustan Times*, August 27, 1976 and September 2, 1976.

Ironically enough, this important objective has been largely relegated into the background at the earlier conferences. Only the last conference had shown some trends of thinking in that direction. Nobody can deny that there is a need for continuous research in the field of developing adequate and valid tests for recruitment to different positions, procedures for quick disposal of applications and cutting out delays in recruitment, new methods of recruitment on a national basis, creation of a national data bank, manpower and career planning; avoiding undue frustrations arising out of UPSC/SPSCs procedures amongst the youth, and determining the attitudes, perceptions and motivations of the prospective candidates for a proper utilisation of their talents. It is here that the forum of the conferences (or its variation) may significantly contribute to the adoption of a concerted and integrated approach in the field of personnel development on a national basis. Herein lies its real *raison d'être* and the plea for its institutionalisation on a permanent basis.

THE SEARCH FOR A VIABLE LINKAGE

The problem for providing proper coordination and an institutional linkage between the UPSC and the SPSCs has come up for discussion at different times and at various forums. The question was first deliberated upon in the Parliament in 1958. Dr. Sushila Nayyar (a former Health Minister of the Government of India) made a strong plea that instead of separate service commissions for the Union and the States there should be only the UPSC at the Centre, and the State Service Commissions should be wings, branches, or sections of the UPSC in a regional fashion. She thought that the complete separation of the UPSC and the State Public Service Commissions was not desirable and was not capable of giving the best results.²⁶ Similarly, Aurobindo Ghosal (Forward Block Marxist, Uluberia) felt that as the State Public Service Commissions were almost "a titular body", there should be some supervisory power of the UPSC over the State Commissions, and that the Constitution should be amended suitably to ensure this supervision.²⁷ Some newspapers also complained that "there does not seem to be that close relationship between the UPSC and other Service Commissions which is necessary if the best talent is to be attracted to the service."²⁸

The utility of the conference as a link between the UPSC and the SPSCs was also emphasised in a report of the Estimates Committee of the Lok Sabha. The Committee was of the view that notwithstanding the absence of any constitutional link between the Union and the State Public Service

²⁶India, *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. 13 (1958), col. 4829-30.

²⁷Ibid., col. 4852.

²⁸*Deccan Herald* (Bangalore), September 3, 1960, p. 3:2.

Commissions, such conferences do serve a useful purpose in that they facilitate exchange of views on matters of common interest and pooling of experience. Further, these conferences help to evolve a uniform approach and common work procedures in the Commissions throughout the country which is desirable, particularly because the Constitution envisages a single pattern for both the Union and the State Commissions and the functions of both are of a similar character. The Committee recommended the idea of conferences of the chairmen of the UPSC and SPSCs once in three years. A simultaneous meeting of the secretaries of the Union and State PSCs was also desirable,²⁹ the Committee said.

The Study Team of the Administrative Reforms Commission (ARC) on Centre-State Relations also pleaded for a similar role of the UPSC. It noted that although the State Commissions are creatures of the Constitution, their composition and organisation are subject to the State list. It is important for the Public Service Commissions to function efficiently and independently as it is for the higher judiciary. The safeguards provided by the Constitution to secure this independence have proved rather less effective than those provided for High Courts, and the quality of work done by State Commissions has gone down in recent years. The root cause of the decline appears to be a tendency on the part of some State executives to pack their Commissions with sub-standard members, often for political reasons.³⁰ There is a clear need for evolving a national policy regarding State Public Service Commissions, which ensures that they function with independence and a high degree of competence. And if there is a case for a national policy here, it is difficult to avoid allotting at least a coordinating role to the Centre and the Union Public Service Commission.³¹

The Thorat Study Team of the ARC on the UPSC also emphasised the desirability of such conferences (at least once in two years), where matters of mutual interest can be discussed. It asserted that these conferences will provide thought and germinate new ideas, besides suggesting solutions for common problems. In addition, the chairmen of the SPSCs should also be associated more frequently with the selections held by the UPSC. It also stressed the need for increasing the competence of the secretariat and it would be useful, the Study Team noted, if officers of the State PSCs are

²⁹India, Lok Sabha, Estimates Committee, 4th Lok Sabha, 47th Report, Ministry of Home Affairs, UPSC (1968), p. 126.

³⁰For example, there have been instances where the chairman of a State Commission was not even a graduate. His only claim to the post was his political inconvenience which has to be looked after by his appointment to a remunerative post. See Dharam Vira, "Ending Political Appointments", *The States* (27 April, 1974), p. 12.

³¹See Government of India, Administrative Reforms Commission (ARC), *Study Team Report on Centre-State Relationship*, Vol. I (September 1967), pp. 174-75.

attached, for brief periods, to the secretariat of the UPSC so that they could acquaint themselves with sophisticated methods of dealing with recruitment matters.³²

The ARC report on personnel administration had some other suggestions to make with respect to the appointment of members of the UPSC/SPSCs on a uniform pattern. Welcoming the idea behind the suggestion of the Study Team on Centre-State Relationships that, as far as possible, one-third of the members of the State Public Service Commissions should consist of members belonging to another State, it recommended that it would be sufficient if provision was made for the appointment of at least one member of a State PSC from outside the State.³³ It also recommended : (a) In making appointments to a State PSC, the Governor should consult the chairman of the UPSC and the chairman of the State PSC. The latter may be consulted also with regard to the appointment of his own successor. (b) In making appointments to the UPSC, the chairman of the UPSC should invariably be consulted (even with regard to the appointment of his own successor). And (c) not less than two-thirds of the membership of the UPSC should be drawn from among the chairmen and members of the State Public Service Commissions.³⁴ It can be seen that these recommendations, besides maintaining uniform standards in the appointment of the members of the Commissions, do, at the same time, aim at a better coordination of their activities. This also implies that the UPSC should have an integrative role in more or less the same way as is the case of the Supreme Court of India *vis-a-vis* the lower courts in the States. Another of its recommendations with respect to the creation of a research cell in each of the PSC, where all the relevant data regarding candidates, etc., may be assembled, collated and interpreted³⁵ is an attempt at sponsoring research activities in a vital sphere on a coordinated and co-operative basis.

SUGGESTIONS FOR CONSIDERATION

That formal contacts between the UPSC and the SPSCs will be useful is a fact which hardly needs justification. There has been considerable criticism of the manner in which many State Public Service Commissions have functioned. It has been alleged that the functioning of some of the State Public Service Commissions has reflected the "factionalism" and the "groupism" prevailing in the ruling party in these States. It has also been very often charged that some members appointed to State Commissions had neither the

³²ARC, *Report of the Study Team on Recruitment Selection, UPSC, State PSCs and Training* (New Delhi, 1968), Chairman S.P.P. Thorat, para 2.7.5. & 2.7.6.

³³ARC, *Report on Personnel Administration* (New Delhi, 1969), p. 57.

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Ibid.

requisite training nor the background for discharging properly the functions of an impartial and judicial organisation. The result is that while the prestige of the UPSC has remained fairly high, the prestige of some of the SPSCs has fluctuated. It cannot also be denied that the relationship between the Governments and the Public Service Commissions in some States has not been very cordial and that more often than not the State Governments have gone against the advice tendered by their Public Service Commissions.³⁶

From the standpoint of better and efficient public services, it is important that there should be more collaboration between the UPSC and the State Public Service Commissions in order to ensure uniformity of standards in the services of all the States. The UPSC has often complained against the inability of the new Constitution to provide it with some sort of a formal relationship with the State Public Service Commissions (which is necessary), as both the UPSC and the SPSCs share the same problems and matters of common interest.³⁷ Thus a sound case exists for the establishment of some sort of formal contacts between the UPSC and the State Public Service Commissions.³⁸

A suggestion has been made in this respect to establish a National Council of Public Service Commissions for frequent contacts.³⁹ Such a Council will have representatives from the UPSC and other State Public Service Commissions and would meet more frequently and formally. The suggestion seems to be a variation of the present conferences of the chairmen of PSCs but on an institutionalised basis. Apart from these conferences there is a need for more points of contact between the UPSC and the SPSCs to maintain uniform personnel standards. One way would be to implement the suggestion of the ARC that the chairmen and the members of the PSCs of the States should be appointed in consultation with the chairman of the UPSC.

Another suggestion worth serious consideration is that the UPSC should be entrusted with the power of some kind of supervision over the State Commissions. For example, it might be given the power to review the various recruitment rules or service principles to ensure that they are in consonance

³⁶For a discussion on how many of the State Public Service Commissions came to be dominated by politics, See Hayes n. 11, pp. 158-62 and Sharma, n. 11, pp. 217-56; also see Dharam Vira, n. 30, and R.C.S. Sarkar, "UPSC: Erosion of Authority", Darbari Lal Gupta, "Too Many Executive Discretions", and T.N. Chaturvedi, "Need for Comprehensive Inquiry" in *The States*, 27 April, 1974.

³⁷UPSC, *3rd Report* (1952-53), p. 3.

³⁸UPSC, *11th Report* (1960-61), p. 2.

³⁹R.A. Deshpande, "Organization and Functions of Public Service Commission. A Comparative Study-II", *Civic Affairs* (Kanpur), Vol. 8, November 1961, p. 20.

with the standards governing service in the Central Government. This would also ensure that the civil servants in different States are not subjected to varying standards of treatment with regard to their rights and privileges, and eventually, in respect of emoluments as well. In the context of the peculiar social, economic and political factors in India, it is inevitable that a healthy relationship should obtain between the UPSC and the SPSCs in order to ensure uniformity of standards in recruitment, service conditions and personnel practices relating to the Central and State Government employees.

A NATIONAL INSTITUTION FOR PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSIONS

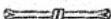
Perhaps a more enduring innovation in this area would be to constitute a National Institution of Public Service Commissions on a regular basis with a permanent secretariat headed by a specialist in personnel administration or a scholar of eminence in this field to guide and carry on its day-to-day activities. The executive council of the Institution may consist of representatives from the UPSC and the State PSCs.

The National Institution, assisted with a permanent staff, apart from having the responsibility of coordinating the various activities of the UPSC/PSCs could also possibly take over many of the functions of research and development in the field of personnel administration such as the development of a uniform system of personnel management, the development of personnel standards, standard recruiting procedures, principles of promotions, validation and development of new tests, considerations of appeals, and so on. The Institution might also undertake to provide training under its auspices to the members and staff of the Public Service Commissions in various fields of personnel management and practices and relating to specialised aspects of the Commissions' work with a view to setting up uniform standards of personnel conduct. This would also tend to wipe out any deficiencies in the personnel practices of the States because of the non-availability of such facilities.

Personnel research is an area which seems to have received scant attention not only within the Public Service Commissions, but also by those who are responsible for directing and engineering human resources. This is a very crucial area of social science research; yet it is still conspicuous by its absence among public personnel agencies in India. The UPSC and the State PSCs devote a deplorably small expenditure under this head. In a way the function has not achieved anything like the stature that it requires, if modern governments are to profit from the knowledge about the utility of sound and continuing research in personnel administration. The National Institution, if established, would go a long way to serve the needs in this area. With its semi-autonomous status, and its detachment from the day-to-day problems which the UPSC and the SPSCs find most difficult to extricate from, and with

adequate funds available from a variety of sources (presumably both government and non-government), it may be in a better position to undertake continuous research in a number of key personnel areas. These may include: (a) developing more sharply the genuine, as distinguished from the presumed, qualifications needed to perform various classes of work, (b) to find the optimum ways of reconciling career stability with the infusion of new blood, (c) to learn how to balance personal freedom with the necessities of bureaucratic impartiality and ethical behaviour, (d) to devise fresh ways of developing employee skills in motivation and supervision, (e) to discover practical means of reporting and evaluating personnel policies and practices, (f) to ascertain the impact of computer technology on work, on people, and on work procedures, and (g) many other areas of test construction, validation, salary rationale, classification and promotion policies, disciplinary cases and actions and employee grievance.⁴⁰

Apart from providing a forum for enduring contacts for the UPSC/SPSCs, personnel research alone will more than justify the establishment of the National Institution. It would very appropriately fill some of the neglected gaps in the field of human affairs. As Professor Stahl has put it, "until detatched fact-finding and analysis with better support from executives, from personnel officials, and from those who hold the purse strings, personnel administration will fall short of its supreme goal of creating and maintaining a highly motivated work force serving the public interest."⁴¹ If our legislators and administrators rise to the occasion to create such an institution of national importance, within the compass of our personnel system, they would have provided a potent force in assuring that public administration would meet the tremendous challenges of a rapidly developing society in a concerted, coordinated and integrated manner.



⁴⁰Such a list of areas of research which may be expended further has been suggested by Professor O. Glenn Stahl. See his *Public Personnel Administration* (New York, 1971), p. 393.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, p. 396.

PRASHASAN PRAHARI MANDAL AS OMBUDSMAN IN MADHYA PRADESH*

A. Avasthi

“प्रजा सुखे सुखं राजः प्रजानांच हिते हितम्
नाथ्माप्रियं हितं राजः प्रजानांतुं प्रियं हितम् ।”

Praja sukhe sukham rajna, prajanaam cha hithe hitham
Naathma priyam hitham rajna. prajanaam tu priyam hitham

“THE happiness of the king consists in the happiness of the people and in the welfare of the people lies his welfare;

It is not the interest of self that is dear to the king but the interest of the people that is dear to him.”

The ultimate goal of government in a civilised society, and more particularly in a democracy, has ever been the happiness, contentment and welfare of the people over whom it governs. Verily, the strength of a government depends upon the prosperity of the people and it is in their contentment that lie the security and stability of democracy. However, there has always remained, in all forms of polity, the crucial problem of the average citizen at the cutting edge of administration' being deprived of the service and treatment to which he is entitled. One of the hard problems in public administration that has defied solution so far has been how to make the official at the bottom rung of the administrative hierarchy—and it is with such officials that the citizen mostly comes into contact—responsive, sympathetic and courteous in his dealings with the citizen and how to enforce this responsibility.

NATURE AND SCOPE OF PUBLIC GRIEVANCES

Even though corruption has always loomed large within the ambit of citizens' grievances against the executive organs of government, it is by no means the only element constituting it. “In its widest connotation, corruption includes improper or selfish exercise of power and influence attached to a public office or the special position one occupies in public life.”¹ But besides

*This paper is based on the report on “Vigilance Organisation and Redress of Citizens' Grievances” submitted by the M.P. State Administrative Reforms Commission in 1972 and of which the author of this paper was privileged to be a member.

¹Report of the Committee on Prevention of Corruption, Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi, 1962, p. 5.

corruption, indifference, incompetence and insensitivity on the part of public servants can and do frequently cause harm and hardship to the citizens. The grievances of citizens can be of two types: general grievances and individual grievances. General grievances are "against the government, its acts and policies and may be common to all or any section of the community. Shortage of food, rise in prices, over-crowding in transport services, late running of trains are instances of such grievances which do exist and find expression in widespread disturbances that occur from time to time."² Individual grievances are those which the citizens, as individuals, may have against the executive organs of government, which includes both power-wielding political leadership and the permanent services on account of any act or omission on their part affecting the citizens individually. It is with the latter type of grievances that we are concerned with in this paper. Due to the development of the rule of law and the evolution of a large career service, there has come about a change in the public conception of integrity of public servants in the sense that they should not use their official position to obtain any kind of financial or other advantages for themselves, their families or friends. The citizen today expects the public servants to be honest, diligent, responsive, fair and competent in the discharge of their duties—qualities which the Madhya Pradesh Administrative Reforms Commission in its report, referred to earlier, has described as "integrity and capacity in administration."

REASONS FOR THE GROWTH OF GRIEVANCES

With the change in the nature of the ends of the state and consequent increase in the functions of government, the administration has assumed control over the daily life of the citizens. The areas of governmental activity today are both 'horizontal' and 'vertical'. The horizontal ambit of administrative activity may include diverse functions such as issue of licenses or permits, supply and distribution of essential commodities, welfare services like education, health, sanitation, transport, etc., supply of goods and services, social services like banking insurance, employee's provident fund, etc., and acquisition and requisition of private property. The vertical area means the level at which the orders are issued within the administrative hierarchy. "Orders are not always passed at the highest level by the officials of the secretariat on their own or under the direction of the Ministers. Orders may be passed by district magistrates, sub-divisional officers and even by officials of lower rank in the mofussil, e.g., by block development officers."³

The assumption of new responsibilities by the Government has resulted

²Report of the Study Team of the Central Administrative Reforms Commission on Redress of Citizens' Grievances, August 1966, Government of India Delhi, p. 1.

³Ibid., p. 1.

in the multiplication of the administrative processes. As the Law Commission pointed out in its fourteenth report : "there is a vast field of administrative action in which administrative authority may act outside the strict scope of law and propriety without the injured citizen being in a position to obtain effective redress. Administrative power and discretion are vested at different levels of the executive, all the members of which are not endowed with the same level of understanding and strength of character. Where there is power and discretion, there is always the possibility of abuse, more so when the power and discretion have to be exercised in contexts of scarcity and controls and pressure to spend public money. The absence of a machinery for appeals, other than inside the hierarchy, and of a machinery for redress of grievances contributed to the growth of an impression of arbitrariness on the part of the executive."⁴

EXISTING SAFEGUARDS FOR THE CITIZEN AND THEIR DEFICIENCY

The traditional instruments of control over executive power and discretion have been legislative overseeing and judicial review. Moreover, many countries have incorporated in their constitutions fundamental rights of the citizen which are justiciable. In addition, there exist avenues for the ventilation and redress of grievances in the form of approach to administrative authorities at different levels in their original, appellate, revisional or supervisory jurisdiction. However, all these instruments of control have developed inadequacies. On the whole, legislative overseeing is more suited for the consideration of matters of public importance than for obtaining redress of individual grievances arising in the course of day-to-day administration. Similarly, justice through courts is both expensive and dilatory and the citizen in many cases finds it cheaper and less cumbersome to suffer wrongs than approach the courts. "Nor have the various administrative tiers and hierarchies proved adequate for the purpose. A tendency to uphold the man on the spot, a casual approach to one's own responsibilities, an assumption of unquestionable superiority of the administration, a feeling of the sanctity of authority and neglect or indifference on the part of superior authority may prevent a citizen from obtaining justice even at the final stage of the administrative system."⁵

POST-1945 ATTEMPTS TO DEAL WITH THE PROBLEM

This basic problem has attracted considerable attention in our country since Independence. Even other countries, where the standard of "integrity and capacity in administration" is claimed to be high, have also been concerned with this problem and have made institutional arrangements for

⁴Report of the Committee on Prevention of Corruption, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

⁵Interim Report of the Central Administrative Reforms Commission on Problems of Redress of Citizens' Grievances, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi, 1966, p. 7.

the protection of the citizen against arbitrariness, indiscretion, inefficiency, indifference and corruption on the part of public officials. Thus, Denmark, following the Swedish example, set up the institution of Ombudsman in 1955. Norway followed suit in 1962. In the Commonwealth, New Zealand (1962) and the United Kingdom (1967) have established the office of the Parliamentary Commissioner for Investigation and the Parliamentary Commissioner for Administration respectively, to deal with the acts of maladministration of defined categories.

The new Government of India was not found amiss in this matter and took commendable measures in this direction. The Prevention of Corruption Act became law in 1947. A number of committees/commissions were set up to inquire into the malaise of corruption and make recommendations to eradicate it—the Tek Chand Committee (1949), the Railways Corruption Inquiry Committee (popularly known as the Kripalani Committee) (1953) and the Vivan Bose Commission (1956). The Prevention of Corruption Act of 1947 was suitably amended in 1955 to make it more stringent. The same year the Administrative Vigilance Division was established and vigilance units in ministries/departments came into existence. At the same time the O & M Division was set up in the Home Ministry in 1954 to improve efficiency in administration and reduce the scope for complaints against the administration. A Grievance Commissioner, to deal with the citizens' grievances, had been appointed at the Centre in the meanwhile. In 1962 the Government of India appointed the Committee on Prevention of Corruption, consisting of six members of Parliament and two senior officers, under the chairmanship of Shri K. Santhanam, and in 1964 took an important step in establishing the Central Vigilance Commission following the recommendation of the same Committee.

Most of the State Governments have followed suit. In Madhya Pradesh various types of agencies were created to deal with corruption, namely, the Anti-Corruption Department, Divisional Complaints Boards, District Complaints Committees, the Commissioner for Inquiry and O & M units in the State secretariat and some other agencies. Then came the most important step of the appointment of a Vigilance Commissioner in 1964. At the same time Divisional Vigilance Boards were set up at the headquarters of each division consisting of the Divisional Revenue Commissioner, the Deputy Inspector-General of Police of the range concerned and the Vigilance Officer who was the convener of the Board. For this purpose non-officials were appointed Divisional Vigilance Officers in each Division. At the district level also District Vigilance Officers were appointed and the office was filled by selected Assistant Collectors or Deputy Collectors.

Unfortunately, however, none of the devices tried in Madhya Pradesh,

as in other States, were able to make any noticeable impact on the problem. "The reasons for their ineffectiveness are many. For instance, the Anti-Corruption Department, being a part of the police organisation, failed to inspire confidence or to earn a reputation for competence or fairness. The Complaints Board and its counterparts at the district level, by the nature of their composition, found it difficult to function collectively and not having any agency of their own for investigation, became more of a channel of transmission of complaints to the departmental authorities. The Vigilance Commission, not having a statutory basis, or legal power to collect evidence, and being only an advisory body, had its limitations. While some feel that the Vigilance Commission concerned itself far too much with trivial matters, others consider that the experiment was not given a fair trial and that it was hamstrung by official reluctance, lack of cooperation and indifference."⁶

This led to a search for a new and more effective solution of the problem. Ever since 1963 widespread support for the establishment of an Ombudsman type of institution had been expressed in the Parliament, in the press and by jurists and eminent public men. The Santhanam Committee recommended the setting up of such an institution more or less patterned on the office of the Parliamentary Commissioner in New Zealand. The Rajasthan Administrative Reforms Commission, in its report submitted in September 1963, recommended the appointment of an Ombudsman for the State. This matter was taken up for serious and detailed consideration by the Central Administrative Reforms Commission appointed early in 1966. "After having carefully evaluated the *pros and cons* described above, we are of the view that the special circumstances relating to our country can be fully met by providing for two special institutions for the redress of citizens' grievances. There should be one authority dealing with complaints against the administrative acts of Ministers or Secretaries to Government at the Centre and in the States. There should be another authority in each State and at the Centre for dealing with complaints against the administrative acts of other officials. All these authorities should be independent of the executive as well as the legislature and the judiciary."⁷ The first one was to be called the Lokpal and the second one Lokayukta.

In the meanwhile, the Government of Madhya Pradesh, by its resolution of the 20th June, 1969, set up a commission of inquiry called the Madhya Pradesh State Administrative Reforms Commission. The Commission was composed of the reputed senior public man, Shri Narsingh Rao Dikshit, as chairman and three other members—a distinguished retired civilian of the Indian Civil Service, a senior academician with specialisation in public

⁶M.P. State A.R.C., *op. cit.*, pp. 9-10.

⁷The Interim Report of the Central ARC, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

COMPOSITION OF THE AUTHORITY

In the exercise of the vast jurisdiction comprehending the full spread of integrity and capacity envisaged by the Commission for the *Mandal*: "It may become necessary to investigate complaints of corruption even against highly placed persons. The authority will be required to investigate a variety of grievances of citizens affected by different decisions and by the exercise of discretionary powers. Complex and often conflicting considerations have to be weighed and balanced before many decisions are taken thus involving the exercise of discretion. For the fair discharge of its functions the authority would require the sobriety, balance and objectivity that accrue from holding for a long time a high judicial office. It would require, in equal measure, the expertise that results from intimate participation in actual administration at different levels and in diverse branches. And, lastly, its approaches and attitudes should be informed by a fine and active sensitivity to the feelings, needs and sense of hurt and deprivation of the aggrieved citizen and the larger community to which he belongs."¹¹ To cope successfully with such variegated, complex, difficult, delicate and, at times, sensitive tasks, the Commission recommended that the proposed *Mandal* should consist of a chairman and two other members, one of whom should be a person who had held a high judicial office; another should be one having sound knowledge of the complexities of modern administration; and the third, a person who has been in active public life and has earned regard. The *Mandal*, thus, should consist of a chairman who should be a person who is holding or has held the office of the Chief Justice or a Judge of the Supreme Court of India or of a High Court in India, and not less than two other members, one of whom will be a person who is or has held office either under the Government of India or under the Government of the State or any other State for at least 20 years of which the office held shall be an office of and above the rank of a head of department for at least five years; and the other, a person of high repute in public life.

MODE OF SELECTION OF MEMBERS OF THE MANDAL : THEIR TENURE AND TERMS OF OFFICE

The Commission regarded this matter as of vital importance to the prestige and standing of the *Mandal*. In its own words: "The success of the *Mandal* will depend, almost entirely, on the quality of the persons selected, particularly in the first instance. It will be for them to build up the proper traditions, conventions and attitudes. It is necessary that only men of impeccable character and integrity, mature wisdom, sober and independent attitude, balance and poise and deep commitment to the purposes and the oath of their office should be selected if the experiment is to succeed. The method of

¹¹M.P. State ARC, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

selection should be such as to inspire public confidence and this depends upon the prevailing traditions and currently accepted conventions."¹²

The modes of selection to this high office vary from country to country. In Sweden the Ombudsman is elected, on behalf of the Parliament, by a body of 48 electors who are themselves chosen by and from among the members of the two Houses, 24 from each. In Denmark, Finland and Norway the Ombudsman is elected by the Parliament. Similarly, the Procurator-General in the Soviet Union is appointed by the Supreme Soviet. In Britain the Parliamentary Commissioner is appointed by the Monarch. In New Zealand the Governor-General on the recommendation of the House of Representatives, appoints the Parliamentary Commissioner. Besides the above known modes of selection, a number of other alternative methods were suggested to the Commission such as appointment by the President, appointment by the Governor in his discretion, appointment by the Government on the advice of the Chief Justice of the State, nomination by the Chief Justice, the Chief Minister and the Leader of the Opposition of persons with judicial experience, administrative experience and experience of public life, respectively, and the Chief Justice, the Chief Minister and the Leader of the Opposition should make the choice as a committee and in the event of difference of opinion between the Chief Minister and the Leader of the Opposition, the Chief Justice should act as an umpire. The Commission gave careful consideration to all these suggestions and arrived at two conclusions, namely, that under a system of parliamentary government, the Government of the day could not be formally divested of its power of making appointments to the posts of public employees and yet the appointment should not smack of partisanship. To reconcile these two apparently contradictory viewpoints, the Commission recommended that "The Governor shall by warrant under his hand and seal appoint the members of the *Mandal*:

"Provided that the members of the *Mandal* shall be appointed after consultation with the Chief Justice of the High Court of Madhya Pradesh and the Leader of the Opposition in the Assembly, recognised by the Speaker, or if there is no such Leader, a person elected in this behalf by the Members of the Opposition in the Assembly in such manner as the Speaker may direct:

"Provided that if such an election is not or could not be held during the session of the Assembly immediately following the occurrence of the vacancy, the Leader of the largest single group in Opposition in the Assembly shall be consulted."¹³

¹²The M.P. State ARC, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

¹³*Ibid.*, pp. 73-74.

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¹²The M.P. State ARC, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

¹³*Ibid.*, pp. 73-74.

The Commission hoped that the three responsible persons of such high standing as the Chief Justice, the Chief Minister and the Leader of the Opposition will find it possible to evolve a consensus in the matter and recommended that a convention of unanimous choice should be evolved and strictly observed.

The Commission rejected the suggestion of imposing any lower/upper age limit for the members of the *Mandal* and fixed their tenure at six years. It also recommended that the chairman of the *Mandal* should be paid the salary and accorded the status of the Chief Justice of the State and that the other members should be paid the salary and accorded the status of the *puisne* judges of the High Court. The Commission prescribed a procedure for the removal of the members. A member could be removed from office by an address of the Legislative Assembly supported by an absolute majority of the House and of two-thirds of the members present and voting after an inquiry by a Judge of the Supreme Court or High Court as may be appointed by the Governor. It also prescribed some disabilities or disqualifications for membership of the *Mandal*. Thus "no member of the *Mandal*, shall, during the period of holding office on the *Mandal*, be a member of Parliament or a member of the Assembly of the State of Madhya Pradesh or of any other State or be a member or hold any office in a local body or similar institution or hold any office of trust or profit (other than his office as the member of the *Mandal*) or be connected with any political party or carry on any business or practise any profession." Accordingly, before entering office a person appointed as member should give up such offices or sever his connection with any political party or profession.

JURISDICTION OF THE MANDAL

The Commission envisaged a powerful *Mandal* and vested it with comprehensive authority. Its role was to be both positive and negative, that is to say, to maintain integrity and efficiency in administration and to punish those found guilty of corruption and mal-administration. Thus, it was provided that "the *Mandal* shall aid and advise all public authorities in the matter of : (a) maintaining integrity in administration; (b) eliminating mal-administration, (c) eradication of corruption; (d) punishing those found guilty of lack of integrity, corruption or mal-administration; (e) redressal of citizens' grievances; and (f) improvement of practices and procedures of administration. The authority of the *Mandal* was to extend over all complaints against a public authority or public office or public servant. In other words, the jurisdiction of the *Mandal* was wide enough to permit it to inquire into the actions of all public servants including the Chief Minister, Ministers, Members of Parliament from M.P. and Members of the State Legislature, as well as local bodies and their employees, cooperative societies, grant-aided

educational and other institutions providing social services, public sector undertakings and persons functioning as quasi-judicial tribunals constituted under Central or State laws in relation to the affairs of the State. The *Mandal* was also authorised to look into the grievances of government servants in respect of service matters.

A question that caused a lot of debate and discussion was whether the high office of the Chief Minister should be excluded from the purview of the *Mandal* following the pattern of the Central Lokpal and Lokayuktas Bill of 1968 which excluded the Prime Minister from the purview of the Lokpal. The Commission, after weighing all the *pros and cons*, ultimately decided to include the Chief Minister within the *Mandal's* purview. The Commission was supported in its decision by the "almost unanimous opinion, official and non-official, expressed before us that there should be no such exclusion." The arguments in favour of this conclusion can best be reproduced from the Commission's report itself:

"21.1. There is a substantial difference between the office of the Prime Minister and that of a Chief Minister. The status, obligations, functions and influence of the two posts are not comparable. The office of the Chief Minister has no comparable obligations in international affairs to that of the Prime Minister.

"21.2. The office of the Chief Minister is a high office of trust. If the holder of that office is not himself a man of integrity and principles, there is no reason why his actions should escape scrutiny only for the reason that he holds such a high office. Secondly, in these days of fluid loyalties, plastic discipline and volatile conscience, the Chief Minister is subjected to ruthless and unscrupulous pressures. Even a man of integrity, when holding that office, may find it difficult always to resist such pressures. Thirdly, the actions of the Chief Minister are even now subjected to criticism. Such criticism is usually accompanied by a demand for high level judicial inquiry. The experience of the last two decades is that such demands for high level judicial inquiry have not always been justified. Fourthly, constant denigration of the Chief Minister, often in ignorance of the facts and true circumstances or as a result of a misunderstanding of his motives, lowers the prestige of the Government and snowballs into big proportions on the assumption that there can be no smoke without a fire. Thus the office of the Chief Minister is in great need of protection. An independent and standing agency like the *Mandal* possessing the confidence of the Opposition by virtue of the method of selection of its members, can not only provide this protection but can also nip in the bud the mischief of unjustified complaints, enable timely correction of errors and thus avert more damaging consequences.

21.3. "These were the considerations that prompted the inclusion of Ministers within the jurisdiction of the *Mandal*. It would, indeed be anomalous and invidious, as was stressed by nearly all the persons who met us, if the Chief Minister is excluded when other holders of political offices are included. An apprehension was also expressed that the exclusion of the Chief Minister from the purview of the *Mandal* might even add to his difficulties by increasing pressures on him by his colleagues as well as others to authorise actions, under his authority which, if authorised by other public servants, might expose them to criticism by the *Mandal*."¹⁴

It was not the intention of the Commission to divest any executive authority of its powers and responsibilities in respect of any sphere of its activities. The *Mandal* was only intended to be a watch dog to ensure that the executive authorities do not overstep their powers, that they exercise their powers only for the purposes for which they are entrusted to them and that undue hardship is not caused because of apathy, incompetence, etc. The Commission, therefore, provided various safeguards. For example, it suggested that the *Mandal* will not be a forum of first instance; it will ordinarily not investigate into complaints where the complainant has or had any other remedy open to him; it will also not entertain frivolous or vexatious or time-barred complaints, etc. The Commission also kept out of the purview of the *Mandal* those actions, whose exclusion was essential from the point of view of public interest like matters relating to the security of the country, defence or international relations, relations of the State with the Union or other States, judicial acts of the judiciary and matters that were sub-judice, matters relating to the functions and duties of the members of either House of Parliament or of the State Legislative Assembly, of honours and awards, etc.

Three other related recommendations of the Commission may also be briefly indicated here: (i) on the establishment of the *Mandal*, the Vigilance Commission should be abolished; (ii) an investigating agency called the State Bureau of Investigation should be established under the *Mandal* to investigate into cases of corruption; and (iii) the State Government, with the concurrence of the *Mandal*, should appoint a Commissioner of Departmental Inquiries. This officer will be under the administrative control of the *Mandal* but in the actual work of inquiry will function as *independent* tribunal.

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE COMMISSION'S RECOMMENDATIONS

As it happened, the Ministry which had appointed the Madhya Pradesh State Administrative Reforms Commission, had gone out of office and it was

¹⁴The M.P. State ARC, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-31.

to a new Ministry that the Commission submitted its report in mid-1972. The new Government kept the 10-volume report of the Commission virtually in cold storage and implemented only a few of its less important recommendations in a halting and piecemeal fashion. The particular recommendations about the setting up of a *Prashasan Prahari Mandal* was not even publicised or debated, nothing to say of implementation. However, as a follow-up of the instructions (or was it the advice) of the Central Government, the State Government enacted in 1975 a law known as the *M.P. Lokayukta Ayam Upa-Lokayuktas Vidheyak*.

This Act has followed the recommendations of the Commission in some minor matters but by and large it has ignored its recommendations and has adopted the pattern suggested by the Union Government. In brief, the arrangements made by the Act for the appointment and functions of certain authorities for the investigation of administrative action taken by or on behalf of certain public authorities in the State in certain cases may be described as follows:

The Act provides for the appointment of a person as the Lokayukta and one or more persons as the Upa-Lokayukta or Upa-Lokayuktas. These high officers will be appointed by the Governor by warrant under his hand and seal. In the case of the Lokayukta, the Governor will consult the Chief Justice of the High Court and the Leader of the Opposition in the Legislative Assembly, or if there be no such Leader, a person elected in this behalf by the Members of the Opposition in that House in such manner as the Speaker may direct; this is an obvious echo of the Dikshit Commission Report. The Upa-Lokayukta will be appointed in consultation with the Lokayukta. The tenure of these offices has been fixed at 5 years and an upper age limit has been prescribed at 71 for the Lokayukta and 68 for the Upa-Lokayukta. There is a provision for the removal of these officers. The Governor has been authorised to remove the Lokayukta from office on the ground of misbehaviour or incapacity after an inquiry by a person who is or has been a judge of the Supreme Court or a Chief Justice of a High Court. In the case of the Upa-Lokayukta, the inquiry is to be conducted by a person who is or has been a judge of the Supreme Court or a judge of a High Court. In the matter of jurisdiction of the new posts, the Act, as in the case of the Central Act, has divided all public servants into two categories, high and not so high. While the conduct of the former will be investigated by the Lokayukta, the Upa-Lokayukta will look into the allegations against the second category of public officials.

In brief, there is found a marked difference in this matter between the arrangement envisaged by the Dikshit Commission and the provisions of the

1975 Act (It should be noted that this Act too has not yet been implemented). Notable of these differences are given below.

The very first question that arose for consideration before the Commission was whether there should be a single high power authority or two separate authorities as provided for in the Central law, namely, the Lokpal and the Lokayukta with their jurisdiction defined with reference to the status of the public servants against whom an inquiry was to be made. The Commission had considered the principle of status being the determinant of jurisdiction as pernicious and rejected the model of two sets of functionaries and opted for only one high-power agency to deal with complaints against all classes of public servants. The Commission had adduced well-reasoned arguments in favour of its viewpoint: "When a complaint alleging failure of integrity or capacity is made, the act complained of may not be such as can be exclusively attributed either to a Minister or a Secretary or a Government servant subordinate to them. Even when the act complained against is ostensibly that of a particular Government servant, it is often claimed or alleged that that Government servant was not really a free agent and was only carrying out the orders of a Secretary or a Minister conveyed verbally. Such an allegation cannot be brushed aside because delegated powers are not always allowed to be exercised by the delegate according to his judgement. In such cases it may not be easy to determine which authority, *i.e.*, the Lokpal or the Lokayukta will have jurisdiction and it may not also be possible to avoid parallel inquiries in respect of the same complaint."¹⁵ The new law has completely ignored the valuable suggestions of the Commission and has set up two authorities, the Lokayukta and the Upa-Lokayukta, to deal with two different categories of officials.

In the second place, the status of the new high dignitaries will not be as high and independent as that of the members of the *Mandal*. Thus, in the case of a member of the *Mandal* it was provided that 'the Governor shall not remove a member of the *Mandal* unless an address of the Assembly supported by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the Members of the House present and voting, has been presented to the Governor in the same session for such approval'. There is no such provision in the new law and the Lokayukta the Upa-Lokayukta can be removed by the Governor after an inquiry.

Lastly, the jurisdiction of the Lokayukta and the Upa-Lokayukta will be less comprehensive and high-powered. For example, the new law has excluded from the purview of these officers cases involving the Chief Minister and the Members of Parliament from Madhya Pradesh and the Members of

¹⁵The M.P. State ARC, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

the State Legislative Assembly. As shown earlier in this paper, the Commission had made a strong case for their inclusion within the purview of the *Mandal*. Moreover, the new law confers upon the State Government the power to exclude complaints against certain classes of public servants from the purview of the two dignitaries (Section 18). This provision confers wide discretion on the State Government to whittle down the ambit of authority of the Lokayukta and the Upa-Lokayukta.

Thus has died in embryo a unique organisation, namely, the *Madhya Pradesh Prashasan Prahari Mandal*, so boldly recommended by the State Administrative Reforms Commission, M.P. which had set a high score on this point. Said the Commission: "We consider that an independent, dedicated agency charged with the duty of securing prompt attention to the legitimate grievances, and zealous to safeguard the rights of the citizens is an indispensable instrument for averting the danger to which we have drawn attention. The acceptance of our recommendation will be an earnest of the Government's intention to provide to the citizen an effective means of securing remedial action when he is subjected to unjustified harm and hardship. The fact that there is an agency, independent of the executive, to keep the administration on its toes and act as a vigilant sentinel of the citizen's rights should in itself help to revive confidence in constitutional methods. Our recommendations are actuated by our anxiety, which we are sure the Government themselves share, to give institutional assistance to the legislature to secure in full measure that the doctrine of public accountability is enforced and that the exercise of the State's power is always informed by the purpose for which such power is entrusted to the executive and its instruments, namely, the public good."¹⁶



"I attribute the little I know to my not having been ashamed to ask for information, and to my rule of conversing with all descriptions of men and those topics that form their own peculiar professions and pursuits."

JOHN LOCKE

(Quoted in "*Personnel Administration*")

January-February, 1964)

¹⁶M.P. State ARC, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

IMPROVING STATE ADMINISTRATION SEARCH FOR DIRECTIONS

A.P. Saxena

AVARIETY of reasons in the recent past have converged to focus attention on improving State administration. The scenario of State administration today reflects sharp changes in scope as well as content and function. It is commonly agreed that the extent of Government purposes has radically altered in the decades following Independence. Along with enlargement in scope, there has been a resultant complexity as well in all directions of State level administration. It will, therefore, be useful to note that the profile of State administration in the country has a radically different stance today. In the context of the emerging objectives in the new national ethos, it is thus appropriate that the subject of the improvement of State administration should be considered as one of contemporary relevance and priority.¹

A quick survey of the functional coverage in the areas of State administration is worth a close look. There has been extensive proliferation of activities and it is not uncommon for a State administration to evolve a policy and administer it as well, be it the production and supply of text books or the development of electronic complexes.² Frequently, State administrations had to take over under their control extensive industrial organizations in the form of sick mills. It is important to realize that the *taking over* of giant industrially sick units and their *administration* involve an entirely different set of activities as compared to the industrial administration of viable enterprises with assured profitability and future prospects. Yet, as a logical part of the pursuit of public policies, State administrations in the country have been called upon to shoulder these onerous responsibilities within the framework of public accountability. The extent of the strain involved in this element of administration needs to be fully recognized, since a realistic assessment can alone establish reliable and responsive guidelines for improvement.

There can be scores of directions for improving State administration and any discussion group on the subject can generate a long agenda for action and priorities, subject to particular profiles. In such exercises a speculative

¹Inaugural address by Prime Minister at the Conference of Chief Secretaries on Administrative Improvement and Personnel Management, New Delhi, May 7, 1976.

²For details of State enterprises and departmental undertakings—See 'Commerce Year Book of Public Sector 1974-75', Commerce, Bombay, 1975.

analysis may supersede mere factual interpretations of current challenges. Against the pressing urge of the present-day action programmes, State administrations can no longer simply regulate and react but must take on themselves the responsibility for directing vastly new social and economic changes. "Government's functions have increased as people's assertiveness and requirements have increased."³ The concept of public interest, general welfare and net benefit to the society as a whole emerge as the obvious determinants of public action by State administrations. Obviously the new role of State administration in the context of these dominating forces will not only increase the size and complexity of administration, but will necessitate new approaches and techniques to achieve improvement and secure assurances for the timely completion of policy goals and public tasks. It is this contextual consideration which would help the search for directions in improving State administration.

AGRICULTURAL ADMINISTRATION

As an illustration, the subject of agriculture may be examined as part of State administration. In the recent past, with increasing emphasis and commitment, agriculture has assumed a new concern for performance and productivity. Thus, it can be argued that the subject of agriculture as an element of State administration has radically changed as compared to, say, a decade or so back. Agricultural administration does not begin or end with the traditional tasks of State level organization created for administering it; instead, it has assumed entirely new directions with technology as the dominating theme, and has created emphasis on the judicious availability of inputs to the farmers. A string of State, regional and national research institutes and agricultural universities continuously pour out new findings and developments which must be expeditiously translated into action for providing the eventual fruits to the tillers of the land.⁴ It cannot be conceived that any State administrative apparatus will delay and thereby deny the conversion of technology into a field reality. The subject of availability of inputs is by itself an enormous area of administration and it is no wonder that a wide pattern of departments and organizations has been created at various levels with the common objective of assuring inputs availability. State administration in this subject has not stopped at this stage and extensive studies are being made to categorize the farmer and the land which he tills.⁵ This has been done on an inescapable logic that neither all farmers nor all the land is alike and, therefore, separate

³"Address by Shrimati Indira Gandhi", *The Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. XVII, Oct-Dec. 1971, No. 4.

⁴M.S. Swaminathan, *Our Agricultural Future — Sardar Patel Memorial Lectures 1973*, All India Radio, New Delhi.

⁵Khan, Waheeduddin and R.N. Tripathy, *Intensive Agriculture and Modern Inputs—Prospects of Small Farmers: A Study in West Godavari District*, Hyderabad, National Institute of Community Development, 1972.

1975 Act (It should be noted that this Act too has not yet been implemented). Notable of these differences are given below.

The very first question that arose for consideration before the Commission was whether there should be a single high power authority or two separate authorities as provided for in the Central law, namely, the Lokpal and the Lokayukta with their jurisdiction defined with reference to the status of the public servants against whom an inquiry was to be made. The Commission had considered the principle of status being the determinant of jurisdiction as pernicious and rejected the model of two sets of functionaries and opted for only one high-power agency to deal with complaints against all classes of public servants. The Commission had adduced well-reasoned arguments in favour of its viewpoint: "When a complaint alleging failure of integrity or capacity is made, the act complained of may not be such as can be exclusively attributed either to a Minister or a Secretary or a Government servant subordinate to them. Even when the act complained against is ostensibly that of a particular Government servant, it is often claimed or alleged that that Government servant was not really a free agent and was only carrying out the orders of a Secretary or a Minister conveyed verbally. Such an allegation cannot be brushed aside because delegated powers are not always allowed to be exercised by the delegate according to his judgement. In such cases it may not be easy to determine which authority, *i.e.*, the Lokpal or the Lokayukta will have jurisdiction and it may not also be possible to avoid parallel inquiries in respect of the same complaint."¹⁵ The new law has completely ignored the valuable suggestions of the Commission and has set up two authorities, the Lokayukta and the Upa-Lokayukta, to deal with two different categories of officials.

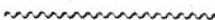
In the second place, the status of the new high dignitaries will not be as high and independent as that of the members of the *Mandal*. Thus, in the case of a member of the *Mandal* it was provided that "the Governor shall not remove a member of the *Mandal* unless an address of the Assembly supported by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the Members of the House present and voting, has been presented to the Governor in the same session for such approval". There is no such provision in the new law and the Lokayukta the Upa-Lokayukta can be removed by the Governor after an inquiry.

Lastly, the jurisdiction of the Lokayukta and the Upa-Lokayukta will be less comprehensive and high-powered. For example, the new law has excluded from the purview of these officers cases involving the Chief Minister and the Members of Parliament from Madhya Pradesh and the Members of

¹⁵The M.P. State ARC, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

the State Legislative Assembly. As shown earlier in this paper, the Commission had made a strong case for their inclusion within the purview of the *Mandal*. Moreover, the new law confers upon the State Government the power to exclude complaints against certain classes of public servants from the purview of the two dignitaries (Section 18). This provision confers wide discretion on the State Government to whittle down the ambit of authority of the Lokayukta and the Upa-Lokayukta.

Thus has died in embryo a unique organisation, namely, the *Madhya Pradesh Prashasan Prahari Mandal*, so boldly recommended by the State Administrative Reforms Commission, M.P. which had set a high score on this point. Said the Commission: "We consider that an independent, dedicated agency charged with the duty of securing prompt attention to the legitimate grievances, and zealous to safeguard the rights of the citizens is an indispensable instrument for averting the danger to which we have drawn attention. The acceptance of our recommendation will be an earnest of the Government's intention to provide to the citizen an effective means of securing remedial action when he is subjected to unjustified harm and hardship. The fact that there is an agency, independent of the executive, to keep the administration on its toes and act as a vigilant sentinel of the citizen's rights should in itself help to revive confidence in constitutional methods. Our recommendations are actuated by our anxiety, which we are sure the Government themselves share, to give institutional assistance to the legislature to secure in full measure that the doctrine of public accountability is enforced and that the exercise of the State's power is always informed by the purpose for which such power is entrusted to the executive and its instruments, namely, the public good."¹⁶



"I attribute the little I know to my not having been ashamed to ask for information, and to my rule of conversing with all descriptions of men and those topics that form their own peculiar professions and pursuits."

JOHN LOCKE

(Quoted in "Personnel Administration")

January-February, 1964)

¹⁶M.P. State ARC, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

IMPROVING STATE ADMINISTRATION SEARCH FOR DIRECTIONS

A.P. Saxena

AVARIETY of reasons in the recent past have converged to focus attention on improving State administration. The scenario of State administration today reflects sharp changes in scope as well as content and function. It is commonly agreed that the extent of Government purposes has radically altered in the decades following Independence. Along with enlargement in scope, there has been a resultant complexity as well in all directions of State level administration. It will, therefore, be useful to note that the profile of State administration in the country has a radically different stance today. In the context of the emerging objectives in the new national ethos, it is thus appropriate that the subject of the improvement of State administration should be considered as one of contemporary relevance and priority.¹

A quick survey of the functional coverage in the areas of State administration is worth a close look. There has been extensive proliferation of activities and it is not uncommon for a State administration to evolve a policy and administer it as well, be it the production and supply of text books or the development of electronic complexes.² Frequently, State administrations had to take over under their control extensive industrial organizations in the form of sick mills. It is important to realize that the *taking over* of giant industrially sick units and their *administration* involve an entirely different set of activities as compared to the industrial administration of viable enterprises with assured profitability and future prospects. Yet, as a logical part of the pursuit of public policies, State administrations in the country have been called upon to shoulder these onerous responsibilities within the framework of public accountability. The extent of the strain involved in this element of administration needs to be fully recognized, since a realistic assessment can alone establish reliable and responsive guidelines for improvement.

There can be scores of directions for improving State administration and any discussion group on the subject can generate a long agenda for action and priorities, subject to particular profiles. In such exercises a speculative

¹Inaugural address by Prime Minister at the Conference of Chief Secretaries on Administrative Improvement and Personnel Management, New Delhi, May 7, 1976.

²For details of State enterprises and departmental undertakings—See ‘Commerce Year Book of Public Sector 1974-75’, Commerce, Bombay, 1975.

analysis may supersede mere factual interpretations of current challenges. Against the pressing urge of the present-day action programmes, State administrations can no longer simply regulate and react but must take on themselves the responsibility for directing vastly new social and economic changes. "Government's functions have increased as people's assertiveness and requirements have increased."³ The concept of public interest, general welfare and net benefit to the society as a whole emerge as the obvious determinants of public action by State administrations. Obviously the new role of State administration in the context of these dominating forces will not only increase the size and complexity of administration, but will necessitate new approaches and techniques to achieve improvement and secure assurances for the timely completion of policy goals and public tasks. It is this contextual consideration which would help the search for directions in improving State administration.

AGRICULTURAL ADMINISTRATION

As an illustration, the subject of agriculture may be examined as part of State administration. In the recent past, with increasing emphasis and commitment, agriculture has assumed a new concern for performance and productivity. Thus, it can be argued that the subject of agriculture as an element of State administration has radically changed as compared to, say, a decade or so back. Agricultural administration does not begin or end with the traditional tasks of State level organization created for administering it; instead, it has assumed entirely new directions with technology as the dominating theme, and has created emphasis on the judicious availability of inputs to the farmers. A string of State, regional and national research institutes and agricultural universities continuously pour out new findings and developments which must be expeditiously translated into action for providing the eventual fruits to the tillers of the land.⁴ It cannot be conceived that any State administrative apparatus will delay and thereby deny the conversion of technology into a field reality. The subject of availability of inputs is by itself an enormous area of administration and it is no wonder that a wide pattern of departments and organizations has been created at various levels with the common objective of assuring inputs availability. State administration in this subject has not stopped at this stage and extensive studies are being made to categorize the farmer and the land which he tills.⁵ This has been done on an inescapable logic that neither all farmers nor all the land is alike and, therefore, separate

³"Address by Shrimati Indira Gandhi", *The Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. XVII, Oct-Dec. 1971, No. 4.

⁴M.S. Swaminathan, *Our Agricultural Future* — Sardar Patel Memorial Lectures 1973, All India Radio, New Delhi.

⁵Khan, Waheeduddin and R.N. Tripathy, *Intensive Agriculture and Modern Inputs—Prospects of Small Farmers: A Study in West Godavari District*, Hyderabad, National Institute of Community Development, 1972.

treatment must be found to meet and match their requirements.⁶ The objective and content of administration involved in, say, the Small Farmers Development Agencies and Command Area Development Project⁷ will be substantially different—a difference which will be accentuated further by the time horizon of the problem, which each is seeking to resolve. Since agriculture as a subject is emerging more and more important as part of the larger area of State *administration*, it is being increasingly realised that there is need as well as scope for improvement and what should now be discussed is in effect 'management of agriculture'.⁸ If this proposition is accepted, this is surely a fruitful direction towards improving State administration.

In pursuing the subject of management of agriculture as part of improving State administration, a set of postulates are to be noted. The range of inputs needed to secure optimal agricultural production is, today, far and wide, and several of these have continuously to be juxtaposed to meet the requirements of the farmer.⁹ New developments pushed by agricultural scientists and swift changes in the technology involved, make it imperative that the apparatus of State administration should take the leadership role in ensuring the quality, quantity and timely availability of the inputs. These features need to be noted especially as an area of administration—because several of the inputs have mutually conflicting inter-dependencies and the non-availability of one may provoke a chain reaction and upset the beneficial results of other inputs.¹⁰ Also, the range of manipulation needed to achieve an optimum pattern of input availability is limited, both in terms of resources and inherent implementation difficulties. For example, in several situations apart from the matter of physical resources, attitudinal blocks emanating from long

⁶Gopalakrishnan, V.S. "Organisation for Command Area Administration in India", *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. XIX, No. 2 (April-June 1973), pp. 177-86.

Sudan, M.L., "SFDA and MFALA Ambala:Some observations", *Journal of LBS National Academy of Administration*, 20:4 Winter 1975, 1269-80.

⁷See Seshadri, K., *Agricultural Administration in Andhra Pradesh:A Study of the Process of Implementation of Intensive Agricultural Development Programme*, Bombay, Popular Prakashan, 1974.

⁸The Indian Institute of Public Administration in collaboration with United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific and United Nations Asian Centre for Development Administration recently conducted a Regional programme on Management of Agriculture (6-24 Sept. 1976). The programme was designed to stimulate creative thinking on the role of managers in agricultural development. The programme objectives included identification of key management issues involved in implementing national agriculture policy and consideration of appropriate managerial interventions.

⁹Swaminathan, M.S. "Perspectives in Agriculture", *Seminar* (Jan. 1973), pp. 63-6.

¹⁰J.C. Finn, "The Simulation of Crop-Irrigation Systems" in J.B. Dent and J.R. Anderson (ed), *Systems Analysis in Agricultural Management*, John Wiley, 1971.

Also see, Luz Mario Bassoco and Roger D. Norton, "A Quantitative Approach to Agricultural Policy Planning: Annals of Economic and Social Measurement", 4 (October-November, 1975).

standing social and cultural stances, will need to be tackled before the inputs can lead to the desired results.¹⁰ It is possible to add a set of similar issues, which at each stage can thwart the quest for productivity and development of agriculture.

Several studies in the recent past have also highlighted the interplay of administrative procedure and organisation setting as an important variable in this task. The large number of organisations available for these tasks do not always ensure appropriate and timely coordination, with the result that there is avoidable duplication, waste and delay. If this organisational aspect is a problem, the inputs could be *managed*, thereby implying a sharp shift in the traditional stance of administration. To enlarge the analogy, it can be visualized that the *management* of agriculture ought to be the style of administration of this sector and State administrations should come forward and react with adaptability to accept this proposition and thus provide a framework and impetus for improving State administration in this critical sector.

TECHNOLOGY AND ORGANISATIONAL CHANGE

As an elaboration, mention may be made here of the interrelated area of the introduction of technology and the corresponding organisational change with particular reference to agriculture. The experience of the developed countries suggests that the acceptance and introduction of technology are a prime reason for ensuring the requisite organisational change—the logical assumption being that organisations must change before they will accept and practice a new technology.* This has led to a set of situations where it has been possible to prepare organisations for the change implicit in the introduction of new technology. There is evidence to suggest that organisational resistance to the change, implicit in the introduction of new technology, can seriously disrupt production gains and even lead to dysfunctional situations. At the level of State administration it is a moot question to what extent the introduction of technology has been attempted with a clear, prior understanding and concern for organisational change. A cautious view can be taken that even if there was awareness of this correlation, there are not discernible decisions to suggest that new organisational designs and structures were conceived as part of the process of the organisational change flowing out of the introduction of new technology. In fact, evidence to the contrary asserts that either organisational structures were replicated or allowed to continue unchanged, irrespective of the introduction of technology. These issues

¹⁰For a detailed treatment see: Hunter, Guy, "The Administration of agricultural development: Lessons from India", London, Oxford University Press, 1970.

* For discussion of this theme in the Indian context see Edward A. Kieloch, 'Innovation in Administration and Economic Development', *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. XII, No. 3, July-Sept. 1966.

become more dominant in the State administration of a subject such as agriculture where the impact of technology is assuming a more and more dominant role and in fact has emerged as the key determinant of higher productivity.¹¹ Therefore, a deep study of this correlation could well form a key area for improving State administration.

The problem of organisational change and the introduction of new technology is equally relevant to a more basic question, namely, the pattern of organisation as a vehicle of State administration. Without going into the historical perspective and evolution of State administration before Independence, it can be noted that organisations in State administration normally portray characteristics which are peculiar to 'formal' organisations.¹² Contemporary research in this area indicates a series of related in-built advantages and disadvantages in the broad category of formal and informal organisations. The burden of the findings stipulate that in complex and fast emerging developmental administration, formal organisations may be inherently constrained in achieving their goals. At the level of individuals, forming part of the formal organisation, the extent of the strain is fairly well-recognised. Individuals report experiencing frustration because their self-expression is blocked. They also experience failure because they are not permitted to define their goals or the paths to these goals in relation to central needs. They experience short-term perspectives and even conflict, because of a feeling that a change of job situations may not result in a different task configuration. Because of the implied degree of dependence and subordination, the directive element in administration also increases along with controls. In extreme situations there is even individual withdrawal, lack of involvement and alienation as a form of defence mechanism against the formal organisation. Conversely, a similar pattern of lack of fulfilment is in evidence in higher administrative levels also, who may feel curbed by limited authority, under-utilisation of abilities, hierarchical controls and a relatively non-participative administration style. Evidently, these will lead to inter-personal difficulties and distort organisational behaviour and goal achievement.

Some recent research studies state that a set of points for intervention can be established to secure the desired change at the organisation level and prepare it to meet the new pressures of change, with adaptation. It has been noted that organisational change as a deliberate activity requires a theory to guide the selection of points of intervention. Attempts to change organisations by changing individuals alone have been heavily criticised, and currently the practitioners are stressing the importance of developing approaches that

¹¹Ch. Hanumantha Rao, *Technological Change in Distribution of Gains in Indian Agriculture*, New Delhi, Macmillan of India, 1975.

¹²See for discussion, Richman, Barry M. and Farmer, Richard N., *Management and Organisations*, New York, Random House, 1975.

are focussed upon the *whole organisation* as a functioning entity. In this background, planned organisational change will proceed by identifying and manipulating variables which are most readily controlled. As an illustration, the suggested intervention points¹³ are:

- (a) *Tasks* which refer to the objective of the organisation.
- (b) *Technology* which is the requirement for the organisation at a point of time and will go beyond equipment, plant, and buildings because changes in technology might arise indirectly from changes in tasks or directly through improved methods of production. The existence of one form of technology will, therefore, be bound to determine the range of tasks.
- (c) *Structure*, referring to systems of authority, work flow, information systems, coordination and communication. Areas of centralised decision-making and established methods of problem-solving would be relevant.
- (d) *People* who constitute the organisation including their attitude and expectations, their extent of involvement and their appreciation of the extent of change implied as an adjustment to changes in task, technology or structure.

It must be stressed that these intervention points are highly inter-dependent, so a change in one may almost certainly force a change in the other leading to a situation of associated change of strategy.

The merit of stipulating these intervention points is manifold. They suggest the possibilities for multiple points of entry to secure organisation change. They also pin-point that whatever may be the limitation in isolating these points, they do open a positive direction for improving administration. This becomes particularly relevant when one is attempting to analyse the vast complex field of State administration and the directions for improvement. A score of guidelines and milestones will be needed and as an initial intervention strategy, the points mentioned above may provide the start for improving administration at an aggregate level—the State level.

It will be necessary to take note of the dissatisfaction with traditional bureaucratic styles of administration in coping with the problems of development and change, which today face State administration. Students of public policy and political science suggest that administration is prone to be easily permeated with the evils of bureaucracy, implying thereby that if the

¹³Leavitt, H.J., in Cooper, et al, *New Perspectives in Organisational Research*, New York, Wiley, 1964.

administrators behave as bureaucrats they reflect all the dysfunctional features of bureaucracy.*

A writer on bureaucracy has even suggested that "nobody can be at the same time a correct bureaucrat and an innovator. Progress is precisely that which the rules and regulations do not foresee. It is necessarily outside the field of bureaucratic activities."¹⁴ There is even talk of debureaucratising administration, but we do not precisely know how administrative systems move from a conventional model towards a more adaptive organisational system. In the case of State administration, the relevance of the political and legal nature of decision-making can pose a problem for this transformation and since it is a reality, it cannot be wished away. If administration is 'a basic social technique' and implies the guidance, leadership and control of the efforts of a group of individuals towards some common goal, then, clearly, good administration will be one which enables the group to achieve its objectives with minimum expenditure of resources and effort and the least interference with other worthwhile activities.¹⁵ In this exercise, the combined pressure of achieving better results while dealing with more complex situations places a high premium on improvements in administrative ability. It is this conclusion which reinforces the need for introducing management techniques in order to improve State administration.

USE OF MANAGEMENT TECHNIQUES

The need for examining the application of modern management approaches and techniques for improving State administration can now be argued against the above background. According to many management theorists, the choice is not between using or not using the important resource of management in administration.¹⁶ Their use is imperative, if Government has to play a meaningful role directed towards economic and social change. The real issue is, to what extent will administration pro-act to promote the use of management in a judicious systematic and dynamic way or continue to operate in outdated styles. The relevance for using management approaches

* Bureaucracy has been recognised as a misused concept; for a workable basis there are different approaches to be examined but Hall's formulation appears worthy of note. See R. Hall, "The Concept of Bureaucracy: Its Empirical Assessment", *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 69, No. 1, July 1963.

¹⁴Ludwig Von Mise, *Bureaucracy*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1944, p. 67.

¹⁵William Newman, *The Administration Action*, Prentice-Hall, 1965.

¹⁶"Inter-regional Seminar on the Use of Modern Management Techniques in the Public Administration of Developing Countries.", Oct-Nov. 1970, Vol. II: Technical Papers, United Nations, 1971.

and techniques in State administration can be further pressed on a number of reasons, e.g.,

(1) Science and technology cannot be harnessed to the pursuit of all-round national development without the support of sophisticated organisation and effectively planned management systems.

(2) Development planning which is today accepted as a major element of State administration cannot be attempted without a number of conceptual, analytical and other tools and techniques.

(3) Design and installation of selected planning and control systems and techniques is essential for efficient management or regulation of a wide range of state enterprises—social commercial or industrial, and

(4) Social welfare programmes for sizable weaker sections of society can only be administered and successfully monitored with the help of management systems.

To take an overall look, any State administration may find it difficult to effectively accomplish the above areas without appropriate management systems and the supporting range of analytical skills.

A planned acceptance and introduction of management techniques in administration will have a number of related benefits also. In the vast field of State administration, management approaches can generate emphasis on creativity, innovation and acceptance of *change*. While much progress has been made, there is also evidence of increasing concern with both the rate and degree of developmental change. From the standpoint of management, it is possible to highlight the reality of obsolescence of individuals, their thinking styles and the organisations they represent. In a positive sense, the techniques and approaches can enthuse State administration systems to learn to live and cope with complexity. It must be realised that organisations and individuals in any part of administration, if overwhelmed by change or complexity are unlikely to make their contribution to the current requirements by economic and social development.

ROLE OF TRAINING

In the context of these tasks eventually designed to improve State administration the role of planned training as an input can hardly be over-emphasized. It is increasingly accepted that training can provide effective intervention for upgrading levels of performance of individuals and thereby of organisations. This premise can be effectively extended to the larger objective of improving State administration. The Government's interest and commitment to training of its public personnel is today well-known.¹⁷ The

¹⁷See for example, the Prime Minister's Address at the Annual Meeting of the Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi, Oct. 22, 1971.

five year plans have stressed training as a desirable ingredient for accelerating the process of national development.¹⁸ At the State level, a series of administrative reforms commissions, instituted in the last two decades have unequivocally stressed the need for training of State personnel for improving State administration.¹⁹ Against this emerging acceptance of training there is also an increasing awareness on the part of the public personnel that they *need* training for improving performance, since they have necessarily to operate and survive in an environment which is dominated by an explosion of new knowledge and new skills.²⁰ Public personnel at various levels in administration today accept that training—formal as well as informal—alone can help them face the threat of obsolescence which can take place before their official superannuation. A number of State Governments have set up extensive training institutions which are doing a commendable task of providing training to a wide range of State personnel. Some of these institutions have done exceptional work and have to their credit standard publications and journals which periodically communicate the quality and quantity of their efforts.²¹ The Department of Personnel and Administrative Reforms in the Central Government has provided an equally valuable leadership role and strengthened the process of training of public personnel.

However, at the level of State administration, there is need to take a fresh look and develop a two prong short term strategy for training. Firstly, there is need for a planned exercise of identification of training needs. It is well known that public personnel in the State administration display an unusual diversity of background, experience and skills. In large States, they are also geographically distributed in wide areas and that reduces professional interaction. Opportunities for formal training needed for large numbers of public personnel are equally limited and the supporting component of on-the-job training is not infrequently up to the desired level needed for individual and institutional development. There is, therefore, need for a careful exercise of identification of needs to cover, as extensively as possible, State organisations and development functions. In the absence of an individual based analysis of needs, a group based approach can be followed with advantage.²² Several

¹⁸Training Division, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India, "Five Year Plans Training", Training Monograph No. 1, 1969.

¹⁹Ibid., "State Administrative Reforms Commission on Training", Training Monograph No. 7, 1970.

²⁰A.P. Saxena, "Training and Development in Government", The Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi, 1974.

T.N. Chaturvedi, *Public Service and Modern Challenges : Need for Continuing Education*, Training Abstracts 10, Training Division, Government of India, 1970 (mimeo).

²¹See for example, The bi-annual journal, *Development Policy and Administration Review*, published by the State Institute of Public Administration, Jaipur.

²²A.P. Saxena, "Identification of Training Needs : A Group Approach", *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. XX No. 1, Jan-March, 1974.

departments in the State Governments are adopting this approach and there is no reason why it should not become an important plank of the identification exercise.

Secondly, it is important that need-based plans for the training of public personnel are prepared for State administration. A training plan is visualised here as a statement of training requirements, which will reflect both short and long range training objectives designed to solve the immediate or anticipated problems of State administration. A good need-based plan would rank training needs in priority and include an estimate of resources required to meet the predicted needs. It will be seen that a plan which states needs and resources can indeed be a useful tool for improving the State administration. Besides, the availability of a need-based plan will have a number of other advantages as well. It will kill *ad hocism*, which is in evidence in the performance of training functions. It will generate a useful input for career development planning and can be eventually linked to overall manpower planning. It can also be evaluated. If the plan is prepared in the background of an earlier identification need exercise, it will also help public personnel to improve their present performance; it will assist them reach their full potential and prepare them to meet the challenges of technology and change. Above all, it will provide the personnel with an adequate input of knowledge and skills necessary to perform certain functions which are relatively unique to the emerging profile of State administration. A need-based training plan will thus assist in fulfilling pre-determined needs and in achieving the objectives of training. It will equip the State institutions to design and forecast available training programmes in the context of the new challenges before the State administration.

..... THE SEARCH

It must be acknowledged that the pattern of State administration has reflected equally positive changes indicating genuine concern for efficiency and improvement. There is also evidence of confidence to cope with unforeseen challenges which keep on recurring. Almost continuously, procedural and structural adjustments are also being suggested to upgrade the capability of State administration to face the current urge for all round development. These are undoubtedly encouraging signs, but yet they point to a continuing question, whether administrative improvement is to be achieved through short-term, *ad-hoc* arrangements or by more deep-rooted solutions. Some time back, the Prime Minister suggested: "What we need, therefore, is revolution in the administrative system without which no enduring change can be brought about in any field." Today more than ever before, when all-out attempts are being made to push closer the streams of development to the weakest sections of the community, the administrative system must aspire to "reflect the individual's contribution to human welfare and economic gain". It

will be a challenging task for State administration to ensure that it is able to cope objectively, responsively and in *time* with the impulses of development processes which will dominate the content of administration in the next decade or even beyond and require high visibility in improvements at all levels in State administration. But while the issues are being analysed, it will be appropriate if there is a search for directions to secure, if possible, a congruence in the manifested goals of State administration. Let it be noted that there may not be *a* approach for improvement, instead there may be a range. It may, thus, be necessary to concurrently operate over a range to secure the validity of directions for improving State administration.

"It is unfortunate, but it is true in India and in other countries that when a programme is left entirely to the bureaucracy or to the administration, it does not always go along the lines or in the spirit in which it was envisaged.... If you want to eradicate evils from society, specially with regard to exploitation of women or children or evils of corruption or blackmarketeering, hoarding, malpractices by those who adulterate food or drugs or put up prices when there is no reason for them to go up, all these are things which Government can only know 'this has happened'. It is very difficult to know what a situation is in any *mohalla*, but if you are living in that *mohalla*, you are more likely to know who are the people who are doing wrong things. And that is the importance of the people feeling an involvement — that cleaning up society is just as important as cleaning our homes or the areas in which we live...."

INDIRA GANDHI

(*Address at the Reconstituted Social Welfare Board's Meeting, 1976.*)

ADMINISTRATIVE ASPECTS OF MARKETING IN TRIBAL AREAS

B.D. Sharma

CREDIT and marketing functions are perhaps the first two elements introduced in the earlier stages of economic development in a society, when it moves to a higher level of specialization and differentiation from a non-differentiated, self-sufficient and simple economic system. These are also the two elements which provide new contact points between the small community and the outside world. It is also, perhaps, through these two processes that the simple 'backward' communities are deprived of a substantial part of their surplus produce. Yet a deeper analysis of these processes remains to be done. The result is that concepts, which are applicable more appropriately to the advanced areas, are used in understanding the problems of the simple economies; some rough and ready measures are taken to help them and it is hoped that the simple economies will be substantially benefited. The results are not commensurate with the declared policies or even with the state effort involved. It is, therefore, necessary that these questions should get special attention and the distinguishing features of the simple societies are clearly identified. The analysis is particularly called for with reference to tribal areas which are still in the very first stage of their development. It is only on the basis of such understanding that a suitable strategy for action in these areas can be evolved. The present paper attempts to examine some of these aspects and give an outline of an action programme.

SPECIAL FEATURES OF THE TRIBAL ECONOMY

In the first instance, let us have a clear picture of the tribal economy so far as it is relevant to credit and marketing functions. This will help us in testing the validity of the approaches adopted so far and suggest a viable alternative. It may be noted at the outset that the levels of tribal economies vary considerably from one area to another and, therefore, the same analysis will not apply equally to all situations. However, it may still be possible to identify some common features. The 'idealised' situation may provide a broad direction for our effort. Therefore, a comparatively more backward tribal area will be taken for analysis in this paper so that the problems can be presented in greater relief. In those cases, where the conditions may have changed with the areas opening up the programmes could be suitably varied to that extent.

The tribal economy in a more backward region is largely undifferentiated and its structure is simple. As the demand for modern commodities themselves is very limited, occasions for exchange transactions are very few. In this socio-economic frame, most of the 'economic' transactions are within the community and are governed more by tradition and custom than by market considerations; there is a spirit of mutual help and 'value' of money is not very high. The lending, if any, between different members of the community is also governed by custom and, in most cases, interest has not appeared on the scene. In case loan is required for consumption purposes, no interest is charged. The logic of sharing some part of the nature's gift itself, when the loan is advanced for seed purposes may be found operating. However, there are generally no formalised systems.

Most of the transactions in different commodities are mutual and are in the nature of barter. The self-sufficient economy of small tribal communities does not have a substantial surplus to warrant establishment of even regular weekly markets. In fact, traders go from village to village with pack-animals or they may carry small merchandise personally. The business in each village is small. In the next stage of their economy, markets gradually begin to appear around religious ceremonies and places. They may be only yearly events. The people may look forward to these occasions for meeting all their 'needs' for the entire year. The frequency of such gatherings increases as the need for regular exchange grows and weekly markets are established on some of these spots. The size of the weekly markets and their geographical dispersal in an area, in fact, is a good indicator of the level of development of the region. In many tribal areas, permanent urban-type markets have not as yet developed and the weekly market is the only, and also the most important, economic institution. We can find the 'hangover' of this early stage of the economy in the more advanced areas where the weekly market economy can continue to co-exist with permanent shops for quite sometime till a town emerges with full specialisation of functions. Even in towns and metropolitan areas 'weekly markets' do tend to persist.

Another distinguishing feature of the tribal economy is that the trader, as a rule, does not belong to the tribal community. Money lending and trading skills are alien to these people. Trading and money lending are also not esteemed professions amongst the tribals; it is either an outsider or special groups, generally the scheduled castes, who specialize in these professions. Therefore, 'primary production' and 'exchange' not only represent two distinct sets of economic activities but they are also followed by two entirely different groups. The ways of the trade and its operation, therefore, remain a closed book to the tribal because none of his kind is adept in this profession.

The situation is further accentuated by the communication barrier.

There are two aspects of communication barrier, *viz.*, physical and socio-psychological. In these areas, road net-work is not developed; therefore, conditions of 'imperfect' market exist. The more important barrier is socio-psychological in which language plays an important role. The lending and trading operations, being monopolised by the alien groups, even whose language may be different, makes these operations exclusive and mysterious. In the more backward areas, information even when specially addressed to the tribals may not reach them because of the language barrier.

The relationship of the money-lender-cum-trader with the local community has some special features. It may be recalled that the concepts of ownership of land, value of money, etc., are not very clearly defined. The new contact gives rise to 'demand' for some new things. Sometimes the obligation to pay rent or some other tax may also create the need for money. Even introduction of liquor vending may induce demand for money. At this stage, the money-lender may intervene and 'help' the individual. Similarly, in his capacity as a trader, he may take from the tribal something which the tribal may consider 'useless' and, in exchange, may offer him something which the tribal considers 'valuable'. For example, the forest produce in excess of the tribal's immediate requirement is of no value to him but it may fetch a high market price outside. On the other hand, the mass produced goods, which are worthless but have fancy value, may be sought after and exchanged. If the same transactions are viewed from the tribal's side in the context of his complete ignorance of the modern world and its ways, they are innocuous. The trader appears to him as a friend in need. But the same very transactions, in a broader context, represent sometimes the worst forms of exploitation by the trader. The trader has the advantage of operating within this frame of the advanced areas. Therefore, he gradually consolidates his position and prospers.

In relation to money-lending also, the tribal does not see anything beyond the immediate future and to him the only thing which matters is the agreement between him and the money-lender. The concepts of 'exploitation' in money lending are much too sophisticated for him. His logic is simple—someone had helped in his time of need and, therefore, must repay him according to what has been promised. The same transaction when viewed in the context of overall socio-economic situation is 'exploitation'. Thus, the perception of the same relationship changes.

The money-lender in the tribal areas has the advantage of operating over a long period, perhaps, over generations. He acquires relationship akin to that of a permanent parasite with the host body which becomes used to its presence. The relationship becomes 'natural' and in the money lender's perception there is nothing unusual in this relationship. The dealings of the

money-lender-trader with the tribal are extremely informal. His only guarantee is the 'word' of the tribal and, therefore, his operations become extremely simple. He can cater to all his requirements because the operations are at a personal level. In fact, in some areas the trader-money-lender even goes through certain rituals for acquiring friendship bonds with some of the more influential tribals so that he becomes acceptable to them as a part of the system. Even in this 'game', the tribal plays his part with sincerity while the moneylender may be making only a pretence.

MARKETING — THE FORMAL STRUCTURE

We may now examine the marketing functions as are formally envisaged by the advanced economic and administrative system. State-sponsored operations through cooperatives, corporations or other bodies presume a number of conditions which hold good in the more advanced areas. One of the most important presumptions is the existence of a 'free market'. It is expected that once some agency offers a higher price for a commodity, the general market responds to this stimulus. In a tribal market, which is imperfect, this may not be necessarily true. The average trader is much too entrenched to allow normal marketing operations of either a cooperative society or other organizations to succeed. The traders also control numerous other facets in the complex marketing operation which make the choice of the seller rather extremely limited.

The second presumption is about perfect communication. Starting an operation or announcement of a price-support policy by itself may be considered adequate for dissemination of information. The tribal economies experience numerous barriers—both physical and of language. The language barrier is more important. It was noted earlier that there are two non-interesting sub-systems in the tribal economy. Therefore, dissemination of information through normal social inter-action is ruled out. Consequently, even when a State announces certain price policy, information may not reach the target groups. Sometimes, the form of communication itself may not be intelligible.

The third presumption is about the marketable surplus itself. In many tribal areas, where the trader is well entrenched, much of the produce may be sold even before it is harvested. Therefore, what is coming into the markets is not 'marketable surplus' but repayment of loan in commodity form.

TRIBAL MARKET—A COMPLEX SOCIO-ECONOMIC PHENOMENON

The tribal market is an extremely complex phenomenon which is distinct from the regulated agricultural markets or the bazaars in the urban and

semiurban areas catering to the numerous needs of the people. It is more in the nature of a social gathering where people from a given area come together and incidentally also make purchases and sales. Most of them may visit the market without any specific purpose. Each individual tribal may also have a long standing relationship with one or more traders and, therefore, he may just instinctively visit him on reaching the market. In some cases, he may even have a formal bond of friendship. He is offered a 'biri' or a betel, not necessarily in expectation of an immediate purchase but just to renew and strengthen the long understanding. It is interesting to note that an average tribal may hesitate to go to a *pucca* shop and prefer to flock around the temporary hut-type shops where he may freely sit and talk at ease. His behaviour is similar to a small town-man, going to a metropolis who finds himself lost in a posh shopping centre and is awe-struck by its very elegance. It is only gradually that a tribal can get used to a familiar *pucca* cooperative structure.

The timings of tribal markets are fixed over a long period, keeping in view the convenience of the tribal and the traders. For example, in the extremely hot climate of Konta in Bastar, a weekly market may come to full life even before the dawn and all transactions may be over before the sun is even warm so that people can reach their homes before it is too hot. The tribals start from their homes late in the evening, spend the night near the market place and begin their transactions in the early hours. On the other extreme, markets in some other areas may start in the afternoon, say, at three o'clock and finish by five in the evening. These markets operate like a clock. Through long experience, the appropriate time for starting to the market from each village is almost fixed. Just before the scheduled time of the market, all pathways leading to it suddenly come to life with an unending stream of men and women pouring into the market area almost from nowhere. The market also gets dissolved as suddenly as it had come into being.

The net-work of markets in the tribal areas is also defined according to the convenience of the trading community and the tribal clientele. The place and the days of the markets are generally fixed in such a fashion that there is a weekly calendar for the traders, keeping in view the distances to be covered, with perhaps a day of rest, which may also be used for replenishing the stocks. Thus, the trader with all his merchandise (may be, as head-loads, or on a bicycle, or on a cart) move from one market to another according to the fixed schedule. He is generally a multi-purpose man who may purchase or sell anything according to the conditions in a particular market. He is well-versed in the tribal dialect; he is a keen observer of their social customs and personal inclinations. He provides all their traditional needs and, in addition, may introduce one or more new commodities which may gradually find an assured place in the need schedule of the tribal.

The non-monetised economy of the tribal also has its implications for the weekly market. An average individual brings whatever he can (may be, a small quantity of rice, paddy, some vegetables, or minor forest produce) not for 'marketing' in the true economic sense of that term. He is still psychologically attuned to the idea of getting something which he needs in exchange for something which he can offer. In this way, he brings small measures of any of the numerous commodities which he may have at home, just enough to purchase the commodity which he may be needing at that moment like salt, *biri*, kerosene oil, etc. Therefore, the commodity which he brings is a form of ready 'cash' with him which he offers in the market. This use of agricultural produce can also be seen even in the more advanced rural areas where regular shops have been established. Hundred per cent cash transactions are largely urban phenomena.

When the tribal reaches the market, in the first instance he tries to exchange what he brings with what he needs, particularly when he wishes to purchase items like salt where the exchange rates are known over a long period and are understandable to him. He, of course, cannot exchange many commodities like vegetables with the items he needs; therefore, he must sell them. Consequently, his first concern after reaching the market is to convert his 'commodity cash' into 'money cash' so that he can make the necessary purchases. Therefore, in effect, 'money' appears at two points in what is really 'one' barter transaction. And, he may be a loser in both dealings. Sometimes, he may bring small quantities of some commodities for regular sale as well, i.e., he may be interested in ready cash. Here also, he is generally guided by his short term money needs. He does not bring everything he has and unload it on the market simply because a certain price is being offered.

All transactions for cash in a tribal market, whether it is meant for being spent in the market or taken back home, are in very small quantities. But the total turnover becomes sizable because of a very large number of persons involved. The sum total of transactions in a weekly market may be phenomenal. These large number of transactions are handled by equally numerous traders. Each trader may do only a small business but he generally has a bigger margin of profit. Although the over-heads for an average trader are extremely small, the range of his activities is quite wide and almost the entire week is used for a continuous chain of transactions at numerous markets. Thus, he is able to break even and make a profitable business out of the 'petty' transaction.

Another important feature of the tribal market is a well established long chain of intermediaries. The individual who actually transacts business with the tribal is the last man in this long chain. This individual himself may be a tribal or a local person belonging to the village, may be, belonging to a

scheduled caste. He makes purchases as an agent of a petty shopkeeper who himself may be working under the instruction of a small trader. The big merchants in urban centres in these areas keep themselves only to the final purchase from the smaller traders who in turn may or may not operate directly in the weekly market. It is generally their agents, the petty shopkeepers, who get instructions about the market trends in various commodities and are indicated the upper and lower limits for the actual purchase in the market by the smaller traders who risk their own capital but finally depend on the wholesaler in the urban centres.

KOCHIA—THE KING-PIN OF THE TRIBAL MARKET

The petty traders in the weekly markets operate through what are known as *kochias*, who are given a definite rate at which to purchase and are also given advance of money. The margin given to these *kochias* is extremely small. Their main source of profit is what they can corner by further depressing the price below the trader's price, by under-weighment and by under-payment through wrong calculations. The *kochias* may even fan out in the villages and operate there for the whole week under instructions of the petty trader. They advance money to the tribal with the understanding that delivery will be made in the market. In these cases, purchase is already effected in the village. The price actually given can be much below the market price. Even on the market day, the *kochias* try to make purchases outside the market. They perch themselves along the foot-paths leading to the market place from different directions, even up to two to three miles. The quality of their dealings in these isolated places, away from the market place, can be anything. In many cases, it may be sheer use of force; weighment and payment are made on a rough and ready basis, obviously to the disadvantage of the tribal. The innumerable transactions of these numerous middle men are sorted out at the end of the market by the traders who clear their accounts, take delivery of goods, make arrangements for storage or transport, as the case may be. Thus, the long market day ends with a substantial margin for everyone.

The traditional measures, which provide a rough and ready basis for barter transactions, still continue to be the main instrument of purchase and sale operations in the tribal markets. Strictly speaking, they are illegal. But there is another aspect of these transactions which is noteworthy. When the tribal is dealing in terms of his well-known measures he is on surer ground. For example, in many areas tamarind is exchanged for salt. The tribal knows that he has been getting salt equivalent to two measures of flowered tamarind. He is not so much concerned about the fluctuations in the market price of either of the two commodities, viz., salt and tamarind, so long as his exchange rate is not disturbed. The margin of profit of the trader is also so large that he

tries, as far as possible, to maintain a fixed exchange rate. The changes in these barter rates are also in gross terms. For example, if there is a small variation in the price, the trader may not be inclined to fix the new exchange rate at 1.8 or 2.2 measures instead of two. He may prefer to 'absorb' the 'loss' or the 'profit' in his usual 'margin' and may change the figure to 2.5 or 1.5 at an appropriate time. These numbers can also be easily explained to the tribal and he may understand them equally well.

The modern weights, on the other hand, are much too refined for the understanding of the tribal. Below one kilogram weight he may be able to appreciate one-half or one-fourth of a kilogram, but other weights, fraction of a kg., may not have much meaning to him. He may also not be in a position to have a clear count of numerous weights which may be used, for example, to weigh 7 kg. Therefore, in these transactions he is entirely dependent on the trader if he prefers to weigh his produce. The rates of various commodities in money terms are also not in round figures. Small variations like 83 paise per kg. instead of 80 paise or 96 paise per kg. instead of one rupee may not be appreciated by him. It is beyond his calculating capacity to arrive at the correct price of what he sells or what he purchases if the transaction is in terms of such odd figures per kg. Therefore, he is completely in the hands of the trader and has to depend on him for his final payment.

The new weights have also not so far reached the tribal villages in ample numbers so as to enable him to do his own weighing before he comes to the market and bring commodities in exact quantities. In fact, he has been doing such exercises with reference to the measures with which he is familiar. The tribal women even prepare their own baskets, etc., of standard sizes which may be exact multiples of the well-known measures for specific commodities like paddy. Therefore, when she brings paddy for sale, she takes exact multiples of traditional measure to the market. When the trader pays her, either in cash or in terms of other commodities, she is able to argue in case she thinks she is underpaid.

These traditional measures are now illegal and, therefore, cannot be used in the market. The trader, however, takes with him the traditional measures also besides the new weights. Whenever an inspecting official appears in the market, the illegal measures are withdrawn and transactions are shown to be conducted in terms of legal weights. In fact, for the temporary period of the visit of an official, there is a lull in the market and everyone waits for his departure. The tribal also understands the situation and makes no fuss during this period. In the new context, therefore, even the earlier state check on the traditional measures used by the traders has been discontinued and the trader finds himself in a much better position. The trader usually is said to have two sets of measures—a larger one for purchases and a

smaller one for sales. The tribal is a loser on both counts; he can argue in vain because there is no one on his side in the market.

OPERATIONS OF COOPERATIVES

It is, thus, clear the tribal market is a complex phenomenon. In such a situation, the attempt to influence the market through purchases by multi-purpose cooperative societies has some inherent limitations. Each cooperative institution has its own jurisdiction and each one is an independent entity. Each market centre, therefore, is served by one such institution. These institutions, at the best, may have one full-time paid secretary assisted by a weighman, a store keeper and a chowkidar. Even this staff complement is much too liberal and is not available in most of the institutions. Each individual member of the staff has a well defined function. In the marketing operations in the tribal areas by any such institution a number of problems arise. The more important ones can be summarised as follows:

(i) Since the quantum of average transaction in the market is *small* and the capacity of a single institution to handle the *number* of transactions is limited, an upper limit to the volume of business by a single institution is automatically imposed.

(ii) A society may not be in a position to undertake all 'money conversion' transactions in a large variety of commodities which the tribal brings as his 'cash' to the market.

(iii) The time-span of a market is extremely short and the tribal is in a hurry to complete all his transactions as quickly as possible so that he is free to return to the village in time. This fact puts a severe constraint on the effectiveness of any single institution operating in the market.

(iv) A society is obliged to deal only in legal weights which may not be acceptable to the tribal.

(v) The procedure of the society may require the persons in charge to meticulously calculate the price to the nearest paisa, which itself is a time-consuming process whereas the trader can do with rough and ready calculations. Keeping full account of each transactions also further slows down the pace of business and limits the total quantum of turn-over.

(vi) The society may have no manoeuvrability in terms of price offered for various commodities keeping in view the trends on any of the market days. The traders may outwit the society by nominally offering a higher price

but making good in under-hand dealings or taking it as a calculated business risk to oust a competitor for maintaining their own hold.

The state operations also suffer from the handicap that decision-making regarding the fixation of sale and purchase price, etc., rests far away from the point of operations. Sometimes, even authorities at the district headquarters may find it difficult to give the necessary direction. The inaccessibility of the tribal areas and the poor communications net-work make difficult even the transmission of decisions already taken at the higher level to the operational points. The marketing operations, therefore, are conducted in a straight-jacket. The individual on the spot is not equipped to deal with any odd situation which may arise. For example, if there is heavy arrival of certain commodities on a particular occasion the institution may run short of funds and the tribal may have nowhere else to go. He may, therefore, have to return without selling it or may have to give it away to the trader at a low price. The confidence relationship, which can get built up over a long period, may be lost in no time if the tribal goes dissatisfied from one market where he had come in the hope of a better deal. He may never trust the institution again.

The state-level organizations generally treat the tribal areas *at par* with the advanced areas notwithstanding the fact that there are longer roads, higher transportation charges, poorer communications, slower turn-over and less effective supervision. This makes the task of marketing still more difficult. The burden of all these factors ultimately falls on the price at which the commodities are purchased from or sold to the tribal. The organisational structure is much too formalised to be effective in the very informal situation of the tribal economy where the tribal is more influenced by personal attention rather than by meticulous calculation to the last paisa.

AGENT-TRADER IN ANOTHER FORM

When the marketing institutions are unable to bring home the special difficult situations in the areas to those at higher levels, there is a tendency to try some short-cuts. Here we come across the well-known phenomenon of intermediate goals displacing the final goals. In a formalised system of state-sponsored or cooperative institutions, it is quite natural to expect that the entire operation should be examined in terms of profit and loss of the institution and its balance sheet. It is presumed that the level of transactions of the institutions indicates the level of benefits accruing to the tribals since the institution itself has been organised for that purpose. Therefore, there is continuous pressure from higher levels on the local institutions to increase their turn-over and coverage. In these circumstances, the field units begin to behave like small traders and take help of the agents. In many cases, when there is over concern for the size of transactions rather than their quality,

bestowing real benefits on the tribals, even the head offices may encourage and prod the field organisations to appoint agents for the purchase of various commodities. Since the capacity of the individual institution to handle the business directly is limited, this appears to them to be the only way even to break even. It is presumed that these agents will work on behalf of the society and will be content with the margin which is allowed to them under the rules.

The agent, in effect, is the trader in another form. In these arrangements the contact-point between the tribal and the trader, *viz.*, the *kochia* or the petty trader himself, remains unchanged. It is only the channel beyond the effective 'marketing point' which is altered. Once the basic principle of direct dealing with the tribal is sacrificed, the society may not even take the trouble of having a direct contact with the numerous *kochias* who, in their turn, procure from the tribal. The society may be satisfied to deal with petty traders, whose number is small and who have a personal relationship with the *kochias*. The result is that the Government agency or the cooperative society may 'record' a sizable business in the evening when the petty traders unload on them whatever they consider will be in their interest. They may still like to funnel the more profitable items through the normal trade channels. The turnover of the society increases. Any shortcomings in the quality of commodities are ascribed to the impossible situation of their being theoretically required to have an effective control on a large number of transactions. The fact, however, is that the quality defects are the direct result of trader's involvement. The overall accounts of marketing in the tribal areas show an appreciable 'rise', yet the tribal remains where he was. The margin between what the tribal actually gets and what the society actually pays is shared by the *kochia*, the petty trader and the petty official.

The attempt to adopt a sectoral specialised single organisation approach to the tribal market, which is an extremely complex socio-economic phenomenon, is the basic reason for the divergence between the form and reality described above. We will have to wait for these tribal markets to grow into specialised functional organizations of advanced areas if they are to be regulated by the general laws on marketing of agricultural produce. These markets can be expected to be amenable to market forces only at that stage when communication barriers wear out and market transactions become purely economic transactions. At the moment, we are faced with the problem of transition which needs to be tackled. Most of these markets are not even sufficiently developed to be properly designated as 'commodity markets' and brought within the ambit of laws on agricultural marketing. It will be somewhat rash to conclude that in these circumstances, the remedy lies in extending provisions of agricultural marketing regulations to all the weekly markets of tribals. It will mean super-imposition of a highly sophisticated

concept to a varied and undifferentiated tribal economy. It may have the merit of forcing the pace of change in the tribal's method of marketing and make the period of transition shorter. But, with the same token, the immediate problem of the tribal will get accentuated. Such a solution only means insistence on keeping the structural frame intact and expecting the tribal to change and adapt himself to the needs of the organisation. If the tribal is to be helped, it is the organisation which should adapt itself to his needs keeping in view the present limits to his accepting the change.

It is, thus, clear that a single organisation model is unsuitable to tackle the marketing problems of the tribal areas. It will now be necessary to look for the compensating features inherent in the tribal scene which may help in evolving a different pattern. The most important feature, which distinguishes the tribal economies from the advanced areas, is the extremely narrow and circumscribed area of exchange economy in their system. Most of the tribal relationships are defined at the social plane. The purely 'economic' transactions in this economy are confined to a few hours per week at the market place. The general urban economic scene stands in contrast at the other extreme where, except for the limited working life of an individual and his personal life, everything else is governed by market forces. Economic transactions continue throughout the day and are co-extensive with the entire geographical territory. If we consider the possibilities of influencing the two economic systems, obviously it will be much easier to be effective in the simple tribal situation than in the advanced areas. This is notwithstanding the fact that the concept of 'economic' life itself is different in the two situations. Economic life, in the advanced areas, is a net-work of non-personal relationship with predictable results. As the tribal relationships are qualitatively different and are more at a personal level, they are not amenable to manipulation by the operations at single points.

ROLE OF ADMINISTRATION—CONCEPTUAL DIFFERENCE

Another noteworthy feature is the difference in the role of administration in the two situations. The administration in the advanced areas is invisible infrastructure; various economic forces tend to balance one another and the administration remains a neutral force in the background. In the tribal areas, on the other hand, the administration has a special responsibility. It has to ensure that the modern economic forces do not operate adversely against the tribal communities. The cooperative structure is basically an instrument to help the producer and the consumer against the middleman and ensure that the producer gets the maximum return and the consumer pays the minimum price. We have already noted the inherent weakness of a single institutional structure for effectively handling the complex socio-psychological and economic forces in the tribal areas. Therefore, administration acquires a special role in these areas for achieving the same goals.

The special responsibility of the administration, thus, is clear. Now, it is necessary to assess the inherent strength of the administrative structure itself which can be used in the special condition of the tribal areas. Let us again have a look at the cooperative marketing institution in a tribal market. If this institution is viewed in isolation, it is a weak single-unit. But if it is taken as a part of larger administrative infrastructure, notwithstanding certain differences in basic essentials from other administrative organs, it acquires a new perspective. In any given area, there are a number of Government and semi-Government functionaries working in different capacities in different organisations. We have seen elsewhere that many of the specialised organisations in these sparsely populated areas do not usually have full workload for their numerous functionaries. Economic development is central to all other state activities in the tribal areas. Within the economic activities themselves, elimination of exploitation is of highest importance. All economic transactions in a given region take place in the weekly markets; it is here that exploitation in various forms gets manifested. It is, therefore, logical that the market place should become the main concern of administration and marketing should become the central point for administrative action. As already explained, these crucial activities are circumscribed within a few hours every week. Therefore, if the administration were to use its strength, thinly spread in its numerous wings, it may require the services of a particular individual functionary only for half a day in a week at the most. In fact, the administrative manpower is so large in these areas that, at any given time, only a fraction of the total available personnel may be required.

Another view could be that instead of trying to tackle the problem in such a round about fashion, the central organisation itself may be strengthened which could deploy its total resources at any desired point whenever the need arises. It has to be remembered in this connection that the administration may not be able to acquire the manoeuvrability of an average trader and work in a region through a weekly schedule without stop. The trader works with minimum overheads and devises make-shift arrangements. But an organisation requires elaborate supporting services to achieve the same end. Any break-down at any point may disrupt its entire chain. Moreover, it must be accepted that no single organization by itself can compete with hundreds of traders in an area unless it is supported by an equally strong alternative network. It is only the administration which has a decided advantage provided it decides to break narrow sectoral barriers and acts like one multipurpose organisation with a clear task to perform. This is not the only occasion when such an approach is necessary. The administration does behave as a single unified force during crisis situations like famine, floods, levy operations and during census operations and elections.

Successful marketing operations during the transitional phase of the

tribal economy is a very high priority programme. In the context of the present tribal situation, it can be equated to any crisis situation in advanced areas. It may be made clear that total deployment of administration is not a permanent arrangement but has to be the first major thrust for administrative action in these areas. It is reported from a number of tribal regions that for various reasons there is lack of confidence between the administration and the people. Confidence can be regained only by certain massive programmes which can be understood by an average tribal and which can be expected to benefit a large population. A successful marketing operation satisfies all the necessary conditions to qualify as a confidence building programme. The extent of exploitation of the tribal in marketing may be of the order of 50 per cent or so. Therefore, arrangements for purchase of his agricultural and minor forest produce, ensuring minimum price, is likely to make substantial addition to the individual income. Therefore, an average tribal will be able to appreciate the benefits of state intervention. Since every tribal brings some commodity or the other for sale, therefore, such an operation is capable of touching every single tribal within one agricultural season itself. This programme has another distinguishing feature. Most of the other economic programmes benefit the more advanced communities and the more advanced areas particularly in the earlier phases of their implementation. In a price support operation, it is the more backward areas which benefit most because it is here that the prices are highly manipulated by the trader, heavy transportation costs further depress them.

STRENGTH OF THE STRUCTURE

The state operation in a large area has an added advantage of a big operator which can be successfully used to eliminate the middleman from the more backward areas. The quantum of marketable surplus in agricultural commodities is larger in the more advanced areas but comparatively small in the less advanced areas. For an individual trader operating in the interior, the overhead costs of transporation, etc., therefore, are very high. On the other hand, if a single organisation operates on a large scale, the transportation costs can be pooled whose benefit will go substantially to the backward area. The individual trader is, thus, automatically at considerable disadvantage and cannot compete in the more interior areas. Therefore, state operations can be effective in those regions without any difficulty. In the more advanced areas, the administration can afford to have better supervision and force the trading community into fair competition ensuring minimum price both through state operations and through private trade.

In relation to minor forest produce, the position is somewhat different. A larger share of minor forest produce comes from the more backward areas where the tribals depend substantially on the forest and its produce. But the

administration has an added advantage in the case of minor forest produce. There is a greater element of control because the commodities come from the state-owned forests. These commodities have a limited number of out-lets which can be easily supervised and controlled. Operations on a larger scale result in a number of other economies and it is possible to plough back the benefit from trading and processing of minor forest produce to the tribal, effectively eliminating the petty trader from this area.

SECTION II

IMPORTANT STEPS FOR SUCCESSFUL MARKETING OPERATIONS

The analysis of the tribal situation with special reference to the weekly markets shows that organisation of a successful marketing operation is within the realm of feasibility provided administration does not treat marketing as an isolated economic activity and, on the other hand, appreciates its role as the pivot of the entire tribal economy, particularly in the first phase of its contact with the outside world and in the early stages of its development. Marketing is also one of the few cases where a programme can be formulated with a clear definition of the objective. The administration should gear itself to accomplishing of the task, drawing upon whatever resources are available to it and making the best use of them with suitable modifications, adaptations and make-shift arrangements, wherever necessary.

In defining this task, the first essential step will be to fix the minimum price for specific commodities. Secondly, the points at which this minimum price will be effectively enforced, *viz.*, the places where the administration will make adequate arrangements for purchase at that minimum price, will have to be specified. All the weekly markets in the tribal areas should be the obvious choice. Some of the nominal markets could be left out on operational considerations while some non-market centres could be added to in more sparsely populated areas.

Having identified the commodities, fixed the prices and specified the points of operation, suitable arrangements for purchase will have to be made. As already stated, no single organization will be able to undertake this rather difficult task. Therefore, it will be necessary to draw upon the entire strength of the administrative network. There are two aspects of the marketing operation which will need to be clearly distinguished, *viz.*, (i) the central activity of trading, and (ii) the supporting services. The central trading activity comprises elements like flow of money to the market, purchase of commodity in the market and back-flow of commodities purchased. The supporting function to this central activity will comprise physical operation of purchase in the

market, regulating the activity of other traders in the market and providing help in weighment of commodity, payment of cash, keeping the accounts till the end of the day, etc. The central trading activity in any area must be the responsibility of one organization. The supporting services should be provided by the administration as a whole. Similarly, in any market the central function should be the responsibility of the key-functionary of the concerned organization, while the supporting activities may be assigned to other administrative personnel drawn from the region. Special teams could also be organized for a region which could be deployed according to the need in any market.

One of the important supporting functions is to bring all the transactions effectively within the market area. All transactions on the weekly market day outside the weekly market area should be disallowed. It may be clarified that it is not necessary, nor perhaps desirable, to declare the market place as agricultural market yard. Instead, suitable regulation may be framed specially for the weekly markets.

OFFICERS-IN-CHARGE OF MARKETS

If the marketing operation is successfully organised, the turnover in an average market may be extremely heavy, requiring large in-flow of cash and out-flow of commodities. A large work force of administrative personnel may need to be deployed. The quantum of turnover in all the markets may vary considerably. Therefore, it will be useful if all the markets are categorised according to the likely size of operation in selected commodities. A senior officer should be declared as the officer-in-charge for the bigger market whose duty should be to oversee the operations and ensure their successful completion. He should be the trouble shooter for marketing operations and should have adequate powers for the purpose, which could be informal. It may be necessary to draw upon officers of various departments including the forest department for performing this crucial function once in a week in a given area. Since the number of markets having large turnover is likely to be limited, the requirement of senior officers is not likely to be large. Medium sized and smaller markets could be assigned to junior officers. The responsibility in respect of each market should be clearly fixed. Thus, an officer, other than the functionary of the central organization, should be in overall charge of each market while the central organization itself will be responsible for the actual marketing operations. In this way, it will be possible to have a cross-check and ensure a fair deal in marketing. One of the important duties of the officer-in-charge has to be to effectively eliminate the possibility of marketing operations in reality being conducted through middle-men in various forms merely with a formal cover of cooperative or state operation. Employment of agents in any form should be prohibited, if necessary, by a suitable regulation in these

areas and must be treated as the worst offence punishable with severe penalties.

Since price-support operations are likely to ensure a much higher price than what the tribal is used to, one of the effective steps for eliminating the trader is dissemination of knowledge about the new rates. Special efforts should be made to tell the people in advance the new rates through hand-bills in the local dialects, through teachers and through beat of drums in weekly markets. The price once announced should not be changed unless it is absolutely essential. Once the fixed price gets known, the tribal will begin to expect it and can assert in the market. He is confused with fluctuations in the market. Therefore, if prices are not fixed, he may never know whether the price he has received was according to the instructions of the Government or he was cheated by a local manipulator.

The price must be communicated to him in terms which he understands. Although the purchase operations may be conducted in terms of metric weights, yet, if the tribal is used to traditional measures, the price must also be announced in terms of those measures in approximate terms. This will enable him to calculate the approximate money value of whatever he is bringing and he will be in a position to argue in case short payment is made. The prices in terms of traditional measures should also be publicised through all media well in advance.

A successful marketing operation, in many of the tribal areas, will be one of the first acts of trust by the state which can be understood by the tribal in concrete terms. This programme is likely to benefit every single tribal within one marketing season. If this opportunity is well utilised, a lasting relationship of faith between the tribal and those organisations which operate this scheme can be established. Therefore, there is an added responsibility on the administration to ensure that the tribal actually receives whatever is promised to him. Any violation of this promise must be severely dealt with.

If the administration decides to enter marketing on a large scale, one important fact will have to be clearly appreciated, *viz.*, success here will automatically mean effective withdrawal of a large number of traders from the market. These traders may try to fan out in the rural areas and re-appear with a cover in the same market and unload what they purchase in the villages. To some extent this may be unavoidable because the *kochia* in the tribal areas is almost indistinguishable from the tribal community. Even some of the bigger cultivators may take advantage of this new opportunity and try to make a margin. Even when allowance is made for all these subterfuges, it can be safely stated that the operation is bound to benefit directly a very large tribal population. The only effective antidote against such mal-

practices is the efficiency of the operation itself and ensuring a fair play in all transactions. The options which are open to the tribal in marketing should be known to him, *viz.*, if he sells the commodity in the village he can expect a certain price but if he goes to the weekly market and sells at a cooperative or Government shop he can get a higher price. If this is clearly understood, then any difference in prices offered to the tribal in the village by the *kochia* and in the market by the corporation, in a way, will represent the service charges of the trader which the tribal is willing to pay for not taking the trouble of carrying the commodity to the market. This position is in clear contrast to the present situation where a guild of traders has monopoly in the area and the tribal has no option but to sell his goods at prices dictated by them.

There are a number of other aspects which will also need to be kept in view while organising the purchase operations in these areas. As mentioned earlier, an average transaction is likely to be very small in size; an average tribal may be more interested in converting his 'commodity-cash' into 'money-cash' for making other purchases. This is particularly so in the case of women who are in a hurry to reach their homes and attend to their household chores. Therefore, satisfactory arrangements have to be made not only for the purchase of numerous commodities brought in small quantities by a very large number of persons, but the operations have to be so swift that all exchanges are finished well in time. If a tribal girl is required to wait for hours for handing in her commodity and getting cash, she may prefer to sell it at any price to the trader, purchase whatever she can and rush back to her home. These operations, therefore, stand in clear contrast to normal marketing operations in bigger lots where the farmer may be willing to wait even for days in the hope for a higher price. But the smaller quantities should not belittle the importance of these operations. Bulk of the surplus in agricultural and minor forest produce of the tribal areas is brought to the market in small quantities only. The tribal, perhaps, instinctively makes the right choice here—since he cannot handle large amounts, he feels on surer ground only in smaller dealings.

Successful operation will cast yet another responsibility on the administration. In due course, the other traders may withdraw from the marketing of those commodities in which the state may directly deal. The petty traders operating in weekly markets acts as agents of bigger traders. Therefore, they may not come with ready cash or even with any clear understanding for purchase of any of these commodities. In this context, the administration can ill-afford any lapse in the purchase of those commodities in which it has entered the market as a matter of policy. If the administration fails to appear on any one day or appears late in the day, the tribal may have to sell the commodity at throw-away price because the traders simply may have no ready cash or their stranglehold on the occasion may be complete. The situation

may be chaotic and the trader may make use of this 'minor' lapse to derive a wedge between the tribal and the administration. One single lapse may undo the entire earlier effort which may have helped in establishing a confidence relationship.

So many schemes have been taken up in so many areas at so many points of time without caring to follow them up assiduously that even a scheme like marketing, which has the potential of changing the economy of the tribal, may be viewed by the tribal with suspicion or, at the best, as a transient phenomenon. The strong point of the trader is his lasting relationship for years and, in many cases, for generations. Both the tribal and the trader have known each other for long whereas the experience with administration is intermittent; it is impersonal and its quality depends on the chance-personality of a particular official. The new effort, therefore, is likely to have all the handicaps of not too pleasant a background; it is only in the long run that a real mutual confidence relationship can be built up. If within one season itself the dependability of the new system is not hundred per cent, it will be difficult for the tribal to be persuaded to break his lasting relationship with the trader. Thus, in this programme by objectives, the central theme is purchase of the commodity in time, at a reasonable price, at specified spots, with predictable regularity and with at least some personal touch. This must be an unalterable matrix; everything else must get adjusted to the fulfilment of these specific tasks.

There is another pitfall in government operations against which necessary caution will need to be exercised. Even when the price of a commodity is fixed, variation is allowed for its quality. The quality checks prescribed in the rules can be easily applied to big lots using sampling techniques. Therefore, sometimes the purchasing organizations for their convenience may insist on a minimum quantity in each lot for purchase, say, a truck load. Such a stipulation effectively excludes the smaller cultivator even in advanced areas. The bigger cultivator and the trader in these cases collects small quantities from numerous cultivators and delivers it in prescribed lots at the purchase centres. In fact, such stipulations result in bringing down the quality of these commodities to the minimum acceptable levels. The trader himself may cause admixture if he finds that commodity which he has collected can bear it. He has all the time and resources for indulging in these misdeeds with impunity. He may try to pass on the commodities even below minimum standards.

It may be pointed out here that meticulous quality check cannot be applied to the small head loads brought by the tribals. If computation of price has to be made on a fine gradation of the quality, it can prove to be a big bottleneck and no operation in the tribal areas can succeed. It is also to be

noted that if it can be ensured that the middleman is not in the picture, the average tribal, who is not coming to the market for a commercial deal, will bring whatever he is producing. In fact, the tribal girl tries to bring the best quality commodity in the hope that she will get a better price. Therefore, rule-bound quality control is not necessary in these areas. The only important point is to eliminate the middleman who will always try to unload sub-standard commodities which he may purchase at much lower price. The intention here is not to make a plea for accepting anything which is brought by the tribal but a rough and ready system of gradation should be adopted for the large scale operations in these areas. The minimum price, which may be fixed, is generally likely to be quite high compared to what the tribal has been getting otherwise. Therefore, it will be good enough even if the tribal could be assured this price for his best quality. It will be better if two or, at the most, three gradations may be recognised for the purposes of pricing. The sub-standard things, which are obviously brought by the middle-men, should be rejected. Simple rules of thumb for gradation should be adopted if they have to be effective in a massive operation.

ORGANISATION OF HIGHER LEVEL OPERATIONS

While operations at the base-level are central to the scheme of marketing and will need to be meticulously planned, a suitable support system at the secondary and higher levels is equally important. The entire marketing system in a district or a small area like the Integrated Tribal Development Project, which is proposed to be covered by the operation, should be treated as one. A regular flow of cash from the apex to the weekly market and counter-flow of commodities from the weekly market to the apex is essential. Any interruption in this flow at any of the numerous points in the long chain can cause dislocation with severe consequences. Even a small lapse in the regularity and clock-like functioning required of the system is also likely to result in loosening of control and lack of accountability. Another important aspect of this operation is the involvement of a number of organisations. Its implications will need to be clearly appreciated. If each one of the participant organisations demands perfect compliance of its formal requirements before it is ready to take the next step, the cash flow commodity out-flow cycle can be disrupted at any time at the whim and fancy of any one of the numerous functionaries. Therefore, it is necessary to devise a well-knit system where each constituent is equally concerned about fulfilling the final goal. This may become easier if the operations beyond the weekly market transaction point are clearly spelt out.

At the close of the market day, cash payments and commodity purchases must be fully reconciled. Since the number of transactions is very large, there is likelihood of a substantial increase of 1 to 2 per cent in the final weightment

over the proforma purchase. This increase should be credited to a separate account, since otherwise it is likely to give rise to malpractices.

The commodities purchased at a weekly market should be delivered to a central point without any delay, i.e., within a day or two of the purchase, at the most. This is a 'must' to ensure that the actual purchase operations in the weekly markets are delinked from other supporting functions like storage and final disposal of the commodities. The re-imbursement of cash for the next market should be linked to the delivery of the commodities at a central depot and production of a voucher in token thereof.

At the central delivery point the responsibilities should be clearly defined. The onus of taking the delivery within a stipulated time, say, within 12 hours of the arrival of the commodities, should be on the central depot. On no account should the delivery be held up; in case of delay, commodities as declared by the primary unit should be deemed to have been delivered after the minimum stipulated time of its arrival at the delivery depot. If the central depot has any objections relating to quality, etc., they should be noted on the delivery memo. In this case, it will be the duty of the central depot itself to keep the commodity received with reservations separately. The basic point is that the central depot should not be allowed to act as a stranglehold on the entire operations and there should be a smooth procedure according to which points of differences between two parties should be remitted to another authority without any loss of time. Secondly, the primary unit must be relieved of its responsibility as quickly as possible and should be free to organise its operations for the next market day.

Cash re-imbursement should be made on production of the delivery note making an allowance for the possible increase in the purchase at the next market. One of the bottlenecks in the small transactions can be the lack of notes and coins of the right denomination. It should also be the duty of the central authority to arrange for cash in appropriate denominations for the market. The responsibility of making available the cash must be squarely fixed on a central authority which must manage to make adequate advances in time. Any lapse on this point should be brought to the notice of the chief officer-in-charge of marketing operations.

The arrangements for the final disposal of the commodities should be made in advance for the whole season. The commodities delivered at the central depot should be delivered to the final processing units or a trading organisation, like the Food Corporation of India, with whom the arrangements may have been made. In fact these organisations should be associated at the central depot level itself so that there is no problem subsequently of quality, weighment, etc.

It will be necessary that the counter-flow of money begins after hypothecation of the goods purchased with the banks or after delivery to other organization like the F.C.I. without any delay whatsoever. Any time-lag may prove to be a severe bottleneck to local administration in providing ready cash for the weekly operations. As far as possible, the facilities for hypothecation should be locally arranged so that there are no delays arising from transmission of papers and communication of sanctions.

In many of these operations large amounts of cash may be required to be handled by low paid officials. If strict rules as prescribed for handling government cash are observed, this itself may become a severe bottleneck. Handling large amounts is a part of normal business activity. It is necessary that the risk of handling cash is under-written but severe and prompt penalties should be provided for any misuse of this facility.

The management of cash out-flow and commodity in-flow should be the responsibility of two separate organisations. In such an arrangement, it will be possible to check and counter-check the correct picture of the two sides at any given time. If allowance is made for cash and commodities in the 'pipe line', which will be equal to the average turn-over of a week or so, the two sides must always roughly balance.

It is preferable to reduce direct handling of cash to the minimum. Thus, even the re-imbursement of cash for weekly markets should be, as far as possible, through cheques so that the entire account is maintained by the network of banking institutions in the areas. This will help in keeping the cash flow and cash account as two distinct sides of the transaction.

The seed-money and the total working capital for the entire marketing operation will have to be specially worked out keeping in view the longer leads, slower remittances and weekly turn-over. This stands in contrast to the operations in agricultural *mandies* where the turn-over is daily and the commodities purchased can be hypothecated on the very second day, thus, needing cash support for a very limited period. In the absence of modern godowning facilities, where loose grains and other commodities can be stored, in the tribal areas, storage itself costs a substantial amount, may be, 2 to 3 per cent of the price of the commodity. The transportation charges, as also the handling charges, are substantial. Therefore, the norms of the advanced areas for fixing limits for clean advances, working capital, etc., are inapplicable in the tribal regions. The seed-money required for covering the numerous special items and for enabling a longer carry-over of the stocks because of the logistics of the tribal situation may be of the order of 25 to 30 per cent. It will, therefore, be necessary that hypothecation conditions are

made more liberal for the tribal areas, say, 95 per cent against general norm of 80 per cent.

It will be necessary for the central organization to have a running account of in-flows and out-flows at various points on a daily basis. The system must be so devised that any mistake at any point gets reported almost instantaneously so that correctives can be applied without any time-lag. The risks involved in such a big operation spread over a large area can be minimised in this way and brought within the tolerance limits of a normal trade operation.

TERMINATING ADVANCE SALES

Any description of marketing operations in a tribal area will be incomplete without note being taken of the credit needs of the tribal. As already pointed out, a sizable part of the commodities brought in bigger lots to the tribal markets represents mere delivery of commodities already purchased. The price paid for these commodities is generally very low. The advance sales at depressed prices are covered by the central legislation on bonded labour under which any advance transaction of the 'fruits of labour' at a depressed price is a penal offence. While the question of alternative arrangements for providing credit needs fuller consideration separately, here the vicious circle of low price advance sales and ineffective marketing operations has to be understood and cut at a crucial point. It will be useful if the new provisions under the Central legislation on bonded labour are widely publicised and it is made known that all advance sales have become null and void and now attract severe penalties. It has, however, to be noted that an average tribal will not accept such a declaration as fulfilment of his promise unless the trader is actually paid back the cash. Therefore, a concerted drive in the first year at least will be necessary to persuade the tribal to bring all his produce to the weekly market for sale at remunerative price. Simultaneously, the money-lender has to be forced to accept back his advances at par. This will be the first major operation to loosen the stranglehold of the money-lender-trader on the tribal economy.

'Linking' of cooperative credit and marketing is another aspect which will need some detailed consideration. In the first instance, linking should not be applied mechanically nor should it be forced on the tribal. It has to be appreciated that in most cases, the tribal may be interested in the present cash value of the commodity because he cannot calculate his profit and loss meticulously. If he brings the commodity to the market because he needs money for a specific purpose and in the market he finds that because he has to repay certain old debts from the sale proceeds of the commodity brought on that particular day itself, he may be left with no cash to satisfy his immediate

need. This may force him to divert the sale to other points so that he may get ready cash which he requires. He may lose in price to the extent of 25 per cent to 50 per cent in this process. It is, thus, necessary that marketing in tribal areas is taken primarily as an operation aimed at to giving adequate return to the tribal. This objective should not be allowed to be blurred by any other consideration whatsoever. The co-operative debt is to be repaid, but it should not be at the cost of forcing the tribal to divert his produce to be sold at a lower price.

The first basic premise in relation to the tribal situation is the acceptance of the fact that if a tribal has money he will be the first person to repay his debts. Therefore, for the purposes of 'linking' marketing with repayment of cooperative debt, certain inducements, like a premium on the price, should be given rather than taking recourse to 'coercive' methods. It must be remembered that petty bureaucracy tries to make good for its lapses in communication, persuasion and extension as a part of its normal duty and attempts to fulfil obligation by trying to operate at a crucial point in a formal way and giving the worst twist to the numerous procedural points. This creates bad taste and alienates the tribal from the state sponsored operations. In contrast, the money lender operates in a subtle fashion and exploits him without even giving him an impression that he is being exploited. Therefore, coercion or compulsion in any form, whether in respect of sale or purchase, must be scrupulously avoided, no matter how weighty may be the other considerations.

PLANNING FOR MARKETING—A POSSIBLE FRAME

It is thus clear that marketing operations in a tribal area should be preceded by meticulous planning in terms of organizations, manpower resources, financial requirements and other supporting services. The following steps will be called for in the light of discussions of various facets of these operations in this paper :

- (i) Identification of the commodities (both agricultural produce and minor forest produce), in which minimum prices will be assured as a part of marketing operations in the tribal areas.
- (ii) Location of market centres and other points, where such market centres do not exist, where the minimum prices will be enforced.
- (iii) Wide publicity of the decision (not through the press because it does not touch the tribal population) through hand bills prepared in local dialects of the region. They may be distributed widely in the weekly markets and should also be publicised in all the villages through functionaries of major departments including Revenue, Forest, Education, Agriculture and

Cooperation. The rates should be converted in terms of the prevalent local measures as well in approximate terms.

(iv) Identification of the organisations which can take part in the marketing operation. These may include the large-sized multi-purpose societies, primary societies and any other cooperative institution having a satisfactory record of work. Each market point should be the responsibility of only one organisation. All the residual points should be the responsibility of the administration as a whole for which suitable arrangements should be made.

(v) Identification of storage points including godowns and other available public buildings in respect of each purchase point for temporary storage not exceeding a few days at a time. Where such storage points are not available, alternative arrangements should be clearly spelt out.

(vi) Fixing the central delivery point for all the primary purchase centres keeping in view the problem of transportation, accessibility, etc.

(vii) Categorisation of purchase centres according to the likely weekly turn-over into 3 or 4 grades.

(viii) Working out the requirement of senior officers for over-seeing the entire purchase operations, keeping in view the total number of market centres and the likely size of the transactions. The bigger markets should be the responsibility of senior officers while the smaller markets should be responsibility of junior officers. Each market should unequivocally be in the charge of an officer who will be responsible for all aspects of marketing. The local administration may draw upon, firstly, the developmental departments and, in the case of markets located in the forest areas, on the forest departments, failing which, on the normal revenue administration.

(ix) Fixation of cash delivery points keeping in view the network of branches of cooperative banks and other commercial banks. A neat system of cash delivery arrangement has to be ensured.

(x) Working out the arrangements for the transportation from the market centre to the delivery point and from the delivery point for the final disposal point.

(xi) Fixation of the rates of transportation in advance, keeping in view the mode of transport, *viz.*, as head loads, on bullock carts, or on trucks. Incidental charges like crossing a stream in boat, etc., also should be fully taken into account.

(xii) Evolving a system of daily reporting from different markets to the regional points and to the final control point in the district. A senior officer should over-see the entire flow of cash and commodities throughout the area.

(xiii) Grading in terms of quality of various commodities in broad terms and fixing rough and ready methods for gradation.

(xiv) Preparation of ready recknors. The ready recknors may be printed and supplied in good numbers so that calculations are made quickly and transactions are facilitated.

(xv) Assigning duties for supporting services, *viz.*, weighment, payment, account, etc., to local governmental functionaries belonging to different departments including teachers, gram sevaks, samiti sevaks, patwari, forest guards, etc. The regulatory administration should be responsible for ensuring that no transaction takes place outside the market area. If necessary, a regulation in this regard may be framed.

(xvi) A system of surprise check of markets by senior officers in the district including the project officer and the Collector himself. The inspections should be unpredictable and unscheduled so that every market centre should be in a state of expectancy for a surprise check at every point of time.

(xvii) Clear demarcation of responsibility for the central marketing function and supporting functions. The central function of marketing should be preferably the responsibility of a cooperative society. The manager of the cooperative may be a lower level functionary in comparison to the officer-in-charge and other inspecting officers. It, however, must be ensured that this central functionary is not ordered about by the senior officers which is likely to create confusion. He should be treated as the 'master of the scene' and everyone else should concern himself to helping him in sorting out any problem which he may find in these operations.

(xviii) Clear-cut arrangements for delivery of commodities beyond the delivery points to the processing units or higher level marketing organizations. There should be no time lag in the delivery and the payment of money.

(xix) Advance arrangement for seed-money and working capital. The requirement of seed-money at different points of time, hypothecation limits, etc., should be worked out for which necessary commitment must come from the various organizations.

(xx) Clear responsibility for delivery of commodities, payment of cash, etc.

(xxi) Setting up a district level committee for overseeing the marketing operations and sorting out the problems on a day-to-day basis.

In conclusion, it may be observed that marketing operations are central to the tribal economy in the earlier phases of its development. Therefore, they must be accorded the highest priority in any scheme of things. Every organisation participating in this operation should have the clear responsibility of facilitating the final task of ensuring a remunerative price to the tribal. On no count should any organisation be allowed to obstruct the smooth flows of cash and commodities. Success in marketing is a matter of building up faith amongst the tribal communities about the determination of the state to ensure fair play. Once the initial hurdles are overcome and the tribal begins to appreciate the benefit which may accrue to him, it can be reasonably expected that he will respond and develop the same bond with the cooperative and other administrative organisations in the area as he has developed with the trader-money-lender over a long period.



"So Mr. Nugent (Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Agriculture) wanted a report. He asked Mr. Pyne (Assistant Secretary, Ministry of Agriculture), who asked Mr. Smith (Secretary of the Land Commission), who asked Mr. Hole (Provincial Land Commissioner at Bristol), who asked Mr. Lofthouse (District Land Commissioner at Taunton). At that point, it might be supposed, there would have been action. So indeed, there would have been but for the unfortunate fact that Mr. Lofthouse, when he received the request on July 17, was about to go on holiday. Mr. Lofthouse deputed the work to Mr. Brown, his assistant working at Taunton...."

R. DOUGLAS BROWN

(*In The Battle of Criche Down* (1955), p. 44.
Quoted in *The Ruling Servants* by E. Strauss)

SALIENT FEATURES OF TRIBAL ADMINISTRATION IN THE STATES

Harshad R. Trivedi

WITH the advent of the Fifth Five Year Plan, tribal development has risen to the most advanced phase of its momentum and growth. It may be rightly called an auspicious beginning of the period of Renaissance in the liberation of tribal communities from customary bondage, indebtedness and ignorance. Never before in the history of India has such a massive effort been made for the uplift of tribal communities. The Union Government has given the highest priority to tribal development in the country's programme of socio-economic reconstruction. It is expected that in 1976-77, the investment in tribal areas in the direction of all round development through sub-plan proposals would amount to Rs. 200 crores of which Rs. 150 crores will come from the State plans. And, during the entire period of the Fifth Plan, there will be a total investment of Rs. 1,500 crores in the State sub-plans.¹ One of the stumbling blocks in the development of the tribal communities in India, however, has been the difficulty of State Governments in evolving viable administrative structures and procedures to cater to the needs of the tribals. In this paper an attempt is made to discuss some aspects of tribal development administration in a few States in the task of formulation, implementation and monitoring of sub-plans construed to do away with all forms of exploitation.

TRIBAL SUB-PLAN—A TOTAL EFFORT

It may be mentioned that a sub-plan is a tribal plan within the total five year plan of a State. The sub-plan allocation as well as the Central aid for tribal development in any form is not at all transferable. In fact, a tribal sub-plan is a total effort at allround growth of the tribals, and has four main resources to help implement the programmes. These are: (i) State plan sector outlay, (ii) efforts of Central Ministries, (iii) institutional finance, and (iv) special assistance of Union Government. For the purpose of preparing integrated tribal development projects, sub-plans have been completed for the areas of high concentration of tribals in many States. The basic object of the sub-plan is to narrow the gap between the backwardness of the tribal areas, and the economically and socially developed areas, with the view to

¹*Yojana*, Vol. 20, No. 6, 1976, p. 39.

improve the quality of life of these long depressed people. Here, it is important first to prevent the exploitation of the tribals by money-lenders and traders through indebtedness and consequent debt-bondage, real or fictitious. The Presidential Ordinance after the declaration of Emergency in June 1975, has already taken care of this problem by preventing the resumption of the old debts and debt-bondage of the scheduled tribes and castes in the country.² Secondly, it is necessary to introduce well integrated credit-cum-marketing services with a free flow of inputs in agriculture, housing, etc., and also the educational programmes for the development of human infrastructure. It is equally important to ensure the supply of consumer goods for the daily use of the tribals without being exploited by the traders. These efforts are directed to support state efforts in the prevention of land alienation, bonded labour, etc., and, positively, in the retention and restoration of tribal land by tribals themselves. It should be noted in this context that early in August 1976, the Union Government sent a directive to the States asking them to reorganise their credit and marketing structures in tribal areas. The States have agreed to have large sized multi-purpose cooperative societies to provide different kinds of production and consumption credits to the tribals. Some States have already formed such societies, viz., Orissa 48, Maharashtra 8, Gujarat 2, and Andhra Pradesh 47. The Centre has also asked the States to make schemes to purchase agricultural and minor forest produce from the tribals at reasonable rates to prevent exploitation.³

Besides these two protective measures, so to say, there are three ameliorative measures identified in the broader context of economic development, qualitative support and institutional foundation which call for special attention. The third major object, therefore, will be to provide credit for productive purposes which include improvement in piggery, horticulture, animal husbandry, cottage industry, irrigation, forestry, etc. Fourthly, there is the need to upgrade the quality of the supportive infrastructures such as legal, institutional, communicational and health services. Fifth, and most important, is the need of improving organisational capabilities of the tribal councils and panchayats, both indigenous and statutory, and other organisations connected with the sectoral development of tribal communities.

THREE BROAD CATEGORIES OF STATES

In retrospect, the present great efforts were preceded by special Multi-purpose Community Development Tribal Blocks, about 509, in various States.

²This is the first time that the executive authority of the Union Government in favour of tribal emancipation has been invoked by a Presidential Ordinance under the directive principles of the states. It is a clear departure from the pre-emergency pessimistic outlook on uncertain tribal policy frame at national level expressed in the *Basic Policy Papers, Vol. II, on Tribal Development in the Fifth Plan*, p. 24, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi.

³The *Sunday Statesman*, August 8, 1976, p. 1.

But because of the unforeseen difficulties of the uneconomic and larger spatial size of the blocks, inadvertent introduction of rigidity in the sectoral programmes, heavy reliance on Central tribal assistance and neglect of areas with 50 per cent tribal population, it was decided to change the whole strategy. There were also certain administrative drawbacks in the States with large or scattered tribal populations. The reorganised programme now consists of three broad categories of plans for States and Union Territories. The first category consists of States with more than 50 per cent tribal population, and these need not have sub-plans as the State plans themselves are, in a practical sense, meant for tribal development itself. These tribal States are Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Arunachal Pradesh, Dadra and Nagar Haweli, Lakshadweep, Minicoy and Andaman Islands. The second group consists of States having pockets of tribal concentration, *viz.*, Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Maharashtra, Manipur, Orissa, Rajasthan and Tripura (the area of the erstwhile state of Assam is covered by the provisions of the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution). The third category is of tribal people found scattered in the States such as Kerala, Mysore, Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal, Goa, Daman and Diu.

The strategy of the Fifth Plan to give a special place to tribal sub-plans in the State plans, called for Presidential action in order to declare all areas with more than 50 per cent tribal concentration as 'scheduled', in addition to the existing scheduled areas. While these have been delineated in various States and Union Territories, it was essential to approach the Parliament to approve the Bill to amend the Fifth Schedule of the Constitution to empower the President to increase the extent of scheduled areas in a State. This Bill, piloted in Lok Sabha by Shri Om Mehta, Minister of State for Home Affairs, was passed on September 2, 1976 and it was approved on the next day by the Rajya Sabha. The Bill has now become an Act which proposes to remove scheduled area restrictions. With this, if a certain scheduled caste or tribe is treated as scheduled in one area, it will be taken as such in the whole State. The Bill has the provision also to empower the census authority to re-estimate the population of scheduled castes and tribes in a State, and the Election Commissioner to re-allocate reserved constituencies. The number of seats in Lok Sabha and State Assemblies may have to be increased accordingly. This will help the State Governments in preparing need-based special programmes for each integrated tribal development project, and, thereby, help remove the anomalous situation in a State where some tribal areas are left outside the purview of the Fifth Schedule. It will now be possible for the States to cover the entire sub-plan area of tribal concentration for effective simultaneous action throughout the Fifth Plan and even in subsequent years until the constitutional provision of the Fifth Schedule is abrogated. It may be added that the existing scheduled areas cover about 2.42 lakh sq. km. having a tribal population of about 16.0 million or about 44 per cent

of the total tribal population. The sub-plans would, however, embrace all tribal majority areas and would cover about 3.9 lakh sq. km. and a tribal population of about 25.0 million.⁴

It is evident that the tribal problems of reducing inequality with other areas, identified earlier in this paper, do not apply in principle to the tribals in the first category of States listed in the previous para. But they have, no doubt, partial or full relevance to the tribals in the second and third categories of States mentioned above. However, it is difficult to say as to what extent the tribals of the latter two categories suffer on account of exploitation through debt, land alienation, inaccessibility to minor forest produce, etc. Taking tribal groups severally, it may be said that some tribals face these problems more acutely than others in the same or neighbouring States. In any case, the strategy of sub-plan drawn from their own total plan outlay by a State refers to areas of concentration as envisaged by the Shilu Ao Study Team on plan projects for tribals appointed by the Planning Commission. It seems that a sub-plan at the macro-level refers not only to the strategy of effective implementation of tribal development efforts but also to the allocation of resources. At the meso-level the basic unit will be taken as a taluk/tehsil (which is a revenue unit lower than a district). The meso-level unit may comprise of a number of micro-level T.D. Block units. The sub-plan project areas thus may refer to tehsils and their Blocks having more than 50 per cent concentration of tribal population. The planning functions at macro-level may pertain to overall planning, rural electrification, irrigation projects, arterial roads, cooperatives and processing industries, but some of the latter planning functions may be taken care of in relatively small measures at the meso-level also. The planning functions at micro-level of the Block comprise of education, social services, minimum needs programme, minor irrigation, agricultural extension and household industries. In parts of a State having tribal concentration, one may also find some areas of dispersal in which the smallest administrative unit for tribal development may be a tehsil or Block depending on the size of tribal population in such areas.

THE EXISTING TRIBAL ADMINISTRATIVE PATTERN

We will now review the existing administrative situation in certain States and in the end discuss the broad principles and the conceptual frame for tribal administration at the State level. As is well known, the two main areas of general administrative concern are : (i) regulatory or instrumental, and (ii) developmental or substantive. Both these areas of concern impinge on personnel policies and administrative structures. To begin with, we furnish some

⁴The *Hindustan Times*, August 31, 1976, p. 1., and *Indian Express*, September 4, 1976, p. 4.

illustrations on the personnel policies in tribal areas and later throw light on some structural aspects of tribal administration in the States.⁵

In Andhra Pradesh, there has been dearth of personnel to work at higher levels of administration. People on the verge of retirement or on punishment were posted in tribal areas. This led to slackness in selecting the right kind of persons to work in tribal areas for a long period of time. There were also cases of lack of coordination among the appointing authorities, and as a result, two persons would be posted at the same place, leading to delayed posting of just one incumbent. At the lower level, the Village Level Workers (VLWs) who worked for 15 to 20 years were not given opportunities for career development and this resulted in frustration. VLWs., deputed from other departments were, however, better placed since they could go back to their parent departments. Some functionaries were reported to have developed power politics and vested interests through their own men who exploited the tribals. The State has now directed its administrative machinery to make panels of BDOs, etc., in favour of selection rather than recruitment of personnel in tribal areas. In Gujarat, it is proposed to have a State level separate Development Commissioner (Tribal) followed by Deputy Development Commissioners, who were formerly called DDOs (District Development Officers) in charge of district panchayat office. And the post of Social Welfare Officer Class II will be upgraded to that of Class I to give adequate assistance to the latter. The posts of VLW and Talati (village revenue officer) are proposed to be merged to make them more effective at micro-level and to avoid unwilling persons from entering tribal administration. In Uttar Pradesh, there are only five scheduled tribes but it is likely that 12 more may be added to the list. Under this situation there are no Tribal Development Blocks in the State; instead, a programme of Special Area Projects, located at Dehra Doon and Nainital, takes care of tribal development in these regions. This work is looked after by four project officers drawn from the cadre of District Harijan Welfare Officers.

In Tamil Nadu also there is no large tribal concentration, and since the magnitude of the tribal problem is marginal, there was no need of any special administrative set-up for the tribals. The State is confident of finding suitable personnel for intensive tribal development work. In Orissa, it has been proposed to assign the responsibility of Intensive Tribal Development Projects to the Sub-Divisional Officers at taluk levels. They will be designated as Project

⁵These illustrations are derived from syndicate discussions in the First Tribal Development Administration Course organized by the IIPA in early 1975, for which I was invited to prepare the teaching kit consisting of reading material and classified and annotated select bibliography. I have discussed therein a brief history of tribal policy in India, and related administrative problems from the times of colonial rule until the end of the Fourth Plan, in my paper entitled *The Evolution of National Policy for Tribal Development*.

Officers. This scheme of reorganisation of tribal administration is only an attempt to fit new tribal development programmes into the existing machinery which may not be suitable to handle the special problems in different tribal areas in the State. In Madhya Pradesh, the existing administrative arrangement of working on the pattern of Tribal Development Blocks is proposed to be continued with minor alterations. However, one important change in tribal development administration refers to the creation of a separate cadre of teachers to be recruited by the Tribal Welfare Department. In Manipur, the Government selects officers from various State departments to work in tribal areas. Most of these officers, deputed from other departments, are neither properly trained for tribal welfare work nor are they sympathetic and willing workers in favour of tribal amelioration.

Decentralization of tribal administration in tune with the Panchayati Raj organisations, has disillusioned many a State by its deleterious effect on tribal welfare. Having realised this major drawback through the observations of the Commissioner of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, and other direct and indirect sources of information, many State Governments have decided to keep the implementation of the tribal sub-plan out of the purview and administrative structure of the Panchayati Raj institutions. In the State of Maharashtra, for instance, the administrative machinery for sub-plan provides for two Tribal Development Commissioners for two different areas of tribal concentration. They will implement the tribal sub-plans in their respective areas keeping it outside the scope of Panchayati Raj institutions. The State proposes to have a district-level advisory committee to guide the implementation and monitoring of tribal development programmes. However, the Commissioner will be responsible to the State Planning Board and he will have technical officers, such as the Chief Engineer, Accounts Officer, Health Officer and Educational Officer to advise him on the special subjects. At the Zilla Parishad level, however, the tribal development will be looked after (as an additional responsibility) by the Chief Executive Officer who will be directly responsible for this work to the State Tribal Development Commissioner. Besides, the B.D.O. and the Block staff will work under the Tribal Development Commissioner and Deputy Commissioner, while the Block Panchayat Samiti will be an advisory body at the lower level of implementing the programmes. The Gujarat pattern mentioned earlier has been a modification of the Maharashtra pattern.

DEVELOPMENTAL WORKERS FROM THE TRIBES

The development of tribal workers for their own uplift constitutes the substantive part of the whole programme in the Fifth Plan. In terms of personnel policies, the crucial problem faced by all the State Governments has been the recruitment of tribals themselves for taking up various positions

in tribal administration. The supply position is very poor due to the dearth of suitable tribals for tribal work; and wherever they are recruited, their chances of promotion are meagre due to the high educational and efficiency criteria for selection. For instance, in Andhra Pradesh, in the Girijan Cooperative Corporation, there were 60 per cent tribal employees out of a total of 800 personnel. But they occupied the lower positions of peons, salesmen, etc., as most of them were under-matriculates. However, it was thought useful to recruit more of VLWs from tribals even by relaxing the qualification requirements. On the whole, it seems that the strategy of tribal development administration in the States may vary considerably from State to State. But the general approach has to be the same, as it calls for an all round change in the life of the tribals. The local administrative machinery which was mainly regulatory is being geared to the philosophy and method of area development and management which basically aims at the development of physical and human infrastructures. This can be achieved by borrowing the services of knowledgeable people such as entrepreneurs, contractors, technicians, engineers, educationists, etc. They have to function as catalysts and not as exploiters of the innocent tribal in the long run. Unless the State administrative machinery looks into these problems carefully, the schemes of tribal amelioration may turn out to be tentacles of tribal exploitation. It is imperative, therefore, that a sound educational infrastructure is built up for training the officers working in tribal areas.

TRIBAL PERSONNEL TRAINING—A CRUCIAL POINT

The suggestions by the participants in the First Tribal Development Administration Course at the IIPA in 1975 on this subject are worthy of mention. They suggested a four-tier system of training the personnel who may have to work in the areas of tribal concentration. This system consists of : (i) a national level training institute for policy makers and formulators of sub-plans, (ii) a macro-level State training programme for senior personnel who have to supervise and monitor the implementation of the programme, (iii) a meso-level training for Block Development Officers, Extension Officers etc., who are directly in charge of implementing policies and programmes, and (iv) a micro-level training for VLWs including village revenue officers, etc. Notwithstanding the institutional arrangements for the improvement of the working methods and skills of tribal officers, it should be borne in mind that the most important questions in the environmental context are those of evolving a suitable personnel system. It will be most appropriate to summarise the views of Dr. B.D. Sharma on this subject in a thought-provoking analysis in one of his recent papers.⁶ The uniform personnel system performing

⁶“Environmental Context and the Personnel System: its Implications for Tribal Areas”, B.D. Sharma, *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. 22, No. 1, 1976, pp. 45-47.

regulatory but passive role in development, needs to be geared to function as an active catalytic agent. A developmental administration must have interlocking arrangements for a new and diversified institutional system right from the appex national-level to grassroot village-level. For the extremely backward tribal areas, there is the need to have a less specialised and more integrated system of administration.

In the document prepared by the Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India on Preparation of Tribal Development Projects, it is recommended to create a one line administration in which there could be "one head at the project level for various engineering branches like roads, bridges, buildings, irrigation, public health engineering, etc."⁷ Commenting on this, Dr. J.S. Mathur has said that this may be a practical proposition in Arunachal Pradesh where the administrative problems are not so complex. But the Community Development Block experience in other parts showed bottlenecks primarily due to "lack of commonality of goals within Government departments as well as voluntary agencies."⁸ Elaborating on this subject Dr. B.K. Roy Burman says: "There is a point of view that an agency that ensures quick decision-making is the most efficient one. From this point of view, single-line administration has been advocated in respect of tribal areas. There is, however, a difference between operational efficiency and functional efficiency . . . overemphasis on operational efficiency will only strengthen the bureaucratic culture and delay the mobilization of the politico-social forces leading towards participant development."⁹

Taking an overall view, Dr. Sharma rightly calls for "some changes in the basic concept of the system as also its inner dynamics."¹⁰ The uniform personnel system at State level tribal administration will have to be replaced by the principle of regional particularism. The mono-personnel system covering the tribal and non-tribal advanced areas should be suitably modified. It should be noted that for some time to come, relationships of the administrative system and the tribal community will bear a feudal character, which could be slowly reduced and eliminated by inducting a larger number of trained persons from the local community. The non-tribal officers should be selected on the basis of their genuine sympathy for weaker sections and should be given monetary and promotional incentives to compensate the hardships which may be endured by them and their family members.

⁷See *Perspectives on Tribal Development and Administration*, papers and proceedings of the workshop held at NICD, Hyderabad, 1975, p. 248.

⁸Ibid., p. 169.

⁹Ibid., p. 60.

¹⁰Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

In the end it may be added that every officer in the tribal area may be asked to work as a public leader, inspiring and guiding the tribal people for progress in all walks of life with the highest emphasis on economic uplift. He should correspondingly have the ability and aptitude to initiate, organise and guide social reform movements among the tribals through voluntary social workers. It is perhaps in the genius of the tribal communities to exert their will to survive and progress through social movements rather than with the helpless acceptance of administrative measures devised by the non-tribals. The administrative leadership, in organizing social movements, should concentrate, first, on the economic emancipation of the tribes, rather than political or religious, as strongly advocated by Dr. Surjit Singh in the following recommendation. "Assuming that the hitherto isolated tribe should be fully integrated with Indian national polity and the mainstream of the emerging national culture, it may be proposed that economic opportunities made available to these areas should be a little ahead of the political opportunities and, as far as possible, the economic opportunities must permeate a broad base of the population instead of being limited to an elite group."¹¹



¹¹*Tribal Situation in India*, Ed. K. Suresh Singh, Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla, 1972, p. 421. Reference should also be made to the valuable contributions here on the subject by L.K. Mahapatra, Phillip Ekka, Jyoti Sen, and L.P. Vidyarthi, (Presently President of the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences), pp. 399-502.

EMPLOYMENT GUARANTEE SCHEME : THE MAHARASHTRA EXPERIENCE

N.R. Inamdar

THE Indian Constitution has laid down the right to work, along with the right to education and to public assistance in cases of unemployment, old age, sickness and disablement and in other cases of undeserved want, as a directive principle of State policy (Article 41). But the right to work, as the other above mentioned rights, are to be implemented by the State "within the limits of its economic capacity and development".¹ The Employees' State Insurance Act, 1948, the Employees' Provident Funds Act, 1952, the Workmen's Compensation Act, 1923, the Bonus Schemes Act, 1948, and other similar enactments have provided for health, provident fund and other facilities for the industrial workers.² The right to work or employment for the mass of population is, however, a distant goal to be still secured and attained by the Indian State.³

On this background the Employment Guarantee Scheme of the Maharashtra State marks a distinct advance in the country's progress towards a social welfare State.

EMPLOYMENT SCHEMES IN THE PAST

Rural works programmes have been a feature of the five year plans.

¹Prof. K.T. Shah had pressed for the guarantee of work or employment while the Indian Constitution was being framed. B. Shiva Rao (ed.), *The Framing of India's Constitution Select Documents*, Vol. II, New Delhi, the Indian Institute of Public Administration, 1967, pp. 53, 196-8. Prof. Shah was, however, keen to couple the right to work with the duty to work. B.N. Rau's note and the report of the Constituent Assembly's Sub-Committee on Fundamental Rights which mentioned the right to work as a directive of State policy formed the basis of the final provision in the Constitution. *Ibid.*, pp. 34, 175-6.

²D.D. Basu, *Commentary on the Constitution of India*, Vol. II, 4th ed., Calcutta, Sarkar and Sons, 1962, p. 314; K.C. Markandani, *Directive Principles of the Indian Constitution*, Bombay, Allied, 1966, pp. 274-6.

³The Weimar Constitution (1919) provided for the conservation of the capacity to work through social insurance. The French (1946 and 1958) and the Soviet (1936) Constitution have marked a progress in incorporating an obligatory guarantee of employment. The Irish Constitution (1936) and the Burmese Constitution (1948) prescribe a directive in this respect like the Indian Constitution; D.D. Basu, *op. cit.*, p. 313, K.C. Markandani, *op. cit.*, p. 179. The Weimar and the French Constitutions, the Soviet Constitution, and the Burmese and the Indian Constitutions, in these respects, reflect the different stages of economic development and political ideologies.

But the main difference between these programmes and the Employment Guarantee Scheme of Maharashtra is the element of employment guarantee to the rural poor from the marginal cultivator and the non-cultivating rural wage-earner classes which was absent in the rural works programmes. The need for the employment guarantee for these sections of the population is felt because the existing programmes like the SFDA (Small Farmers Development Agency), the MFALP (Marginal Farmers and Agricultural Labourers Programme) and the DPAP (Drought Prone Area Programme) have not covered large sections of the marginal farmers and the agricultural labourers, especially during off-season and in uncultivable and inaccessible tracts.

The Third Five Year Plan, for the first time, provided for a Rural Works Programme *per se*. Against the tentative outlay of Rs. 150 crores over the five years of the Third Plan, only Rs. 19 crores were made available for the programme out of which Rs. 8 crores were actually spent. In comparison with the target of 2.5 million persons to be provided work of 100 days in a year, only 400,000 persons could be employed in the Programme.⁴ The main reasons for the shortfall in the achievement of the Third Plan in this respect were, *inter alia*, defective planning, incorrect estimates of the available and the required material and technical personnel, weak organisation and inadequate appraisal of the needs of the areas.⁵

The Draft outline of the Fourth Five Year Plan (August, 1966) had also appreciated the need for "undertaking special programmes for public works and small rural works which provide employment to large numbers of persons, particularly during the slack agricultural seasons".⁶ The final Fourth Plan, however, did not specifically include a rural works programme,⁷ relying on the potentiality of the programmes like those for the small farmers and famine-stricken areas to relieve the mounting problem of rural unemployment for about 16 million persons.⁸ The Rural Works Programme, therefore, stood discontinued after the Third Plan.⁹

An alternative programme, the Crash Programme for Rural Employment, was later adopted as a Central sector scheme during three years of the Fourth Plan, *viz.* 1971-74, on an *ad-hoc* basis. The twin objectives of this Programme

⁴*Fourth Five Year Plan: A Draft Outline*, Government of India, Planning Commission, August 1966, p. 111.

⁵M.Y. Khan, "Crash Scheme for Rural Employment—A Review", *Reserve Bank of India Bulletin*, XXX-4 (April 1976), p. 259.

⁶*Fourth Five Year Plan: A Draft Outline*, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

⁷V.M. Dandekar and N. Rath, *Poverty in India*, Bombay Economic and Political Weekly, 1977, p. 120.

⁸*Fourth Five Year Plan: A Draft Outline*, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

⁹M.Y. Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 259.

were direct creation of employment and building up of durable assets for the all round development of the rural areas. In the Programme an outlay of Rs. 125.4 crores was incurred, creating an employment of 316.835 million man days. About two-thirds of the outlay was invested in road construction; in all 68,000 km. of roads, most of them kutcha, were laid out. Minor irrigation over 138,000 hectares of land shared 12 per cent of the accounted expenditure; soil conservation covering 25,000 hectares accounted for 9 per cent of the outlay. Land reclamation, afforestation and flood protection were the other functional components of the Programme. The underpayment of the labourers and the low quality of the material used in the assets created were listed as the shortcomings of this Programme.¹⁰

The lessons of the Rural Works Programme and the Crash Programme for Rural Employment should stand in good stead in the formulation and execution of the Employment Guarantee Scheme of Maharashtra.

BROAD FEATURES OF THE EGS

The Employment Guarantee Scheme (EGS) of Maharashtra has now been in effective operation for over two years.

The urgency of undertaking the Scheme was underlined by the problem of increasing unemployment that faced the State of Maharashtra in 1972 and thereafter, as in the rest of the country. The draft Fifth Plan estimated the addition to the labour force over the 15 year period, 1971-1986, at 65 million, which exceeded the existing level of employment in the organised sector, public and private, by three and half times. Besides, there was the backlog of unemployment and under-employment. In the face of their stark reality of growing unemployment, the withdrawal of the Crash Programme of Rural Employment and the pruning of the other special programmes for employment by the Central Government, aggravated the unemployment situation. The coverage of a mere 9 per cent of cultivated land in Maharashtra under irrigation, which is one-third of the all-India average¹¹ has further reduced the employment opportunities in the rural areas of the State.

The formal inception of the Scheme on May 1, 1972 was preceded by the experiment with its prototype in a few blocks in July 1960 in the midst of the integrated area development projects.¹² The inauguration of the EGS was

¹⁰M.Y. Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 262.

¹¹*Material on Employment Guarantee Scheme for the Use of Estimate Committee* (cycl), Bombay, Government of Maharashtra, Planning Department, April 1976, p. 2.

¹²Background Paper Employment Guarantee Scheme (Meeting of the Chief Ministers of Maharashtra with Economists and Social Thinkers of Bombay), Bombay, Government of Maharashtra, Planning Department, March 1975, p. 1.

called for as it formed a constituent of the 15-point programme of the State declared in 1971, which supplemented the national minimum needs programme (1971) announced in the changed economic and political atmosphere in the country.¹³ On 29th March, 1972 the Chief Minister, announcing the proposed inaugural of the EGS on 1st May, 1972 on the floor of the Legislative Assembly, owned it as a big responsibility, being the first attempt of its kind in the country.¹⁴ The EGS was to be a permanent scheme, different from the provision of employment through the employment exchanges.

The aim of the Scheme is to provide gainful employment, gainful both to the individual and to the community, in manual work to all needy able bodied adults.¹⁵ Gainful employment is sought to be ensured to the individual by securing him a daily wage of Rs. 3 on unskilled manual work. Gainful employment to the community, on the other hand, is sought to be ensured through the undertaking of productive works as far as possible. Normal farm operations would not be affected by the possible diversion of labourers to the EGS works, as the daily wage level of Rs. 3 at the EGS works is normally below the one obtaining on farm work. The State Government would take care to absorb the wage-seekers in the existing or proposed plan or non-plan works, before any EGS works are started. Unless a minimum of 50 persons put in a demand for a new work, those offering themselves for work would be absorbed in the incomplete works.

The employment guarantee operates in the rural areas only. However an exception is made in the case of the residents of the 'C' class municipal areas which are in fact semi-urban rural localities.¹⁶ In cases of families having no earning member, minors aged 15-18 are employed under the Scheme.¹⁷ The participants in the Scheme have no choice of work or area of work. When the work is situated beyond 5 km. from a village, camping facilities including fair price shops, huts, potable water, sanitary facilities and medical aid have to be provided.

¹³For details of the State's 15-point programme and the national minimum needs programme, see N.R. Inamdar, "District Planning in Maharashtra", *The Indian Journal of Public Administration*, XIX, 3 (July-September, 1973).

¹⁴महाराष्ट्र विधान सभा कार्यवाही अधिकृत प्रतिवेदन, खंड ३४ क्र. ८ (वृद्धबार दि. २६ मार्च १९७२) (Bombay), pp. 255-299.

Round about the same time, the Gujarat Government also had undertaken a similar scheme, called the 'Right to Work' Scheme. The Scheme provided for unskilled jobs to the unemployed workers on multi-purpose, major, medium and minor irrigation works, capital projects, roads and soil conservation works. Vikas Bhattacharya, "Unemployment in Rural India", *Khadi Gramodhyog*, XVIII-2 (November 1971), p. 132.

¹⁵Government of Maharashtra, Planning Department, *Resolution No. EGS-1074/3616/P-4 dated the 20th September 1974* (Bombay).

¹⁶Ibid., *Resolution No. EGS. 1075/P-4 dated 14th February, 1975.*

¹⁷Ibid.

Only labour intensive works of a productive nature that create durable community assets are to be undertaken. Labour intensive works are those which have a ratio of wages of unskilled labour to equipment, materials, supervision charges, cost of masons, carpenters and other skilled workers, etc. at 60:40 or higher. Works using larger components of skilled labour or materials would be taken up to complete the incomplete works undertaken during the earlier droughts or as plan works. Works included in the State's budget are not to be shifted to EGS unless the budgeted funds for the year are exhausted.

The list of productive works to be taken up under the EGS includes minor irrigation works such as percolation and storage tanks, deepening of partially dug community wells upto 40 ft deep, certified as likely to be successful by the Groundwater Survey and Development Agency, soil conservation and land development works like contour bunding, anti-waterlogging and water training, drains and distributory canals, etc. Labour intensive components of works like desilting of village tanks, laterite stone cutting work for rural housing in Ratnagiri and Kolaba districts, khar land development, have also recently been allowed to be taken under the EGS.

The two most crucial pre-requisites for the satisfactory operation of the EGS are the proper planning of the EGS works and the careful manpower, i.e. labour power budgeting. On the basis of the details of the works undertaken or proposed to be undertaken under plan or non-plan provision, obtained from the departments and the Government, blueprints of the productive works costing between Rs. 20,000 and Rs. 5 lakhs each have to be prepared tehsil-wise by the tehsildar. (For works costing above Rs. 5 lakhs the prior approval of the Government is necessary.) The details of works that would be obtained from the departments and the Government pertain to their financial outlays, surveys, plans and estimates therefor, their employment potentiality, the availability of tools, equipment, plant, machinery and technical knowhow and the mode of the execution of the works, i.e., whether departmentally or through contractors. The preparation of an inventory of equipment is implicit in the operational planning of the EGS. The manpower budget is to be prepared for each tehsil by the tehsildar in consultation with the block development officer. The basis for the tehsil-wise manpower budget is provided by the village-wise register of work-seekers and the estimate of the employment potential of the local works. Similar information is to be furnished to the tehsildar by the 'C' class municipalities.

The guarantee of employment is given at the district level. If work is not available within a panchayat samiti area work is provided in an adjoining panchayat samiti area within the same district.

Wage rates are fixed according to the uniform norm and schedule of work evolved for the drought relief works in the State. Wage rates for soil conservation and afforestation works, not included in the schedule of rates for works undertaken under the E.G.S., are paid according to the schedule of wages for such works laid down by the Agriculture and Cooperation Department and the Revenue and Forests Department, respectively. The wage rates prescribed by the Government Resolution dated 14th February, 1975 have since been revised upward by a new Government Resolution dated 3rd March, 1976. Wages are paid on a weekly basis and according to the quality and quantity of the work done without discrimination of sex; an average person's 7 hour work per day entitles him to earn Rs. 3. The implements for work have to be supplied by the Government. The method of calculation of a group task is to be explained to the workers on the spot.

All works under the EGS are necessarily to be executed departmentally and not through contractors. An exception is made only for gorge filling, where absolutely necessary, and for the water-weir component of work of percolation tanks which is to be executed on the basis of a piece rate or a gang system but at wage rates payable to unskilled labour as under the EGS.

The District Collector is put in overall charge of the EGS. The works to be undertaken under the EGS are however to be selected only from the blue print approved by the District Employment (Advisory) Committee presided over by the Minister in charge of the district and comprising legislators and zilla parishad representatives as members. The Collector allocates the work in the district among the implementing agencies such as the Government departments of soil conservation, building and communications, irrigation and power forests, and zilla parishads, on the basis of the respective jurisdiction of each of these agencies. The capacities and commitments of these agencies are to be taken into account in the allocation of the work among them. The implementing agencies are accountable to the Collector for the maintenance of accounts, measurement of work executed, payment of wages to labour, and periodical submission of statements of attendance, work and accounts. A performance audit squad has been formed in each district under the supervision of the Collector to check the implementation with reference to the number of workers on the muster roll, output of work done, timely payment of wages, technical supervision over quality of work, arrangements for deployment of labour and other matters.

Besides the District Employment Committee, referred to above, a State level committee on EGS has been constituted with the Chief Minister as chairman and the concerned Ministers as members and Secretary, Planning, as secretary. Committees at the panchayat samiti level also have been set up; these consist of the sub-divisional officer as chairman, panchayat samiti

chairman as vice-chairman and legislators of the area as well as the BDO, tehsildar and 2 non-officials as members. These committees are expected to reflect popular opinion and thinking in the working of the EGS. The committee at the State level would advise on the policies regarding the EGS while the district and samiti level committees would help sort out the operational field problems and issues.

To finance partly the expenditure on the EGS the State Government has levied a tax on professions,¹⁸ and surcharges¹⁹ on the motor vehicles tax and the sales tax, an additional cess on non-residential urban lands and buildings and irrigated agricultural lands, and an increase in the land revenue based on size of land in the place of the amount of land revenue. These taxes have yielded about Rs. 25 crores during 1975-76 and would yield an equal amount during 1976-77. This amount would meet one-half of the total expenditure on the EGS.

THE WORKING OF THE SCHEME

The Employment Guarantee Scheme has been operating in a systematic form during the two years, 1974-75 and 1975-76. The current year, 1976-77, is the third year of the systematic working of the EGS. During 1969-1972 the Scheme was being operated by the village panchayats on a voluntary basis as a part of the activities of the integrated development blocks. The village panchayats were authorized to levy an additional cess on land revenue for the purpose of financing the Schemes by the State Government, the zilla parishads and the State Government were to provide supplementary funds for the Scheme.²⁰ But essentially the Scheme was conducted on a very selective, and so, experimental, basis by the village panchayats. It was in 1972 that the Scheme was put on a systematic basis, and the financial, organisational and operational responsibility relating to the Scheme was entirely undertaken by the State Government. During the first two years of the EGS conducted under the State Government auspices, very little activity was undertaken because of the diversion of finances and administrative manpower to the conduct of the famine relief works on a massive scale. Only an amount of about Rs. 2 crores was spent on the EGS works during each of these two years.²¹

During 1974-75, however, a larger amount of Rs. 13.71 crores was devoted to the EGS out of a budgetary provision of Rs. 15 crores. During

¹⁸महाराष्ट्र शासन राजपत्र भाग पाँच, मार्च १०, १९७५ (Bombay), pp. 374-389.

¹⁹Ibid., pp. 390-401.

²⁰Dandekar and Rath, *op. cit.*, pp. 117-8.

²¹Government of Maharashtra, Planning Department, *Annual Plan 1976-77*, Bombay, March 1976, p. 54.

the next year, 1975-76, a still larger outlay of Rs. 29.65 crores was invested in the EGS out of a budgeted amount of Rs. 50 crores. The larger budgetary provision became possible during 1975-76 as half the amount was raised through fresh tax levies for the purpose by the State Government. During the current year, 1976-77, the same amount as for the last year has been provided for, and till May 31, 1976 Rs. 8.5 crores have been spent on the EGS.²² What is significant is that the expenditure on the EGS has all these years been within the budgeted provisions. Further, the budgeted amount of Rs. 50 crores for the last and the current year each approximates the estimated optimum of Rs. 70 crores.

In comparison with the maximum demand of 143.0 million mandays estimated for 1974-75,²³ 48.0 million mandays were generated by the EGS during 1974-75 and 70 million mandays during 1975-76 upto December 1975.²⁴ The highest labour attendance recorded during 1975-76 was 716,000 in May 1976. In all, 1,833 works initiated under the EGS have been completed so far upto December 1975. Among the various kinds of works on which expenditure has been incurred under the EGS during 1974-75 and 1975-76, irrigation works stand first sharing 79 per cent and 61 per cent of the total expenditure respectively, soil conservation and land development works accounting for 12 per cent and 23 per cent and road works partaking of 6 per cent and 9 per cent. The respective percentages of expenditure during the two years for forestry works, rural housing and other works stood at 3 and 3, nil and 2, and 0.17 and 2. The relatively small share of expenditure on an unproductive item like road works in the EGS is in sharp contrast with the large share of expenditure in the Rural Works Programme in the Third Plan and the Crash Works Programme in the Fourth Plan.

SHORTCOMINGS OF THE SCHEME

The Employment Guarantee Scheme does not give a statutory guarantee of employment to the needy rural people. Nevertheless it marks a definite advance over the earlier scheme introduced in 1969 and also the Rural Works Programme as well as the Crash Scheme for Rural Employment. This is so because, in the first instance, the Scheme is supported by a financial provision, part of which has been raised through fresh taxation for the specific purpose, and, in the second, the Scheme has been placed on a systematic organisational and operational footing. Certain shortcomings in the organisation and operation of the Scheme have been found in the course of its working over the last two years.

²²Government of Maharashtra, Planning Department, *Review of the Progress of the EGS* (cycl.), Bombay, June 1976, p. 1.

²³Ibid., *Employment Guarantee Scheme* (cycl.), Bombay, Jan. 1975, p. 14.

²⁴Ibid., *Annual Plan*, p. 54.

The EGS has generated about 90 million mandays during 1975-76 and 50 million mandays during 1974-75 against the estimated 143.0 million mandays to realise the employment requirements of all the needy rural population. The Scheme has provided work to 700,000 rural workers during the peak month of May 1976. About 1,900 works initiated under the Scheme have been completed. Another relieving feature of the EGS in sharp contrast with the experience of the Rural Works Programme and the Crash Scheme for Rural Employment, is the overwhelming percentage of expenditure invested in productive works in minor irrigation, land development and afforestation and the relatively small percentage (5.86) spent on road works. It would, however, repay to examine the quality of the productive works executed under the Scheme²⁵ from the technical point of view through experts in engineering, soil conservation, forestry, and so on. It is not known whether the study team of the Planning Commission that visited the State last year (August 1975) to observe the EGS has fully covered the technical aspect of the EGS works then executed.²⁶ Another distinct gain of the EGS has been the rising popular consciousness in the rural areas of the State regarding their right to employment and the Scheme's potentiality to realise popular expectations.²⁷

The two most crucial shortcomings in the working of the EGS that have come to notice are the absence of blueprints of works to be taken up for execution in the Scheme²⁸ and the incomplete manpower budgets prepared in each of the tehsils in the districts.²⁹ The absence of blueprints of works caused disruption in the chain of employment process in which the labourers waited to be absorbed. Due to the incomplete preparation of the manpower budgets for the villages by each of the village panchayats, the exact estimate of the number of employment seekers in each locality was not available. This affected the choice of the location of works and caught the administration unawares in the face of large groups of work-seekers in places where works were not available. The shortage of technical personnel, particularly junior engineers in the zilla parishads and panchayat samitis and other offices, has been mentioned as the main handicap responsible for the absence of blueprints of works. Now that the curb on the appointment of junior engineers has been relaxed by the Government,³⁰ the situation is expected to improve. But

²⁵K.S. Kamat, "Limitations of EGS", *Sakal* (Marathi Daily) dated 15-4-1975.

²⁶Government of Maharashtra: *Annual Plan* 1976-77, p. 52.

²⁷See the coverage of the news on the EGS in the State in newspapers like *Sakal*, *Kesari* (both Marathi dailies), (*Poona*), *Times of India*, (Bombay), during April 1974-March 1976.

²⁸रोजगार हमी योजना समिती १९७५-७६ (चौथी महाराष्ट्र विद्यान सभा) पहिला अहवाल (नागपुर, महाराष्ट्र विद्यानमंडल सचिवालय, विसम्बर १९७५), p. 18; दुसरा अहवाल (मुंबई ११ मे १९७६, p. 1, तिसरा अहवाल (जुलै १९७६, मुंबई), p. 1.

²⁹रो. ह. यो. समिती, पहिला अहवाल, p. 19; दुसरा अहवाल, p. 10; तिसरा अहवाल, p. 3.

³⁰रो. ह. यो. समिती, दुसरा अहवाल, p. 1.

an adequate solution of the difficulty has to wait till the report of the committee on work norms of the technical staff and their census is received and acted upon.³¹ The instructions to the staff regarding the preparation of manpower budgets are presently under the consideration of the State Government.³²

The list of prescribed works under the EGS was found unfeasible in particular areas. Now the list has been sufficiently broadened to make it possible for any area such as a 'C' class municipality or the Konkan tract or areas frequently visited by famines to take up suitable works. For example, in 'C' class municipalities brick-making and tile-making works for rural housing projects,³³ in the Konkan tract khar land development works³⁴ and in famine-stricken areas tree plantation,³⁵ can now be undertaken. Another difficulty that was encountered pertained to the payment of the land acquisition cost. Now it has been decided that the cost for land acquisition is to be paid by the department sponsoring the particular work to be taken up under the EGS.³⁶ Works benefiting private persons or groups also can be undertaken now on the basis of the commitment that the grants for administrative purposes and loans extended for the work are credited to the EGS.³⁷

Giving of shelter and first aid facility to the workers in the EGS, as also the provision of the services of a nurse to look after the children of the female labourers, occupies the attention of the administrators. The Legislature Committee on the subject pressed the matter of providing the labourers with implements and accessories free of cost, which the Government has accepted. The zilla parishad executive engineers, as also the tehsil officials, could not disburse the wages to the labourers; the requisite financial authority has now been delegated to these field officials.

The need for strengthening the headquarter's establishments of the District Collector and the tehsildar to keep track of the continuous provision of works, the up-to-date revision of the labourers' registers, accounting and other matters was also underlined by the Legislature Committee. The strengthening of the performance audit squads under the Collector to check the proper working of the EGS was also mooted by the Legislature Committee. But, on account of paucity of funds, these pleas have not been put into action.

³¹रो. ह. यो. समिती, चौथा अहवाल, (मुख्य, जूनाई १९७६), p. 1.

³²*Ibid.*, p. 1.

³³Government of Maharashtra, Planning Dept., *G.R. no EGS-1175/10702/EMP-EGS dated 15th January 1976.*

³⁴*Ibid.*, *G.R. no. EGS 1075/EMP-EGS dated 7th August, 1975.*

³⁵रो. ह. यो. समिती, चौथा अहवाल, p. 66.

³⁶Government of Maharashtra, *G.R. dated 7th August, 1975.*

³⁷*Ibid.*

Coordination between the planning agency, i.e., the Collector's office and the works implementing agencies like the zilla parishad, the public works (building & communications, and irrigation & power) department, soil conservation department, the forest department and so on is a *sine qua non* for the timely and efficient planning and execution of the EGS works. The situation in this respect is not very satisfactory.³⁸

The labourers working in EGS have voiced two sets of grievances: one, regarding the receipt of less than the prescribed wage amount, late receipt, etc.³⁹ and two, pointing to certain irregularities in the operation of the works such as fake signatures of labourers, underpayment of wages and partiality in recruitment of labourers.⁴⁰ The third set of grievances are concerning the slackness in providing work on the EGS projects, the distant locations of the works compelling the labourers, especially the female labourers, to go far away from their residential villages, etc.⁴¹ The newspapers reported both lack of adequate response of the labourers to the work opportunities and the non-response or slow response of the EGS authorities to the demands of the labourers for starting works.⁴²

In regard to the first set of grievances, the Government has instructed the EGS authorities to pay a daily wage of Rs. 3 for the full work covering 7 hours of work a day, subject to the fulfilment of the prescribed quantitative and qualitative norms. Instructions have also been issued for the immediate payment of the wages for weekly work. The district and panchayat samiti advisory committees are expected to spot out cases of irregularity and point them out to the authorities. The administration needs to keenly look into this aspect to ensure that the departmental execution of the EGS works that has replaced the assigning of the works to the contractors is clean. The labourers' demand for work is influenced by such factors as the amount of rainfall, the irrigation facilities in the area, the aptitude of the labourers towards the nature of the work started, the agricultural condition and the location of the works. However, better planning of works and manpower budgeting would improve the matters in this respect.⁴³

³⁸V. Subramanian, "E.G.S.: An Instrument of Creating Work Consciousness," *Lokrajya*, (Bombay, Government of Maharashtra), 32-4 and 5 (July 1 and 16, 1976).

³⁹*Sakal*, 21-6-1974, 26-7-1975; *Maharashtra Times* (Marathi Daily from Bombay), 16-7-1976.

⁴⁰*Sakal*, 14-3-1976, 7-3-1975, 10-9-1974; *Kesari*, 15-9-1975.

⁴¹*Sakal*, 5-6-1976, 3-12-1975; *Kesari*, 4-9-1975.

⁴²*Sakal*, 19-4-1975, 25-4-1975, 28-9-1974, 16-6-1975, 26-8-1975.

⁴³Consult the following among several articles in the journals that deal with some of the aspects of the problem of rural unemployment in India:

(1) R. Gupta, "Rural Works Programme Where It Has Gone Astray", *Economic and Political Weekly* (Bombay), VI-20 (May 15, 1971)

SUGGESTION FOR THE BETTER WORKING OF THE EGS

The introduction and operation of the Scheme on a stable footing have initiated a change in the nature and organisation of the State administration in the field, particularly within the area of the district administration. The change is being felt gradually and its full implications would unfold in due course. An element in this change, *viz.*, grassroot planning, has been in the process of action for a few years, while other elements have made a fresh entry into the arena recently.

The Employment Guarantee Scheme implies constant variations in its three constituents; the clientele of the Scheme, *viz.* the rural labourers; the nature of the function to be performed through the type of works; and the areal constituent *viz.*, the location of the works. This has made the task before the EGS administration more complex, hence more difficult. In the case of the famine public works, this question does not assume prominence because the duration of the famine works is shorter, the works undertaken are usually of a uniform type and the labourers do not mind going over relatively longer distance to reach the works on account of the situational constraint. In the administration of the agricultural function, the *gramsevak* or the extension officer has to meet the cultivators at their farms or residence or the village *chawdi* or the cooperative, but the function to be performed is more or less uniform. Here the function may be a mix of different sub-functions like provision of fertiliser or hybrid seed, of pesticide, and so on, depending upon the kinds of inputs required by the cultivators. The task of the *gramsevak* and the extension officer is relatively much easier than that of the EGS authorities, because in this case only one constituent, the administrative agent, is mobile, the clientele and the location of the function remaining non-variable.

(Continued from page 449)

- (2) B.L. Tripathi, "Rural Employment Retrospects and Prospect", *Khadi Gramodyog*, (Bombay), xix-4 (January 1973)
- (3) G.B. Rodgers, "Effects of Public Works on Rural Poverty: Some Case Studies from the Kosi Area of Bihar", *Economic and Political Weekly* (Bombay), VIII-4-6 (Ann. No. Feb. 1973).
- (4) P. Visaria and L. Visaria, "Employment Planning for the Weaker Sections in Rural India", *Economic and Political Weekly* (Bombay), VIII-4-6 Feb. 1973.
- (5) Raj Krishna, "Unemployment in India", *Economic and Political Weekly* (Bombay), VIII-9 (March 3, 1973).
- (6) D.P. Apte, "Crash Scheme for Rural Employment", *Economic & Political Weekly* (Bombay), VIII-12 (March 24, 1973).
- (7) N.S. Jodha, "Special Programmes for the Rural Poor Constraining Framework", *Economic & Political Weekly* (Bombay), VIII-13 (March 31, 1973).
- (8) K. Ahuja, "Agricultural Unemployment in Rajasthan", *Economic and Political Weekly* (Bombay), VIII-39, (Sept. 1973.)
- (9) L. C. Atti, "Unemployment among Female Agricultural Labourers", *Economic and Political Weekly* (Bombay), 27-3-1976.

In the administration of the educational function, the most congenial situation is provided by a stable school population. As in the administration of the agricultural service, in the administration of the health-and-medical service, the most convenient arrangement is furnished when the health-cum-medical agent serves the rural households at their doorsteps.

The uncertainty in the operation of the EGS arising out of the concomitant variations in the three constituents, the clientele, the nature of the function and the location of the works can be reduced by detailed objective planning, at the grassroots, of works and for meeting the needs of the manpower. The EGS has stressed the planning of works and, of and for, manpower. A vital pre-requisite for such planning is the conduct of detailed surveys of the natural, economic and human resources of each village and town in the tehsils of every district. These surveys would form the substance and foundation of the district planning being implemented in the State. Such surveys would also provide a sound basis for the framing of the district plans of other programmes, schemes and projects of the various departments of the State. The surveys of manpower and its needs would provide a correct basis for the proper planning of the works and their locations. Convenient locations of the works would minimise the mobility of the labourers, far away from their residential villages. Variations in the nature of functions to be served by the works, as for example, irrigation, soil conservation, prevention of water-logging, plantation, etc., are difficult to be eliminated altogether. But the labourers seeking work in the EGS could be trained in a limited number of functions suited to their aptitudes and physical capacity. It has been a common experience in all unemployment relief public works that women join in larger numbers than men. Women are not suited to take to any type of work, so they have to be trained in a few types of works suited to their capacity and aptitudes. Variations in the particular labourers seeking work are unavoidable. Such fluctuations occur due to changes in family circumstances, in their residence and in the economic condition of the area of their residence. However, the physical and economic hardships of the labourers could be alleviated and to an extent avoided if their requirements in regard to food, shelter, and medicine and health are cared for.

Provision of the services of the social welfare workers at the EGS works has not so far attracted the attention of the Government. This is another element in the changed situation of the State administration. The welfare of the women, children and old labourer inmates of the camps, sometimes even mobile camps, has to be ensured by appointing trained social welfare workers in charge of these camps.

The planning of the blueprints of the works as well as the manpower budgeting is to be executed by the tehsildars according to the guidelines of the

EGS. The overall guidance and control over the tehsils in this respect would be exercised by the District Collector's office. The respective roles of the tehsil office, the Collector's office and the panchayati raj bodies require to be spelled out.

The District Collector has been brought back into the district development administrative set-up in the Maharashtra State, as in some other States. He now looks after district planning as also the Employment Guarantee Scheme. Sixty per cent of the EGS works are executed by the zilla parishads in the State. Consistently with the nature of the zilla parishads, as the primary and major development organisation in the districts, the organisation for the EGS, as also for the district planning, needs to be placed under the roof of the zilla parishads. This would not affect the Collector's position as the vice-chairman of both the district planning and the EGS committees.



"To organize himself and his work more effectively, an executive must develop a 'talent for perspective' about himself and his job... Without it, no pre-occupation with managerial techniques and time-saving tricks will be of any lasting avail."

CARL HEYEL
(In '*Organizing Your Job in Management*')

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POLITICS AND DISTRICT ADMINISTRATION IN INDIA*

S.N. Sadasivan

ADMINISTRATION has ever been the main instrument for regulating the ways of society. In democracy, although politics, administration and social structure are apparently divisible, they often tend to interact so intensely as to make the distinction between them merely theoretical. As a representative system, democracy seeks to bring the people and the administration closer to each other through the working of its two main instrumentalities of institutional importance, namely, political parties and pressure groups. Its constitutional structure provides for competitive politics and facilitates the elected majority in the legislature to assume control over the administration legitimately. The civil service is created, protected and regulated by political doctrines to be strictly a neutral force, to preserve the common stock of parties and groups contending for power. The grassroots politics of democracy takes a definite form to be an integral part of the national politics at the district level. Therefore, in constitutional countries, district or similar territorial unit is an important region both from political and administrative angles.

DISTRICT ADMINISTRATION IN THE PAST

From the historical perspective, district administration in India was designed to resist political activities and political pressures rather than to generate a climate to enable local social forces to resolve political conflicts in the larger interest of society. In facilitating the introduction of their system of administration, based on the rule of law, the British modified the then existing pattern to the extent necessary to make it really effective primarily for the purpose of realizing land revenue and enforcing law and order. The centralization measures they had taken in building up a prefectorial model district administration in a feudal bureaucratic society, yielded quick dividends from the angle of their imperial objectives but the consequences of such measures could be abated to some extent only with their programme of participation of Indians in the administration and with the introduction of local

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* The writer recollects the discussions he had on the theme with a number of Collectors specially Mr. P. Subramaniam, a former Collector of Poona and Mr. V. Balasubramanian, Deputy Commissioner, Bangalore.

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self-government. However, important functions and powers of the district administration remained intact in the hands of the Collector who as the head of the district and the representative of the Government in the district, was also authorised to exercise supervisory and regulatory jurisdictions over all activities in his territory and exercise residuary powers according to his discretion.

Politics was indeed a minor affair in the district until 1920 and important Indian political leaders being of high stature and having imbibed the values of western liberalism established a rapport or equation directly with the British rulers either of the provincial or Central level. As a result of the pattern of relationship they evolved, the influence that was allowed to be exercised over the district administration was from the aristocracy friendly to the British power in India. By and large, influence by this aristocracy was employed in the preservation of its interests and for securing honours and titles from the British Government. However, with the rapid development of politics and political parties between 1920 and 1940, the district administration was increasingly brought into the field of politics, not to associate the people with its activities, nor to provide positions to political leaders, but as a machinery to control political activities and the law and order problems arising therefrom.

Although policies for the maintenance of political peace was largely formulated by the Government, the district head was assigned an independent role in their implementation. Except in large cities and provincial capitals, the responsibility for the maintenance of public tranquillity was directly shouldered by the Collector whose discretion in this matter was as wide as his freedom. For 25 years prior to Independence the district administration was constantly confronting political forces in the country rather than being influenced by them.

With the advent of self-government, the role of the district administration was so changed that on the one side it had to be loyal and obedient to a new political executive, the members of which under the flag of the Congress often in the past defied its authority, and, on the other, to deal with political parties outside the Government and their agitations organized as an element of national political culture. And in course of time when the Congress launched mass political campaigns in the States where some non-Congress parties were in power, the district administration had to perform one of the most difficult and delicate tasks of maintaining social peace under the vigilant eyes of the Central authorities.

The responsibilities brought about by the institution of a full-fledged democracy were hardly capable of effecting a major change in the structure

of the district administration except for the panchayat raj especially in Maharashtra and Gujarat in place of the old local self-government consisting of taluk boards and district boards. Although in theory the relationship between the Collector and other departmental district officers entered a new flexible phase, it remained more or less as before in theory. In the new democratic process, the district administration has not only to be responsive to the various demands of the people but also has to be accommodative enough to admit social groups, political parties and other organized bodies for the purpose of entertaining their appeals and representations either on their behalf or on behalf of their clientele or supporters, approaches or help-seekers.

In democracies, pressure groups are constantly on the move for the promotion of their interests and they have, of late, attained institutional importance. In their interaction between political parties and Government, they have been also able to provide some of the best political leaders and governmental executives and take up the causes of less effective groups. However, in India, except the communal ones, they are, on the whole, not well-organized nor yet equipped for a regular institutional operation and, therefore, they tend to habitate themselves in major political parties for achieving their objectives. Paradoxically, some of the political parties like the Republican Party of India, in view of the environmental constraints and social limitations, are forced to function as pressure groups. As a result, at certain levels, more obviously in the district, it has become difficult to distinguish clearly between the manifestations of political influences and pressure group activities.

DISTRICT—AN IMPORTANT POLITICAL UNIT

Generally, political parties in India, save some of those believing in revolutionary ideologies, have taken the district as an important unit of their organization and, therefore, it is a part of their operational strategy to establish a close proximity with the district administration. As champions of the causes of common masses, parties have a responsibility to represent their grievances, redress for many of which can be obtained from the district office. For obvious reasons, the pattern of influence varies from State to State, although identity can be found between the matters for which parties compete among themselves and intercede with the district office. By and large, the political influences on the district head are determined by the following factors:

1. The attitude of the party in power, especially its political executive, towards administration and administrators.

2. The number of Ministers, MPs and MLAs elected from the district and their stature and local prominence.
3. The number of political parties and their standing and strength in the district.
4. The types of issues with which the political parties are concerned and their relation or relevance to the causes or demands of the people in the district.
5. The capacity of the parties for mass mobilization and the emotional strength of the people to respond to the call of the parties. In other words, the agitational potentials of the parties in the district.
6. The powers and functions of the Collector and his general ability to bring about social reconciliation.
7. The reputation and personality of the Collector and his social disposition.
8. The position obtained by the party leaders in their informal relations with the Collector or the equations they have established with him.

Due to the free functioning of political parties, the increasing awareness of the people of their rights and the training undergone by the civil servants, the district administration not only realizes that political intervention and influences are facts of official life in a responsible Government but admits that they are, at times, necessary, and perhaps even inevitable. Apart from furthering their own vocational interests, politicians as representatives of the people have a responsibility to solve their problems and redress their grievances. The masses in India are still the victims of illiteracy, ignorance and fear, and in the continuing absence of voluntary social agencies, only well-organized political parties have the strength and courage to espouse their cause and fight for their rights.

Of course, on account of the past, there is still an area of harboured distrust and disregard between politicians and the district office but it is gradually transforming into one of mutual understanding and esteem. In States like Kerala where several opposition parties could remain in power for fairly long periods, political leaders are fully aware of the difficulties of administrators and tend to appreciate their points of view, especially on a contested issue provided they are supported by cogent and adequate reasons. Again in smaller States like Kerala where normally pressures are applied directly on the political executive even for relatively small matters, the district

office is less frequented by local politicians. However, Ministerial intervention with the Collector is of a different kind. Ministers both of the Centre and the States directly contact the Collector for getting things done either for their constituents or parties and unless he has enough political sense, tact, patience and reason and capacity to present his points of view, he may create situations for a confrontation or may be forced to take wrong decisions. Nevertheless, as political heads of departments, Ministers are, on the whole, inclined to appreciate the difficulties of the Collector provided the matters of their intervention are not directly related to their political interests.

PURPOSE OF POLITICAL PRESSURE ON THE COLLECTORATE

Although the purpose for which political pressures are applied on the Collectorate cannot exhaustively be enumerated or foreseen, they can be broadly classified as follows:

1. Postings and transfers of employees belonging to Class III and class IV services.
2. Appointments to Class III and Class IV services which are temporary and short term especially in States like Kerala, Tamil Nadu and Karnataka.
3. Appointment of Government pleaders and prosecutors in States where it is done on the recommendations of the Collector.
4. Issue of licenses for fair-price shops in States where the district supply officer is under the control of the Collector and the Collector has the authority for it.
5. Dropping of action taken against smugglers of essential commodities particularly foodgrains in border districts and against hoarders and black-marketeers.
6. Settlement of local issues in which political parties have taken sides.
7. Eviction of illegal occupants of Government or private land and allotment of surplus land in rural areas and house-sites and plots in cities.
8. Relief in times of emergencies such as drought, deluge and famine.
9. Acquisition of private property for public purposes.

10. Facilities for political activities and withdrawal of cases arising from political conflicts.

Mostly, convenient postings and transfers are sought through political channels by the employees who could not establish proximity with key district office personnel or who have more contact with political leaders. Even in the district headquarters where proper registers for postings and transfers are maintained, Collectors are approached for more advantageous transfers often on less convincing grounds, and if not injurious to some other employees, the intelligent and tactful among them do not find any harm to their prestige in ordering such transfers. However, friction is a possibility where the intervening political elements fail to appreciate the justness of the transfers ordered by the Collector on disciplinary grounds. In this respect the persistency of an influential or important Minister can cause considerable damage to the disciplinary structure of the district office and erosion of the authority of the office of the Collector.

Ministers, of course, may step in to stop transfers motivated by personal prejudice or vindictiveness because administrative correction in the interest of justice and fair-play is the responsibility of the political authorities and, if it is not done at the appropriate time, the accumulating frustration may prove to be fatal to the morale of the employees, more so at the lower levels of the Government. Enforcement of discipline must be fully in conformity with the principles of justice.

Although the power of the Collector to make appointments to subordinate positions is limited all over the country, it differs from State to State. Its variation and the levels of unemployment are the two factors that enable one to gauge the political pressures exercised over the Collectorate in the matter of appointment. Politicians are a class who normally thrive by full promises and partial performance and they have to placate a number of social groups especially in the field of employment. A major national problem to be solved in all developing countries is unemployment and every political party is programme-bound to solve it to the satisfaction of the people.

Normally those who approach politicians to secure temporary jobs in the Collectorate or a clerical or non-technical position in a cooperative business or a cooperative hospital, under the control of the Collector, are persons who have little scope elsewhere and been environmentally handicapped, and politicians cannot ignore their appeal for help. If the Collector and the political leaders alike realize their social responsibility to the unemployed, some useful criteria for recruitment can amicably be evolved taking into consideration the efficiency required in the district office and the weightage to be given to the backward sections. Where the Collector proved his impartiality and

determination to go by the merit of job-seekers for their selection, hardly has there been any political intervention, while undue favour shown to a candidate or a nepotic inclination on the part of the official often provoked strong political reaction. However, occasions are not few when the Collector has to surrender his best judgement in the matter of appointment to expediency under Ministerial pressures. As unemployment becomes more and more acute, it is a common phenomenon that higher and higher influences will come to the aid of seekers of smaller and smaller jobs. Thus in Kerala, Ministers belonging to various parties sometimes personally indicate their choice to the Collector for temporary appointments to Class IV cadre.

Recommendations for appointments to the posts of the district Government pleader and, prosecutor are, however, no easy task for the Collector. Besides political parties, powerful communities vie with one another for obtaining these posts for their qualified members because these are influential, prestigious and remunerative by the social standards of the district. In smaller States, it is quite often possible that Ministers might have already informed the Collector of their preferences and, therefore, he is compelled to articulate his recommendations as unbiased to escape from local criticism. However, a discriminating Collector has not failed to sponsor the names of the deserving candidates while gracefully accommodating the Ministerial nominations in the descending lines of the list.

Obtaining a licence for a fair-price shop to a locally influential person is a big favour a political leader can do in stabilising his importance and hegemony in his district. Politicians invariably take up the cases of the rejected applicants with the Collector and at times organize agitations or protest demonstrations in order to pressurise him to concede their claims. With the introduction of cooperatives for the sale of controlled commodities although competition for individual licenses is weakened to some extent, party affiliations have led the cooperatives to compete for cornering the supplies of more popular items in their motive for bigger profits. They also find politicians' help indispensable to cover up the irregularities and lapses, and the failures to comply with statutory requirements. In all these cases the Collector has to withstand enormous pressures if he has to enforce the concerned rules and regulations.

Smuggling is, in fact, an illegal movement of goods from a less profitable market to a more profitable market. While it is a violation of the man-made laws, its success is on account of its compatibility with the trend of nature respected in a free market economy. Within the country the propensity of every State is to encourage in-smuggling of essential commodities which it is short of and discourage their out-smuggling. Mostly inter-State smuggling is in foodgrains and, at times, in sugar. In States where detection of smuggling

is left primarily to tehsildars and sub-inspectors of police, the smugglers escape effective action due to intelligible reasons. Anti-smuggling operations in States like Tamil Nadu and Kerala are under the direct control of the Collector and once he detains a vehicle (normally a truck or a lorry) with smuggled foodgrains, there can be expected political intervention to free the vehicle and its crew and to shield the men behind its movement. Foodgrain smugglers, like hoarders and blackmarketeers, are an easy and liberal source of finance for political activities and, therefore, parties, irrespective of their ideologies and affiliations, are interested in getting them out of the hands of law. If their intercession with the Collector does not yield result, they attempt to bring Ministerial pressure upon him. Often parties contact the Collector through their Ministers and if he is not resilient and cautious enough to vindicate his action, he may not be successful in defending the cause of law.

It has now become habitual with political parties to take sides on all issues arising in their neighbourhood and support the contending groups, in stabilizing and consolidating their social base and to obtain financial gains or means of subsistence for their local full-timers. As the authority for the maintenance of public tranquillity, the Collector has the responsibility to bring the conflicting groups to compromise or take action against those who violate the law to the benefit of those who seek its protection. The disputants normally come to the Collector backed by their respective party full-timers and their issues range from elopement to encroachment. They try to enlist the support of their leaders and Ministers and they demand the indulgence of the Collector according to the strength they mustered. It is not unusual for a Collector to receive instructions on telephone from a Minister as to how to act in a particular case and unless he has inexhaustible patience, power of persuasion, a sound personal strategy and high integrity, the independence of his judgement may not entirely be in favour of justice where it is due. When the intervention is without the support of Ministers, the social temperament of the Collector is a great asset to his discretion and freedom to bring the disputants to an agreement on the lines suggested by him.

Political leaders are themselves directly interested in the allotment of surplus land in the rural areas and plots and house-sites in towns and cities and they are approached by people of all walks of life to get suitable allotments. Generally party leaders tend to give priority to their own needs and to the requests of their relations and supporters in their approach for allotment of land. As land reform is at present entirely within the purview of the States, a party in power in a State is in full control over the distribution of the available land there.

In States where the demand for surplus land and the pressure of popula-

tion on land are not too heavy, the Collector has been given powers to distribute the private land above ceiling and the vacant land belonging to the Government. However, the powers of the Deputy Commissioner (Collector) and the Assistant Commissioner (Sub-Collector) in Karnataka to distribute land upto the limit of ten and six acres, respectively, were transferred to the land tribunals, upon their formation. In Kerala and Tamil Nadu the Collector still has the authority for land allotment but it is often used under Ministerial directions. The land tribunals in Kerala are administrative courts headed by junior officers of the rank of tehsildar and they have powers under the Kerala Land Reforms Act not only to adjudicate land disputes but transfer the ownership of private or public land to the occupants.

The ceiling in the northern and western States are higher than that of the southern States and the task of redistribution of surplus land is not very complicated there. Further, due to political tackling of the problem in some of these States, the Collector's role is simplified to a great extent. However, in States where the main burden of distribution of land and allotment of plots and sites is placed on the Collector, he has to develop an enormous amount of both political sense and skill to prove his impartiality and to admit the claims of the really deserving. The eviction of illegal occupants from both private and Government lands is indeed a very complicated task for the Collector.

In States where militant political parties have a popular base or well-trained cadres, illegal occupation of vacant and forest lands is encouraged by them as a part of their strategy of expansion and demonstration of their programmatic honesty or ideological sincerity. In Kerala about a lakh of well-organised members of the powerful Catholic Church with the support of the Marxists occupied extensive areas of forest and temple lands in the closing fifties and early sixties and the occupants themselves organised into a new political party of left orientation and traditional religious affiliation. The 'land grab movement' started by the communists, the socialists and the Republican Party of India on a national basis, however, was not difficult for the district administration to contain, especially in the Congress-ruled States.

Eviction involves a major human problem and a Collector with concern for the welfare of the community cannot ignore all its implications and consequences. In evictions, especially mass-evictions, the encroachers have the defence of political parties and are likely to get immense public sympathy. Even if their displacement is for the utilisation of the land for public purposes, their demands will be land for alternative settlement and liquid resources to start a fresh living. Sometimes their resistance may gain widespread public support and their cause may get more attention from the

legislature than expected. If the Collector has the support of the political executive, his task of eviction can more easily be performed by evolving solutions acceptable to all sides, including, if necessary, reconciling with the situation. The Collector can, however, be effective with his eviction plan provided it is imperative, the political executive is neutral and he has explored the means at his disposal to convince the parties concerned of the reasonableness of its purpose. Nonetheless, pressures against eviction exerted on the district administration are from a number of sources and invariably heavy. It is a question on which even the most indifferent citizen has to make a comment related to the functioning of the district administration.

Although reaction against acquisition of private property for industrial or public purposes is not so widely manifest as in the case of eviction, political influences are exercised on the district administration by the affected property-owners in various ways either for excluding their possessions from acquisition or for getting a higher assessment for their property than the prevailing market value. Small owners who have to leave their land and dwelling, often find out local contacts to mediate between them and the lower officials engaged in acquisition and if they are unsuccessful, seek the help of politicians to represent their case before the Collector or political parties to agitate to get them justice. In some States, parties have been successful in persuading either the district authorities or political executives in reversing the decision of acquiring private property if thereby a number of poor families had to suffer. On the other hand, where they have been satisfied with the justness of acquisition for public purposes or common welfare, they have not extended their demands beyond alternative space and shelter for the affected. In avoiding undue hardship to the common man, Collectors, well-disposed to social needs, consult the political and social leaders and collect the intelligence necessary for assessing the consequences of acquisition in advance.

Exemption from acquisition is normally sought by influential persons who are regarded as important to political parties and if the Collector is successful in harmonising the purpose of acquisition with the interests involved, his administrative talent may have a wider acknowledgement.

Natural calamities like famine, flood and drought demand prompt mobilization of resources and energies of the district administration and it is in these contexts that the Collector finds the cooperation and assistance of the political leaders of his district, particularly the MPs and MLAs, most essential. People's participation in the implementation of the programme drawn up to fight natural calamities will be freely forthcoming provided their representatives have a role in its formulation. At times to serve his political objectives or to get a favoured treatment to his constituents, it is not unusual

for an MP or an MLA to claim his district or taluk as drought or famine affected and it is the responsibility of the Collector to verify the conditions there, before he concedes the demand for relief operations. Even if the findings of his enquiry officers are to the contrary, unless he visits the area with the MP or the MLA, and is prepared to make a convincing report to the political executive, there is every likelihood of the legislator making public allegations or complain to the concerned Minister against the Collector.

If the Collector has to extend his social influence necessary for administrative effectiveness and secure popular support to his programme implementation, as far as possible he should not discriminate between one party and another in providing facilities for political activities except in a situation beyond his control. Similarly, prosecution against political workers for violations of law may be launched irrespective of their party affiliations and, of course, with an intention and readiness to adjust with the future course of events. Both in the extension of facilities for political activities and prosecution of political activists, the Collector has to be pragmatic enough to adjust with the realities to avoid the exertion of influences and to uphold his administrative ethics based on the concept of the rule of law.

There are several other purposes for which the political power seeks the assistance of the district administrative machinery. The more flexible a district administration proves to be in the context of democratic values and discipline, the greater will be the proclivity of politicians to use it for their ends. However, an ideal equilibrium between administrative objectives and political influences can be established in a democracy where there is an effective and responsible opposition and the ruling party has reconciled to the idea of alteration of power as the most inviolable rule in the ethos of democratic life.

POLITICAL INFLUENCE ON ADMINISTRATION

On the whole, the Collectors of the various States are of the view that of the matters for which politicians intervene or intercede with the district administration, some are just and some are unjust. However, they are conscious of the fact that the contact of politicians with the district office enables them to understand the problems of the people in different dimensions and depths and to determine the extent of popular base each political party has in their districts. It also gives them opportunity to assess the abilities of individual leaders and perceive the nature and implications of the problems for which solutions are sought.

The prevailing opinion in the district offices is that the local leaders of the Communist Party of India, the Communist Party of India (Marxist) and

the Bhartiya Jana Sangh are trained and well-equipped to present the cases of the people with data painstakingly collected and facts and figures cogently organized. In a district where the Congress is divided into two factions, it is habitual with them to support rival claims in a dispute by demonstrating Ministerial loyalties and the task of the Collector in bringing them to an agreement is indeed arduous and he may have to face invisible set-backs and hidden hindrances as he proceeds with it.

Political influences in a democracy is inescapable for any administrator. As the ethos of democracy enables society to mould a party system capable of alternation of power, there will be greater possibilities for the preservation of the doctrines of civil service namely, neutrality, anonymity and continuity to minimise and legitimise the political pressures upon the district administration.



"I might not have time to see Secretaries to Government or any officials. But I never say 'No' to an ordinary man who comes to see me. When he comes to see me, that individual is not an individual. He represents to me the millions of people like him. I think in terms of those millions. India is not me and you. India is the lot whom we presume to treat with contempt and courtesy. It is therefore very important how we deal with the public."

—JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

(Reproduced from *Jawaharlal Nehru and Public Administration*)

STATE CONTROL OVER MUNICIPAL BODIES

Mohit Bhattacharya

TWO antithetical ideas have stood in the way of a proper appreciation of State-municipal relations. Proponents of *paternalism* have stuck to the viewpoint that the municipal bodies have to be regularly controlled, supervised, guided, and occasionally punished to get work out of them. At the other end are the advocates of populism who are staunch supporters of unbridled municipal democracy run by elected city fathers opposed to any sort of 'interference' from the State Government. The truth seems to lie in between these two polar opposites. Complete centralization of powers tends to transform local 'government' into local 'administration', and the strength of a central government that tries to keep local government weak is an illusive strength.

The populists are ignorant of the fact that municipal democracy as a form of government can be stronger with, and not without, central government support. Left to itself as an isolated enclave, local government can never be an efficient instrument of local governance. It is only within a network of relationships—both horizontal and vertical—that local government can expect to muster strength.

STATE CONTROL WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF RECIPROCITY

State control over the municipal bodies has to be understood within this framework of reciprocity. The performance of municipal bodies has importance not only for the municipalities themselves, but also for the State and Union Governments. 'Control' need not be interpreted as a device for curbing and restricting the domain of municipal bodies. From the management point of view, control is meant for monitoring and evaluation purposes. Theoretically, one can conceive of a process of standard setting by the higher level government. The objective of monitoring is to measure current performance of local government units as on-going systems. Monitoring devices must go hand in hand with effectuating or action devices to correct any deviant performance and return it to the preset standards. The purpose of 'evaluation' is to check whether a local government unit at the end of a period, say, one year, has been able to achieve certain preset standards. It is possible, similarly, to evaluate the whole system of municipal government and find out how the system has fared in fulfilling planned targets.

The way State control over the municipal bodies is actually being activated now does not seem to indicate any systematic management orientation. All the Municipal Acts contain almost identical provisions regarding 'control' which includes inspection and calling for records and returns, annulment of decisions, action in default, supersession and dismissal of elected councils. There are other means of control over personnel, taxation and budgetary processes. In addition, there are functional or technical controls in respect of specific municipal functions such as health and sanitation, roads and public works, water supply and drainage and sewerage and so on.

It is pointless to quibble over the *formal* provisions of law pertaining to State supervision. What is important is to find out the *actual* nature of control exercised by the State over the municipal bodies. For instance, in how many cases have the State Governments invoked the default powers? In how many cases have the municipal resolutions been rescinded? How frequently have records and returns been called for? How many municipalities have really been inspected and at what intervals? In how many instances have the supersession provisions been invoked? These are questions concerning mainly the job of the State's local self-government department (variously named). In the absence of systematic collection of information, it is not possible to answer these questions with a degree of precision. Usually information on supersession gets some publicity. But the other facets of supervision go unnoticed and unreported.

It is even more difficult to understand the actual nature of State-municipal relationships in specific functional areas such as health and sanitation, roads, water supply, etc. Here, the municipal bodies have to deal with a number of State functional departments. They have their separate works manuals, technical scrutiny, conditions regarding funding of projects and staff deployment. It is only through detailed process studies that one can find out the actual nature of interactions taking place between the municipal bodies and the State functional departments. The *formal* framework of State-municipal relations may well be a paper framework. *Really*, what goes on between the State and the municipal bodies might be traceable in the interaction of situations around particular functions. A survey was conducted on the actual nature of functional relationships between the State and the municipalities in four States; and then the formal framework of inter-governmental relationship was placed alongside the actual functional relationships. The result was quite revealing. To quote the study:¹

"This four-State survey reveals varying attitudes of the State functional

¹Mohit Bhattacharya, *State-Municipal Relations*, IIPA, New Delhi, 1972, p. 57.

departments toward municipal functional administration. Regarding State-municipal functional relations, Tamil Nadu and Maharashtra exhibit the common features of an integrative administration, although the general frameworks of State-municipal relationship in these two States are not the same. In West Bengal, the general framework is liberal; the formal nature of State-municipal functional relationship is integrationist; and the actual nature of State attitude to municipal administration verges on a *laissez-faire* policy. Only in Gujarat the general framework of inter-governmental relationship and State-municipal functional relations strike a unifying note."

The study went on to observe: "Such divergent departmental attitudes have important policy implications for municipal government as a whole. The municipal functions such as water supply, public health and medical services, education, roads, etc., are closely inter-linked and their developments need to be coordinated. An over-emphasis on the expansion of one particular service, say, education, may not produce the desired result, unless an allied service like health is also planned and developed concurrently. There is an urgent need, therefore, to treat municipal functional development as a whole with all the allied functions moving in concert. It should be one of the principal responsibilities of the house-keeping department at the State level, the Local Self-Government Department, to keep in constant touch with the plans and programmes of the State functional departments and knit them together in order to avoid distorted functional development at the municipal level."

NO METHOD ON STATE CONTROL

Apart from sensational news items such as supersession of the Calcutta Corporation or the Madras Corporation, methodical information on how in practice the State Governments use their different control mechanisms is not readily available. Empirical studies are badly needed to unravel the actual interaction processes, the motivations behind them and the results they produce. It is not unlikely that in one State, there is a whole spectrum of State attitudes to exercise control over municipal bodies. At one end, there may be municipalities that have hardly been touched; at another there may be municipalities which have been rigorously controlled. In between, various shades and degrees of controls may be visible in relation to numerous local authorities. Many critical questions may be posed as key hypotheses which could then be tested through field surveys. For instance, is there any correlation between municipal efficiency, measured as precisely as possible, and State control? Is the degree of State control related to size and complexity of municipal administration? How does State control operate in those cases where the municipal bodies are far removed physically from the State headquarters? Do vertical political linkages have any effect on the nature and degree of control? What is the data-base of State action when controls are

activated in practice? In other words, on what information, does the State Government come to exercise control of specific kinds? These and similar questions relating to State control over municipal bodies can be answered only through case studies and field surveys. Answers to these are necessary to make any generalization about the actual nature of State control. Mere supersession of a handful of municipal bodies should not give the impression that the State Governments have been rigorously controlling municipal governments. It is possible to reach quite opposite conclusions after detailed field surveys that the States do not care much about how the municipalities function in practice. Perhaps, the State Governments swing into action only when, "reportedly", there is gross municipal inefficiency, corruption or financial bankruptcy. Even in these extreme situations, it might be interesting to inquire how the State Government came to know about the state of municipal administration. Not always information would be coming from Government sources. It is the 'grapevine' that works.

From the practical point of view, State control, if it has to be meaningful, must be backed up by a proper support organization of the State Government.² Municipal administration need not be controlled for the sake of control. The State Government must be clear about the objectives of municipal government. Only within a broad State policy toward municipal institutions can 'control' have a definite purpose. Otherwise, as is the custom now, controls of all kinds and degrees will continue to be enforced for *ad hoc* purposes.

To be more specific, one can suggest that broadly speaking, the objectives of municipal government are two-fold: (a) to maintain a system of grass-roots democracy; and (b) to supply a number of civic services to the citizens living in various urban centres. If there is general agreement about these terminal goals of municipal institutions, State control has to be directed towards their achievement. Purposive control is part of the on-going management processes in an organization. As earlier stated, to activate control, intermediate monitoring of the goings on in the municipal bodies has to be done in a planned way. Within a definite time horizon, say a year or a period of five years (to coincide with our five-year plans), a total evaluation of the system of municipal government has also to be completed. Both monitoring and evaluation can be meaningful only against certain pre-set standards.

[✓]It is this absence of any consideration for standards that State control has become random, arbitrary, irksome and highly politicised. Imagine, for instance, a situation when the State has to clamp down supersession. To give

²See, in this connection, Mohit Bhattacharya, *State Directorates of Municipal Administration*, IIPA, New Delhi, 1969.

a sample quotation, the Gujarat Municipalities Act, 1963 provides for the following conditions:

"If in the opinion of the State Government a municipality is not competent to perform, or deliberately makes default in the performance of, the duties imposed on it by or under this Act, or otherwise by law or exceeds or abuses its powers, the States Government may after giving the municipality an opportunity to render an explanation, by an order published, with the reasons therefore, in the official gazette declare the municipality to be incompetent or in default or to have exceeded or abused its powers as the case may be and may dissolve such municipality or supersede it...." (Section 263(1)

Formally, the State Government must strictly follow the requirements of law as laid down, and the supersession order will be valid. But there are many interesting *real* problems involved here. Incompetence or default in performance needs to be proved for which evidences have to be supplied. What actually happens is that all of a sudden, for some reason or other, the supersession decision is taken, and then efforts are made to collect information and evidences to lend support to the decision already taken. Hence, it is commonly held that most supersession decisions are politically motivated. No doubt, such extreme decisions will usually be political in nature. Yet, it is possible to collect data and information regularly by the State administration to have a continuous watch on municipal performance. Political decisions that are backed by objective data are expected to be more convincing.

STANDARDS FOR MUNICIPAL PERFORMANCE

What is being suggested is that the State administration in charge of municipal bodies has first to set standards of performance for different classes of municipal bodies—small, medium and large (or some other classificatory scheme). The municipalities are basically engaged in regulatory and service activities. Buildings regulation and planning fall in the first category. In the second category are familiar municipal services such as water supply, roads, education, health and sanitation etc.

Wherever possible, quantitative targets may be fixed for each municipal function. For instance, per capita water supply, extension of road mileage, coverage of inoculation and vaccination, expansion of drainage and sewerage, tonnage of garbage—all these are quantifiable items. For each group of municipal bodies (classified on some mixed criteria of population, income, jurisdiction, etc.), annual targets may be set in respect of specific functions. On the regulatory side, per capita taxation, absolute tax collection, the number

of building applications cleared, to give some instances, are also quantifiable. Targets of tax collection can be set for a year; similarly targets of building inspection can be estimated over a period. Once such annual targets are set in consultation with the municipal bodies, the State administration has to monitor performance in respect of each function at regular intervals, say, quarterly or half-yearly. This can be done through a mixture of reporting and inspection. But the purpose of monitoring will be to see the progress of each municipality towards the achievement of pre-set targets. In the course of monitoring, the problems of specific municipalities in fulfilling the targets can be discussed and solutions found. If necessary, particular targets may have to be revised in the light of experience. The whole exercise is expected to be helpful for both the State and the municipalities. At the end of a stipulated period, say, a year, the total performance pre-set through target fixation can be evaluated. And the State Government will be in a sound position to see which municipality is lagging behind in which group. Causes can then be diagnosed and remedies suggested. Comparative evaluation of performances of different municipal bodies will give the State a strong data-support with which to frame and revise policies. A scheme of data collection can also be planned for the 'constitutional' aspect of municipal bodies. This will involve regular collection of data regarding the number of meetings of committees and councils, the number and nature of the resolutions passed, attendance of members, etc. This is intended to watch the operation of the political machinery.

More concretely, the following steps are suggested to make State control more purposive and result-oriented:

(i) The State Government should introduce performance budgeting at least in the major municipal bodies where the urban problems are relatively more severe. Performance budgeting has the merit of concretising the 'input-indicators' at the level of each local body. The State Government will then have to watch the performance in each sector of municipal administration and compare progress against the targets set in the budget.

(ii) A set of 'output indicators' has to be developed by the State Government to find out the impact of municipal performance on the urban society and economy. These will be in the nature of urban social indicators³ showing at regular intervals the state of the urban areas in terms of social and economic conditions, health and physical development, literacy growth and environmental improvement.

³See, in this connection, special issue of *Nagarlok* (April-June, 1976) on "Social Indicator for Urban Development".

(iii) The State Government will have to help the municipal bodies, at least the major ones, to frame five-year municipal development plans, which will then be incorporated in the State five-year plan. This will provide a framework for the preparation of the annual performance budget of a municipality.

(iv) Last, but not least, at the State level, a systematic management information system (MIS) has to be developed to methodically collect relevant information in order that the State Government can frame and revise sound policies in regard to municipal bodies, and intervene, whenever necessary, in the affairs of the municipal bodies in the interest of healthy growth of municipal government in the State.

Control in this sense will not be looked at as obnoxious. The State Government will emerge in the process as a facilitator and not as a restricter of municipal activities. Within a national planning framework, negative controls of olden days have to give way to positive management control with adequate information and data storage at vantage points in State administration, and continuous feedback and evaluation of performance. Withdrawal of functions, supersession and setting of alternative organizations are no substitute for hard homework by the State house-keeping departments. If municipal institutions have to be retained and promoted at the grassroots level, State control has to change from restriction to facilitation.

"To be any good, in his youth at least, a scientist has to think of one thing, deeply and obsessively, for a long time. An administrator has to think of a great many things, widely, in their interconnections, for a short time. There is a sharp difference in the intellectual and moral temperaments."

C.P. SNOW
(In *Science and Government*)

SALES TAX ADMINISTRATION IN INDIA

S. Ramamoorthi

FROM a modest beginning in some provinces (as they were then called) in the late thirties and middle forties, the importance of sales tax in the revenue resources of States in India has grown very considerably. In a large number of States, sales tax at present constitutes the major self-raised tax resource of the State Government as shown below :

Relative Contribution of Sales Tax in Different States (1971-74)

Sr. No.	State	Sales Tax as percentage of		
		Total revenue	Total tax revenue	State's own tax revenue
1.	Andhra Pradesh	16.23	25.50	36.70
2.	Assam	14.00	26.98	48.36
3.	Bihar	15.75	22.11	45.49
4.	Gujarat	27.93	44.78	62.15
5.	Haryana	20.16	32.67	40.78
6.	Himachal Pradesh	4.36	15.12	26.36
7.	Jammu & Kashmir	3.96	15.57	29.68
8.	Karnataka	18.51	32.59	45.36
9.	Kerala	24.71	37.66	56.36
10.	Madhya Pradesh	16.78	27.50	45.99
11.	Maharashtra	29.98	45.60	60.46
12.	Manipur	2.71	18.25	50.00
13.	Meghalaya	4.51	20.21	50.32
14.	Nagaland	1.53	21.07	32.90
15.	Orissa	12.87	25.35	53.25
16.	Punjab	22.53	34.64	42.64
17.	Rajasthan	17.05	31.07	49.50
18.	Tamil Nadu	27.20	36.81	48.42
19.	Uttar Pradesh	15.17	24.13	44.85
20.	West Bengal	26.84	36.62	53.74

N.B. : Tripura is excluded from the above table as the sales tax revenue for the year 1973-74 is 'nil'.

Source : Percentages worked out on the basis of data published in the *Reserve Bank of India Bulletin*.

Considering that the taxation powers of the State Government are limited by entries 45 to 63 of List II of the Seventh Schedule of the Constitution and the State Government does not have the residuary powers of taxation, the ingenuities of the State Governments for raising tax resources have to be deployed in a very restricted field. Because of its considerable elasticity, sales tax has been responsive to both real growth and inflation and, unlike certain other tax measures, it has shown a welcome buoyancy to cater to the growing needs of the States for resources for plan and non-plan activities.

In Maharashtra, sales tax contributed nearly 65 per cent of the total self-raised tax resources of the State Government during 1975-76. The number of employees belonging to the sales tax department is over 5,000. While sales tax is mainly a regressive tax measure, progressivity has been sought to be built into it over the years by a number of steps, such as exemption or low rates of sales tax for essential articles and certain articles of lower value that are bought or consumed by the poorer sections of society and higher rates of tax on articles of luxury consumption. In certain cases, where the consumption of certain goods is sought to be discouraged on policy grounds, the tax rates on such items have been pitched prohibitively high although such high tax rates may run counter to the interests of revenue. It has not always been easy to reconcile the needs for substantial additional resources to finance the Government's activities with the policy needs for making the tax as progressive as possible. Taxing luxuries at a high rate is certainly politically attractive but does not contribute significantly to the needed resources. Some State Governments have also faced a dilemma, when tax rates on acknowledgedly luxury articles, such as motor cars or television sets, were made out to be too high leading to a sizable fall in demand for these items which, in turn, implied that a large number of persons employed in the production of these articles and their components faced the threat of layoff.

SYSTEMS OF SALES TAX

In evolving a system of sales tax, each State has to take into account the characteristics of its own economy. A State where a substantial proportion of the value of sales consists of articles manufactured in the State may choose to levy a single point tax at the point of manufacture. Another State that may specialise in certain agricultural commodities may either levy a tax at each point of sale in the chain of transactions from the producer to the ultimate consumer or the dealer who exports the commodity or levy a tax at one point such as commission agents, because of the relative administrative ease in handling them. So long as the powers to levy sales tax rest with the State Governments, such differences in the systems of sales tax are inevitable and even in the rates of taxation of similar commodities are bound to vary from

State to State. The Government of India have recently constituted a committee under the chairmanship of Shri L.K. Jha to go into the structure of indirect taxation in the country. The committee will, no doubt, make a study in depth of the feasibility of a uniform pattern of sales tax in the country or of either merging it in excise duty or replacing both excise duties and sales tax by a value added tax as is obtaining in a number of other countries, mainly European.

The tentacles of sales tax spread extensively into the various areas of trade. The businessmen on their part use all their ingenuity to beat the system and even more significantly to evade sales tax by resorting to various malpractices. Every State comes across hundreds of instances where the dealers completely suppress transactions and for their own information may keep the so-called No. 2 accounts. The instances that escape detection are surely several times more than the instances that come to the notice of the department. There is a constant battle of wits between the legal, assessing and enforcement authorities of the department on the one hand and the manoeuvres and manipulations of trades, advised and assisted by the best brains (and brawn) the resources of the traders could command.

In this, most sales tax departments do feel considerably handicapped for want of adequate knowledge about the environment in which business decisions are made. To what extent are decisions concerning sales or purchases or locations of factories and branch offices affected by the prevalent rates of sales tax in various States? This is a subject on which the officials make several conjectures, largely tending to the view that decisions are not substantially affected by the taxes and the traders make several assertions largely aimed at bringing the tax rates down. However, concrete facts and figures that will throw light on these questions are generally conspicuous by their absence.

Lack of reliable statistics that would indicate the trends in sales tax revenue commodity-wise and that can be analysed to study the impact of rise or fall in tax rates is almost universal. The need to build up reliable statistics over a number of years to aid the Government in correct policy formulation is only now being realised in most of the States. Besides, the development of a proper intelligence system that will keep track of the *modus operandi* of avoidance and evasion of taxes has also been so far neglected. At present, the department acquires its knowledge of the practices of avoidance through the ingenious arguments that are put forth by the traders during assessments and appeals to minimise their tax liability. So far as evasion is concerned, the department's knowledge mainly consists of conventional wisdom built up over a number of years through raids and investigations of individual dealers suspected to be indulging in malpractices. Coordination with other authorities, such as income-tax, Central excise and the banks (especially the last category)

is still ill-developed. It is quite possible for a dealer to give one picture of the state of affairs of his business to his bankers and another picture to sales tax authorities. This is an area that needs to be explored much further by the sales tax authorities in various States.

The present pattern of training and recruitment of officials in the sales tax department do not seem to take into account the ever growing magnitude and variety of the tasks of the department. In most States, the training is of a rudimentary apprenticeship kind where the new recruit is expected to imbibe the mysteries of the department's working sitting at the feet of old masters (who incidentally may not themselves have an adequate knowledge of their jobs). Training institutions for officials at various levels are generally absent. The recruitment patterns also do not seem to take into account the need for manning a major department like this with highly competent and motivated officials, especially at the senior levels in the years to come.

The principal organisational goal of any tax department is reasonably clear. This is to collect all the taxes (and other dues, such as penalty, interest, etc.) that are administered by the department and legitimately due to the State. This goal has to be achieved efficiently, *i.e.*, at a minimum cost to the exchequer and, at the same time, with the least possible inconvenience to the tax payer.

IMPROVEMENT IN THE STRUCTURE OF SALES TAX DEPARTMENT

How should the organisation be structured to achieve this? By and large, sales tax departments have evolved on the basis of territorial jurisdictions with the officers in charge of a particular area being responsible for all work from registration to recovery in that area. Some States (*e.g.*, Tamil Nadu) have constituted central circles comprising of senior officials to watch over the dealers in the highest sales tax brackets so that assessments are done promptly and defaults in tax payments of these dealers may be kept at a minimum. The smaller dealers may be dealt with expeditiously either by acceptance of their returns subject to certain conditions or by judiciously evolved schemes of composition. The income-tax department has created special circles so that assessee with a similar nature of business or profession are grouped together. This enables the assessing officials to develop specialised knowledge of the characteristics of the business or profession in that area. It does seem worthwhile to group together dealers dealing in certain manufactures or commodities that are of importance for sales tax revenue so that the departmental officials can develop greater specialisation than is the case at present. Knowledge of trade patterns in regard to various commodities is rather meagre among officials of sales tax departments. There are also specialised areas such

as law, enforcement, etc. within the department. An official may have spent years in assessment but may be out of his depth in legal work, especially when it comes to advocacy. Locating officials with a penchant and commitment for these sub-specialisations giving them the necessary further training and developing their skills in these sub-specialisations and deploying them for sufficiently long periods in the concerned areas of work, would certainly benefit the department in the long run.

The procedures for submission of returns, payment of tax and completion of assessments need to be kept under constant review so that the honest tax payer is not subjected to any avoidable inconvenience and the department does not waste its time over trivia. In Maharashtra, we have considerably simplified the procedure for payment of profession tax in Bombay City. The tax payer receives a pre-filled challan and all that he needs to do is to fill up a few particulars in the return attached to the challan and send the challan-cum-return along with his cheque for the tax amount to any branch of the State Bank of India or a nationalised bank where he holds an account. He does not need to submit copies of challans or returns to the department which will arrange to collect the challans and returns directly from the Reserve Bank. The extension of this procedure to the rest of the State in regard to profession tax and also simplification of procedure in regard to sales tax along similar lines is engaging the active attention of the department presently. The internal control mechanisms of most large Government departments and especially taxation departments do need to be reviewed periodically and systematically. Quite a lot of clerical time is wasted in preparing statements and maintaining registers prescribed in some hoary past which have outlived their utility or are capable of drastic simplification. Inadequate delegation of powers and responsibilities tend to eat up a considerable portion of the time of senior officials which ought to be more purposefully spent in the planning and control of departmental activities.

COMPUTERISATION—THE EFFICIENT TOOL

The volume of work handled and the felt-need for efficient tools of planning and control have led a number of sales tax departments in the country to introduce computerisation in the department's work. So far, computerisation has been mainly aimed at the development of commodity statistics. While such statistics are, no doubt, essential for proper formulation of policy, the benefits of computerisation can be experienced only after the statistics are built up over a number of years so as to serve the needs of policy formulation in future. The short term needs for efficient control would not be served by commodity statistics. In the short run, the more tangible benefits of computerisation are likely to be in the areas of default location and pursuit, assessments and recovery. Periodically updated master files of

registered dealers that would furnish information about the returns submitted, taxes paid and assessments completed would enable the officials at various levels of the department to get suitable control reports which will help them set their priorities and those of the subordinates properly and to watch over their performances. This would minimise the waste of time that takes place at present by the assessing officials spending hours and days in routine verifications of dealers with impeccable records of tax compliance or in assessing small dealers who are of little consequence to tax revenue. The time and energy saved thereby could be much more usefully and purposefully deployed in chasing contumacious defaulters and, even more importantly, in enforcement work aimed at tracking down malpractices leading to tax evasion.

As far as one can visualise, the importance of sales tax (or any variation or modification thereof including the value added tax if and when that tax replaces the existing form of sales tax) is bound to grow. To ensure that the department discharges its tasks diligently and smoothly, without much friction between the tax payer and tax gatherer, the officials need to have a full awareness of the impact of the policies relating to the taxes they administer on the economy of the State. The officials also need to be familiar with the techniques of controlling large organisations, of planning purposefully for the proper development of the organisation and of motivating officials at various levels so as to enable them to help develop a proper image of the department that is at once efficient and courteous, helpful to the honest tax payers and firm and diligent in tracking down the dishonest ones. The various areas where definite and deliberate policy decisions have to be taken for proper development of the department are personnel recruitment, training, deployment and promotion policies, working methods, procedures and environment and use of mechanical aids that ensure speed and accuracy and help in the tasks of planning and control.

PANCHAYATI RAJ IN INDIA RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT

G.C. Singhvi

THE Union Government had, a few months ago, urged all the State Governments to ensure that there is genuine transfer of functions and delegation of administrative and financial powers to panchayati raj (PR) bodies.¹ Stress in that compelling communication had particularly been laid on three issues which are of considerable operational significance indeed to panchayati raj.

One is that the panchayati raj bodies which were supposed to be the agencies for socio-economic planning in rural areas have become mere executive agencies of the State Governments.²

The other is that these bodies are not financially sound because very meagre resources have been assigned to them.

The last is that though the panchayati raj bodies were envisaged to be representative in character, no State has had elections regularly.

The Union Government had, in these circumstances, regretted that the State Governments have not kept up the underlying spirit of the panchayat programme.

What has been set out in the preceding paragraphs reveals that panchayati raj is beclouded and the Union Government have publicly voiced their dissatisfaction with the functioning of the panchayat bodies.

This, in other words, shows that panchayati raj is sick and suffering

¹IIPA News letter, Vol. XIX, No. 6—June 1975. News item: "Genuine Transfer of Powers to Panchayat Bodies Urged". The Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi.

²"The tradition of centralism in the country makes the local body more a kind of administrative agent of the State Government, subject to the same conditions of discipline as its paid employees, rather than a Government authority with some exclusive jurisdiction or initiative of its own"—Harold Zink, Arne Wahlstrand, F. Benvenuti and R. Bhaskaran, *Rural Local Government in Sweden, Italy and India: A Comparative Study* (London, 1957), p. 81.

from certain debilitating ailments which are coming in the way of its becoming a success.

It is in this backdrop that an attempt is being made in this paper broadly to identify the ailments and suggest cures so that panchayati raj may steer clear of the pitfalls.

DISTRUST : GOVERNMENTAL AND BUREAUCRATIC

Panchayati raj had to encounter potent and generalised distrust from its very birth (And many voices have pronounced its funeral oration already).³

The political leaders at the State level, the MLAs and even the bureaucrats saw in its birth and anticipated in its ascendancy an irreparable loss of power for themselves which was quite understandable, though not at all justifiable.

They, therefore, while outwardly espousing the cause of panchayati raj were in their heart antagonistic to it, and as such worked in a manner in which they would take back by the left hand what they half heartedly give by the right.⁴ In other words, they resorted to subterfuges for the maintenance of their supremacy.

The inevitable result was that panchayati raj and democratic decentralisation witnessed administration of inadequate doses of democracy and decentralisation and in the process panchayati raj ironically became a casualty.

For, the democratic and decentralisation processes, unless administered in a full dose, do not have the potentiality to serve as their own correctives and, in the absence of a full dose, all high sounding language that may be used to articulate panchayati raj will ring hollow.⁵

It must, however, be said to the credit of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru

³See news item "Panchayats have failed in Assam" appearing in *Hindustan Standard*, Calcutta, January 29, 1971.

⁴"There is hardly a country where the gap between ideals and performances is so big as in India." Then again "in India there is so much difference between theory and practice that, while ideas soar high, execution is meagre". *Jawaharlal Nehru on Community Development and Panchayati Raj*. A Government of India publication, February 1963, pp. 10 and 17, respectively.

⁵"A veteran Congress worker and an MP from Rajasthan in his evidence before the Sadiq Ali Committee held the view that there should either be complete democratic decentralisation or no decentralisation". Dr. Iqbal Narain, "Developmental Administration under Panchayati Raj : The Rajasthan Experience," *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. XIV, No. 1 January-March, 1968, p. 56 n.

that he reckoned with this distrust and cautioned against it in no uncertain terms.

"When we talked of panchayati raj many people were rather doubtful about the capacity of our people to shoulder this burden. I was certain they would make mistakes. Nevertheless, I knew we shall get over this difficulty and gradually develop the system of self-government at every stage. There can be no half-way house in this vital matter. Either you trust the people or you do not. Trusting them partly takes you nowhere, because it does not give them real responsibility and they do not develop properly. Having given this authority and power to them, you should not tamper with it by official interference. Let them make mistakes and let them suffer for those mistakes. The officials must only be advisers; they must not be bosses."⁶

But the officers did become bosses. And the State level political bosses always viewed panchayati raj with suspicion, little realising that these panchayati raj bodies offered a potential outlet in terms of Government power for the local party zealots. These new avenues, if they had been made attractive, could not only have absorbed 'unsatisfied party workers' but also would have acted as "a training and providing ground for promotion up the party ladder".⁷

But the political and bureaucratic bosses did not deviate from their distorted perception and did not soften their attitude and approach towards panchayati raj with the result that panchayati raj was hamstrung.

"It may be well to remember that the crux of the administrative change under panchayati raj is the problem of role equilibrium in regard to officials and non-officials from State level down below and the pattern of inter- and intra-institutional and personnel relationships."⁸

SELF-HELP AND MOBILISATION

In the climate prevailing in the country at the time of birth and infancy of panchayati raj arising out of foreign aid pouring into the country, and centralised missionary approach trying to transform masses, the panchayati raj bodies started "expecting everything from the Government rather than instilling the objectives of mass mobilisation and voluntary self-help".

And not until the panchayati raj bodies endeavoured to attain (and

⁶Address at the Annual Conference of State Ministers of Community Development and Panchayati Raj in New Delhi, on August 3, 1962.

⁷W.H. Morris-Jones, "The Government and Politics of India," London, 1967, p. 189.

⁸Dr. Iqbal Narain, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

would attain) self-sufficiency, could the Government "expect to fulfil developmental, much less political, objectives enunciated in the directive principles of the Indian Constitution".⁹

We must, therefore, develop a new awareness of and recognise the problems connected with self-help and mobilisation as incomparably more urgent than hosts of other problems visibly arrayed.

CITIES AND TOWNS INSULATED

Cities and towns having municipal corporations, municipal councils and town municipalities have not been brought within the area of operation of panchayati raj and a panchayati raj which excludes cities and towns from its operation could hardly be termed as all embracing and complete. Concomitantly, this operational deficiency panchayati raj is beset with has caused the psychological undoing of the panchayati raj.

For unless it extends to the whole district or the whole State or the whole country it cannot generate proper enthusiasm and create an impact.

Cities and towns having the headquarters of the zila parishads and panchayat samitis never evince any interest in these bodies as they feel they are unconcerned.

Furthermore people who matter the most in the national life, State life or district life belong to these urban areas and because of this inexcusable exclusion they have not developed any vested interest in panchayati raj.

Panchayati raj has consequently acquired a rural overtone and a truncated personality.

This ailment could be remedied by extending the panchayati raj system to all the cities and towns by dividing them into wards having population analogous to the population of standard village panchayats and creating ward panchayats therefor.

On that base a panchayati raj pyramidal structure consisting of panchayat samitis and zila parishads could be raised.

There may be big towns and small cities which could have a panchayat samiti each.

⁹Rajni Kothari, "Politics in India," Orient Longman Ltd., 1970, pp. 133-134.

Cities having a population of over half a million (like Hederabad, Ahmedabad, Nagpur, Bangalore, Agra, Allahabad, Poona, Indore, Jubalpore, Jaipur, Madurai, Kanpur, Lucknow, Agra, Varanasi and Patna) could have city zila parishads.

And cities having a population of over 2.5 million like Calcutta, Delhi, Bombay and Madras could be converted into city states and their constituents could have zila parishads, panchayat samitis and ward panchayats.

In this manner all the cities and towns¹⁰ could be brought within the purview of panchayati raj and the existing anomaly of having two sets of local government—one for the urban areas and the other one for the rural areas with the resultant confusions and imbalances generated by the duality could be done away with.

STATUS BOOSTING SYMBOLS

Panchayati raj has received a great set-back not so much because of the incompetence or disinterestedness on the part of the non-officials but because of the indifferent treatment meted out to them.

The scheme needed incentives just as an infant needs support to be able to stand up on his own legs. These incentives were zealously (or jealously?) withheld.

And then we blame the non-officials for the failure of the system.

In the words of John Ruskin "you knock a man into a ditch, and then you tell him to remain content in the position in which Providence has placed him".¹¹

The incentives that should have been provided could have been like the ones that follow.

The pramukh of the zila parishad should be number one citizen of the district. Whenever the President or the Prime Minister of India, the Governor, Chief Minister of the State or any other V.I.P. comes to the district, the

¹⁰"Certainly if a new India is to be created, it will have to have its roots in the villages and districts and cities, and here the local bodies and State Governments will either be agencies of change or bottlenecks too narrow to permit the entrance of vitalizing forces into those areas where most of the people of India dwell." Norman D. Palmer, "The Indian Political System" (Boston, 1970), p. 174.

¹¹John Ruskin, "The Crown of Wild Olive", George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London, para 40 of Lecture on 'Work'.

pramukh of the zila parishad should receive him and then he should introduce the officials and non-officials of the district to the V.I.P.

He must have a status equivalent to that of a Minister of a State Government. All gazetted officers on posting to the district should call on him in his office.

He should have an armed police guard at his residence. He should be entitled to fly national flag at his residence, and on his personal as also State cars.

He should endorse the annual confidential reports of all the district level officers (connected with developmental administration).

He should not be made a member of any committee which is presided over by any official of his district. If inclusion of a representative of the zila parishad, however, becomes imperative, the secretary of the zila parishad should be nominated for the purpose.

He should also take the salute at the public ceremonial parades on the Independence Day and the Republic Day.

Finally, the Collector or the Chief Executive Officer, whosoever he be, should extend to him the same dignified treatment as the State Chief Secretary extends to the State Chief Minister above and the B.D.O. (Vikas Adhikari) extends to the pradhan of the panchayat samiti below.

Similar incentives could be devised for the pradhans of the panchayat samitis and the sarpanchas of the panchayats in their respective areas of operation.

One may ask as to what the relevance is of these phenomena to the developmental administration of a district.

To such an inquirer the author's humble reply would be that these tools are status symbols and have always been made use of with advantage for enhancing the status of Ministers and civilians.

If these status symbols which are compatible with power, privilege and prestige are bestowed on the non-officials at the helm of affairs in the developmental administration of a district, tehsil or ward, village, panchayati raj will unquestionably get a boost up.¹²

¹²See author's article "Panchayati Raj Hamstrung : A Problem of Power" in *Kurukshetra*, New Delhi, June 1, 1971, pp. 3-4.

JUDICIAL PANCHAYATS—MISSING DETAILS

The nyaya panchayats were to be the judicial wing of panchayati raj. Acts and rules were framed but minor details on which the operation of the Act and rules depended were not worked out as a part of follow up action.

To illustrate, judicial panchayts are debarred from taking cognizance of offences in which the accused person has previously been convicted in certain types of offences.

The question that unavoidably arises is how shall judicial panchayats know whether the accused person who has come up before them has been convicted in any of the offences enumerated. It has also not been laid down who shall maintain the record of all such convictions.

Similarly if a complaint relating to the commission of a crime is lodged simultaneously with the judicial panchayat and with the police or judicial magistrate, who will proceed with it and who will not has also not been laid down.

Some system will have to be devised whereby each one of these three agencies comes to know about complaints lodged with the other two.

Instances like these could be multiplied. In sum, follow up action in pursuance of the Acts and rules need to be taken up in all earnestness without which the Act and rules will be not only meaningless but self-defeating also.¹³

ECONOMICAL AUDIT OF PERFORMANCE

Vesting of powers in and expectations of performance from panchayati raj bodies presuppose an efficient and efficacious system of audit not only of income and expenditure but of achievements and failures as well.

While it is easy to induct an audit oriented system for panchayat samitis and zila parishads, it is the village panchayat which has been facing a real difficulty in this behalf.

Cases of embezzlement of money have occurred in many village panchayats which in turn has eroded the credibility of the village panchayat and the panchayati raj.

Since having an organisation for conducting such an audit of village

¹³Readers interested in details may refer to author's article, "Criminal Jurisdiction of Nyaya Panchayats" in *Kurukshetra*, New Delhi, November 16, 1970, pp. 3-4.

panchayats does not seem to be within the realm of a possibility in a foreseeable future, we shall have to think of giving a village panchayat in adoption to a Government officer drawing, say, a pay of Rs. 250 p.m. and above. (It is hoped the number of such Government officers in any district would exceed the number of village panchayats in that district).

This officer, a friend, guide and philosopher (or big brother) of the panchayat should be able formally to inspect the panchayat (both accounts and performance) twice and, in addition, pay two surprise visits also in a year.

In addition, he should be available to the sarpanch at his own (not sarpanch's) headquarters on request for consultation. And for rendering all these services, the officer concerned should duly be compensated in the form of travelling and other allowances.

In the emerging pattern, the imparting of a week or a fortnight's intensive training in the working of panchayati raj to these officers, to equip them with necessary knowledge, to enable them effectively to inspect and guide the village panchayat will be imperative.

These officers should submit their reports to the district panchayat officer or may be the district development officer.

A matchless advantage which is likely to accrue out of this system would be that an overwhelming majority of Government officers will have to rub shoulders with and develop an intrinsic interest in panchayati raj in action.

At present such an interest and involvement are rather conspicuous by their very absence.

PANCHAYAT SECRETARIES' CADRES

The system of panchayati raj has suffered from a lack of regular cadre of secretaries of village panchayats when actually secretaries should be quite knowledgeable. For they will be the focal persons and have the same powers and status in the jurisdiction of the panchayat as the district officer of today has in his district. They should be *ex-officio* special police officers also and in that limited role will be part of the district police. They should, therefore, be secondary pass and in addition be holders of a two year diploma in panchayati raj to be specially devised for equipping secretaries for handling all matters connected with panchayats. Avenues of promotions should also be opened for

these secretaries so that in the developmental departments they may be able to go up. By having such a regular cadre of secretaries of panchayats the working of panchayats is likely to register a welcome improvement.

STANDARDISATION : PROCEDURE AND FORMS

Standardisation of procedure and printing of forms and registers have not been bestowed upon the attention they deserve.

Since the number of panchayats is and shall be quite large in every State, the standard forms and registers should be got centrally devised, printed and issued to all the panchayats and other panchayati raj bodies so that there will be uniformity in the maintenance of record and at the same time chances of misuse of funds or, may be powers, will also, to some extent, be minimised.

It shall have to be ensured that the supplies of forms and registers made to the panchayati raj bodies are quite adequate with reference to the requirement.

DEVELOPMENTAL ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES

With the introduction of the panchayati raj system no substantial change was made in the structure of the administrative services, officers of which were and are utilised for manning senior positions in the departments connected with panchayati raj.

To start with, the administrative services—Indian as well as the States—should be bifurcated into two broad branches : developmental administrative services and regulatory administrative services.

The former should man posts in departments connected with and handle developmental activities like agriculture, industries, medicine and health, ayurved, family planning, education, social welfare, P.W.D. (buildings and roads), irrigation, public health engineering, cooperation, animal husbandry, forests, mining and geology, colonisation, tourism, town planning, etc.

The latter should man posts in departments connected with regulatory activities like police, prisons, excise, taxation, land revenue, settlement, civil supplies, civil defence, devasthan, home guards, anti-corruption, prosecution, transport, labour, settlement, employment, treasuries, etc.

The executive officer of the panchayat samiti should be a member of the State developmental administrative service.

The chief executive officer of the zila parishad should be a member of the Indian developmental administrative service (IDAS).

The creation of such services will help a lot in robust attitude formation and development of professionalism (by understanding the subtleties and nuances of panchayati raj which are the crying need of the day).

The trend of having a traditional Collector and an independent district development officer, both belonging to the IAS, has gained considerable credence and some States have already adopted this viable strategy.

The latest to join the club is perhaps Bihar, where with the restructuring of district administration in 1973, the authority of the traditional Collector already stands eroded (and this erosion will prove to be in the interest of panchayati raj) because the vast area of development, planning and welfare has been entrusted to the Deputy Development Commissioner who acts as the chief executive officer of the zila parishad.¹⁴

What remains to be achieved on this front is the extension of this valuable practice to the remaining States and the bifurcation of the administrative services into regulatory administrative and developmental administrative services as envisaged above.

A line has to be drawn somewhere and clinging to old notions would amount to indulging in self deception.

REMUNERATION TO REPRESENTATIVES

Panchayati raj suffered yet another setback because we made it subscribe to the hypocritical theory that public service is its own reward and, therefore, those rendering public service need not be paid any salary or honorarium. It is refreshing to remember what Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had once observed: "There is in India an extraordinary and thoroughly unjustified prejudice against receiving salaries from public funds".¹⁵

An extension of this prejudice to a limited extent makes us impassionately cry if any attempt is made to increase the emoluments of MLAs, MPs or Ministers.

This is a deep cutting and inertia causing malady which has got to be remedied by granting suitable and adequate remuneration to elected citizens

¹⁴Haridwari Rai and Awdhesh Prasad, "Reorganising Panchayati Raj in Bihar: A Critique of the Reform Proposals," *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. XXI, No. 1, Jan-March 1975, p. 41.

¹⁵Jawaharlal Nehru, "An Autobiography," Allied Publishers, 1962, p. 107.

doing some work or the other connected with panchayati raj. For, realities do raise their heads and have as such to be viewed with perspective and faced with courage and determination.

PANCHAYATI RAJ AND POLICE

Just as the pioneers of panchayati raj left out municipal administration from their domain, they did not touch police administration also in any way whatsoever.

It is conceded that the police discharge a quasi-judicial function comprising prevention and detection of offences and, therefore, they should be accountable only to the State Government and to no other agency.

Steps, however, could certainly have been taken to ensure collaboration between panchayati raj and the police even without empowering the panchayati raj bodies to interfere with the working of the police.

This induction, to start with, could have been done at the zila parishad and the panchayat samiti levels.

The District Superintendent of Police of a district could be asked to attend one meeting of zila parishad every month in which maintenance of law and order in the district could be discussed in a general way. The Sub-Divisional Police Officer (SDPO) could similarly be asked to attend one meeting of the panchayat samiti every month for the same purpose. The District S.P. could, in addition, be asked by turn and in rotation to attend one meeting of a panchayat samiti in his district every month. Such meetings would provide an opportunity to the elected leaders of the people to discuss their problems with the police officers.

Police Officers would also get an opportunity to come in contact with and collect first hand information from the elected representatives. By this token police public relations will be put on an even keel and register a tremendous boost. It shall, however, have to be kept as an indispensable condition that in such meetings the merits of specific cases will not be discussed.

After the meeting is over, the District S.P. or the S.D.P.O. could sit in one of the rooms of zila parishad/panchayat samiti building and hear individual complaints from members of the panchayati raj bodies about specific cases. Some system could be devised in which these complaints could be duly registered and action taken there or be personally communicated to the complaining member in the next meeting or thereafter as and when the enquiry may be completed.

Such a step, it may be reiterated, would go a long way in bringing about an improvement in panchayati raj administration as well as in police administration and a sound rapport between the two.

MAGISTERIAL SAFEGUARD

Some unscrupulous pieces of action taken by the panchayati raj bodies, particularly of the type in which *status-quo-ante* cannot be restored, like getting a house or a wall demolished etc., have brought rather a bad name to the panchayati raj system.

There have been instances in which village panchayats acted deliberately arbitrarily after the court hours on Saturdays or on Sundays and the poor aggrieved person consequently could not knock at the doors of the courts of law to have speedy redress in the form of a stay order.

To improve upon the image of the panchayati raj, it is, therefore, suggested by way of a safeguard for the citizens that executive magistrates should be empowered to grant stay orders against such allegedly arbitrary orders issued by the panchayati raj bodies.

Once orders are stayed, the issues involved could be thrashed out before the executive magistrate.

One thing is there. The executive magistrates shall have to be accessible for the purpose all the twenty-four hours.

Such an institutionalised safeguard would tend to impart considerable credibility to the panchayati raj system.

RETROGRADE INDIRECT ELECTIONS

The present system of elections to panchayati raj bodies is rather defective mainly because it is visibly indirect. In the village panchayat, the voter does directly elect panchas as well as the sarpanch but the draw back of the system is that the possibility of sarpanchas and the panchas belonging to different camps cannot be ruled out altogether. The system of elections in the panchayat samities and zila parishads is undeniably indirect because citizen voters as such have no say in these elections.

The electoral college consists of the sarpanchas and panchas of village panchayats in case of panchayat samities and sarpanchas of village panchayats and pradhans of panchayat samitis in case of zila parishads. These panchayati raj bodies are, therefore, to a great extent bereft of representative

character and fail to engender citizen involvement in panchayati raj to the extent it is necessary and possible. The incongruity there is clear.

This ailment could be remedied by having an executive body as a team in the panchayats, panchayat samitis and zila parishads, and making the electoral college consist of all eligible citizen voters.

To illustrate, if it be decided that panchayats, panchayat samitis and zila parishads will have an executive body each, consisting of a homogenous team of five members each including the sarpanch, pradhan and pramukh, respectively, the citizen will vote for teams instead of for individuals. Thus, for contesting elections, for example, to the zila parishad executive body, a person aspiring to be pramukh will have to take with him four of his associates who will work as his members of the executive body and contest the election as a team.

There will be a number of such teams before the citizen voters and they would have a right to vote a team in.

Persons elected to these bodies in this manner will be endowed with a team spirit, have the backing of the citizens and will have a sense of satisfaction that they truly represent the entire unit.

Other members of the panchayat samiti and other members of the zila parishad could be elected in the manner it is being done at the moment. Once this dose of democracy is administered to panchayati raj, it will remarkably become representative in character and responsive in approach. In the ultimate analysis the powers that be will dutifully look more towards the common man than towards the elected representatives of the people.

PRAMUKH TO BE MP—PRADHAN TO BE MLA

There is, so to say, a dichotomy between the members of the State Legislative Assemblies and pradhans of panchayat samitis, on the one hand, and between the members of the Parliament and the pramukhs of the zila parishads on the other hand. For, the jurisdiction of a zila parishad invariably coincides with an MP's constituency and that of a panchayat samiti coincides with that of an MLA's constituency. Thus at the district level there are two elected representatives of the people and so are at the panchayat samiti level who vie with one another insofar as wielding real power is concerned. And since Parliament and Legislative Assemblies are considered to be better seats of power in the scheme of things, the pramukh of the zila parishad and the pradhan of the panchayat samiti are woefully

relegated to the background. And this gives a severe blow to the cause of panchayati raj.

If we believe in the panchayati raj system, we must do all that is possible to build up the status of the important functionaries connected with the panchayati raj. The author, in this behalf, therefore, is of the view that the pradhan of the panchayat samiti should be *ex-officio* MLA and the pramukh of the zila parishad should be *ex-officio* MP. In other words, elections for MLAs and MPs, as such, need not at all take place.

Once this system is introduced, these MLAs and MPs will prove better than their present counterparts because in their deliberations in the houses they will have at the back of their minds the responsibilities they have to discharge as pradhans and pramukhs, respectively, and their approach will, therefore, be more practical and down-to-earth.

With their valuable experience gained in the Legislative Assemblies and Parliament, the pradhans of panchayat samitis and pramukhs of zila parishads will handle the panchayat samitis and zila parishads affairs more astutely. The standard of debate in Parliament and Legislative Assemblies is likely to register considerable improvement and so will the standard of performance of zila parishads and panchayat samitis. They will thrive on each other by admirably deriving sustenance from each other.

As a natural corollary a significant change will have to be effected in the system of elections to the post of the Prime Minister of India and Chief Ministers of States also because once the pradhans of panchayat samitis will be *ex-officio* MLAs and pramukhs of zila parishads will be *ex-officio* MPs, they will not be available to the nation to serve as Ministers.

Therefore, Ministers at the Union as also at the State levels shall have to be elected directly by the citizen voters and that is as it should be.

For contesting elections here also, instead of individuals, there should be teams. For example, if it is decided that the Union Government of India should have fifty-one Ministers, the contenders for the elections should be individuals who aspire to be Prime Minister of India and they should give out the names of fifty members of their team who would, in the event of their winning the elections, be their Ministers.

Similarly, if State Governments are to have, say, twenty-one Ministers each, the aspirants for the post of Chief Minister of a State should give the names of twenty of their colleagues who, in the event of their winning the elections, would be the Ministers of their Government. A Prime Minister,

a Chief Minister and as averred above, a pramukh, a pradhan and a sarpanch, elected directly by the citizens, would have the pride and satisfaction of having the backing of the nation, State, district, tehsil (or anchal) and the panchayat area respectively. The voter will also then arguably develop a greater sense of participation in the democratic process.

In the system of election advocated in this paper the aspirants to the posts of Prime Minister down to the sarpanch of the panchayat shall have to distribute the subject portfolios of Government (executive bodies in case of zila parishads, panchayat samitis and panchayats) to their team mates in advance. They will also have to give the names equivalent to one half of the total number of members of their team to serve on the reserve list to be banked upon in case of need.

The Minister's tenure will be at the pleasure of the Prime Minister and Chief Minister and the tenure of the members of the executive bodies of the zila parishads, panchayat samitis and panchayats will be at the pleasure of the pramukh, pradhan and sarpanch as the case may be.

By way of a concluding remark on this point it may be added that the composition of the Parliament (Lok Sabha) and the Legislative Assemblies (Vidhan Sabhas), as also the three panchayati raj bodies, will in this set-up take the following shape :

Lok Sabha	: Prime Minister, fifty Ministers and the Pramukhs of all Zila Parishads of India as MPs
Vidhan Sabha	: Chief Minister, twenty Ministers and the Pradhans of all Panchayat Samitis of the State as MLAs
Zila Parishad	: Pramukh, four members of the executive body, Pradhans of Panchayat Samitis (or their nominees from the executive bodies) and co-opted members.
Panchayat Samiti	: Pradhan, four members of the executive body, Sarpanchas of Panchayats (or their nominees from the executive body) and co-opted members.
Village/Ward Panchayat	: Sarpanch, four members of the executive body, other panchas and co-opted members.

It would thus appear that neither need political parties be recognised for the purpose of these elections nor will, in all probability, there be any opposition for the sake of opposition. Instead, there are likely to be combinations for opposing particular issues of importance and this will be quite salubrious to the health of democracy in the country.

Details regarding impeachment or expression of lack of confidence in the Ministers or the executive bodies and ancillary and related issues could be worked out with precision and comprehension.¹⁶

CONCLUSION : ATTITUDINAL CHANGES

Introduction of panchayati raj was hailed as "one of the more imaginative and institutional innovation made by the national leadership".¹⁷

The seeds were sown with gusto but an enumeration of the ailments of panchayati raj proves beyond any shadow of doubt that the selection of the seeds was poor and poorer still was the way the seedling and sapling were tended and nurtured.

The plant has, therefore, had a stunted growth and ultimately is on way to withering. As a pitiable consequence, even the few enthusiasts who had gathered around panchayati raj, began to get off the panchayati raj bandwagon. And the process has been so gradual as to be almost imperceptible. Our strategies must, therefore, inescapably be tailored to curing the body politic of the ailments identified and arrayed in this paper and may be many others as well. And we know that this illness, this paranoia, dangerous though it is, is not incurable. At the same time we should not be swayed by the feeling that we can catch up overnight.

The total endeavour should be in the direction of "discovering or creating a representative and democratic institution" which must evoke local interest and excite local initiative in the field of development.¹⁸ And the local leadership is potentially capable not only of coming to grips with panchayati raj problems but of finding in them new pride and purpose also.

¹⁶Readers interested in the proposition may pursue author's article, "Democratic Government in India: New Dimensions" in the *Journal of Lal Bahadur Shastri Academy of Administration*, Mussoorie, Vol. XVIII, No. 1, Spring 1973, issue pp, 100-108.

¹⁷Rajni Kothari, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

¹⁸Principal recommendation of Balwant Rai Mehta Committee Report (Planning Commission, Committee on Plan Projects, Report of the Team for the study of Community Projects and National Extension Service), New Delhi, 1957.

But a lot, predictably, will depend primarily upon the helpful attitude of the Government and constructive approach of the bureaucracy towards the philosophy of panchayati raj. All the rest is as easy as shooting fish in a barrel. Let there be no mistake about it.

"To move too fast is dangerous, but to lay behind is more dangerous still."

Ripon to Gladston, 6 Oct.,
in Northbrook Collection, (I.O. MSS. Eur.
C. 144/2 p. 166 d.)

POLICE ADMINISTRATION IN THE STATES

P.D. Sharma

UNLIKE the British and the American systems of police, the Indian police system does not fall into any neat category of a unitary or federal police.¹ The Constitution of India quite specifically lists police along with subjects like public order, prisons, reformatories and administration of justice in the State list of the Seventh Schedule. The Union Government, though not directly involved in the police administration of the country, very significantly retains and administers a number of sensitive and critical areas that have their direct bearing on the function of policing. For instance, administration of fire arms and explosives, inter-State police wireless system, Central vigilance, extension of powers and jurisdiction of State police to other States, matters relating to Indian police service, appear on the Union list of the Constitution.² A host of Union police agencies, such as the B.S.F., the C.B.I., the C.I.B., the C.R.P., Assam Rifles, the S.V.B., the National Police Academy and the forensic laboratories and institutes, have been created and put under the care of the Central Government to provide a support structure to the police administrations of the States. Moreover, the concurrent subjects like criminal law and criminal procedure, preventive detention, vagrancy, drugs and poisons, trade unions, nomadic tribes and newspapers, enable the Union Government to have a paramount and decisive voice in areas quite vital to the functions of policing in the country.³ The police administration of the Union Territories, numbering ten, is an exclusive and special responsibility of the Union Home Ministry. The constitutional arrangement, which is essentially federal in structure, contains the seed germs of a national and centralised policing in consonance with the overall spirit of the unitariness of the Constitution. Naturally, the State level administration, whether that of the police or of development, has to function within these basic parameters and its scope, activity and nature are effectively conditioned by the 'centralised federalism' enshrined in the Constitution. The recent constitutional amendments, contemplated and proposed by the Sardar Swaran Singh Committee, reiterate this doctrine of 'centralised federalism' in which

¹For details see Reith Charles, "A History of the British Police", London, Oxford, 1948 and Bruce Smith, "Police Systems in the U.S.", New York, Harper and Brothers, 1949.

²See Constitution of India, Union List I, Schedule VII, item Nos. 5, 8, 9, 18, 19, 65, 70, 80

³*Ibid.*, item Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 13, 15, 19.

the role of the Union Government *vis-a-vis* the State police administration will be more extensive and inclusive, especially in areas like economic offences, enforcement of fundamental duties and limited operations of judicial review.⁴

Prof. D.H. Bayley in his very able book 'Police and Political Development in India' has very aptly pointed out the three major characteristics of the police system in India. They are: (1) the State based police organisation; (2) the armed and unarmed police constabulary, and (3) the horizontal stratification.⁵ From these basic characteristics flow a number of other ancillary features of police administration, which issue in making the State police organisations diverse and varied and their personnel, para-militaristic and non-specialist. The historical legacies of the colonial police can legitimately be held responsible for these characteristics, which have emerged and hardened with the passage of time and exigencies of the situations. The post-mutiny police, born under the Police Act of 1861, was found to be an expediency mechanism to which the later national struggle for freedom added various sorts of disciplinary overtones. The police philosophy of negativism was the organic problem of the mother statute, which inherited the magisterial supremacy of the D.M. over the police establishment, gradually leading to a de-intellectualising muscle-orientation of its force. The turn of the century witnessed the proliferation of the structures and inbuilt limitations of the experiments and what ultimately emerged from the mill of colonial history was a monolithic structure suited to the conventional problems of law and order rather than a 'citizen police', conducive to democracy and development. The Constitution of India and the subsequent reports of the police commissions in various States have vainly endeavoured to bring about this metamorphosis in police administration in India. The present paper proposes to describe the organisation of the police in the Indian States at various levels. In the later part, it attempts to identify and examine the special problems of State police administration and seeks to offer some relevant suggestions in the present day context of social change and national development and discipline in India.

I

THE GOVERNING PRINCIPLES

The police organisation in Indian States is primarily governed by the Police Act of 1861, which was based on the recommendations of the Police Commission of 1860. Section 4 of this statute lays down the principles, on

⁴Report of the Swaran Singh Committee, reported in the *Times of India*, New Delhi, dated July 3, 1976.

⁵Bayley, D.H., "Police and Political Development in India", New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1969, pp. 35-36.

which the organisation of the police force rests till today. The section *inter alia* states:

"The administration of the police throughout a general police district (now called States) shall be vested in an officer to be styled the Inspector General of Police and in such Deputy Inspectors General and Assistant Inspectors General as the State Government shall deem fit."

Propounding an 'oriental theory' of colonial administration that "what the oriental people understood was the concentration of energy and effort in a single functionary and not their diffusion", the authors of the Police Act, 1861, further enunciated the principle of police organisation in India in the following words:

"The administration of the police throughout the local jurisdiction of the magistrate of the district shall, under the general control and direction of such magistrate, be vested in a District Superintendent and such Assistant Superintendents as the (State) Government shall consider necessary."

The above two provisions of the Police Act, which were later made applicable to Bombay Presidency also, by the promulgation of the Bombay District Police Act, 1890, envisage a two-tier system of State and district police. They also envisage the State police as an executive arm of the State, operationally under the command of the Inspector General and District Superintendents of Police in the State, but otherwise functioning under the overall supervision, direction and control of the State Government and the civilian district magistrate in the field. This arrangement, which continues till today, had its protagonists in Sir John Shore, Sir Thomas Munro and Fredrick Halliday. The sceptics like Sir J.P. Grant, Sir Barnes Peacock and Lord Ellenborough were overruled in view of the post-mutiny psychosis.⁶ The later events of history forced several innovations and proliferations in the organisational set up of the State level police and below, but the basic parameters and governing principles of police administration in India have not transgressed the frontiers of the Police Act of 1861.

Organisationally the police system in India represents a queer amalgam of the Hindu, Mughal and British traditions and institutions. Conventionally the field formations were typically mediaeval, over which the Englishmen grafted a quasi-sophisticated system of district police.⁷ As the district was the hub of revenue activity in rural India, the district police gradually became a significant organisation. The demands of national movement increasingly

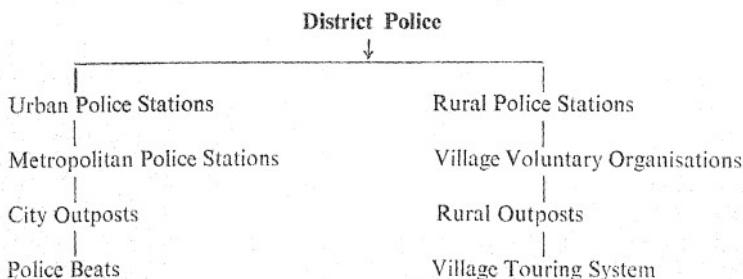
⁶For details see, Misra S.C., "State Police Organisation in India", Delhi, C.R.P.F., 1975, pp. 64-66.

⁷Rao, S. Venu Gopal, "Police Under the East India Company", 1961, pp. 29-52.

pushed it under the Centralised supervision of the provincial Government, while the topography of the country and the absence of communication network in the rural areas yielded a lot of local colour to the grassroot organisations.

FIELD FORMATIONS

Police stations represent the primary units of police administration in all the civilised countries of the world. In India, they are, by and large, an extension of the Mughal 'daroga system', developed by the Muslim rulers for the mediaeval cities.⁸ The Britishers extended the 'daroga system' to rural areas in replacement of the corrupt, inefficient and disorganised police force of the zamindars. The anarchic conditions in the countryside resulted in the sudden growth of rural police stations in the districts, which later had to develop their own local formations down below the line. The picture of the police organisation at this field level can be presented in a diagram as below:



According to an official estimate there were about 8,000 *police stations* in the country in 1970. The number and size of police stations in the various districts of the different States vary and depend upon multiple factors. Normally the population to be administered by an urban and a rural police station approximates in the vicinity of 50,000 and 75,000 respectively. Similarly, there are certain districts in U.P., which encompass an area stretching to 50 police stations, while this number can be as small as eight or ten, as is the case in the States of Kerala and Himachal Pradesh. Area-wise, the urban and rural police stations differ widely and the all-India average comes to between 16 to 160 sq. kms. for urban and rural police stations respectively.⁹ The major functions of both the kinds of police stations are: (1) preservation of peace and security, and (2) control of crime and vice. At this stage there is not much of specialisation of functions and all sorts of

⁸Sarkar, Jagdish Narayan, "Police System in Mediaeval India in Theory and Practice", *Indian Police Journal*, Delhi, 1969, pp. 22-28.

⁹Misra S.C., *op. cit.*, p. 108.

mixed duties pertaining to the registration and investigation of crimes, patrolling, surveillance, services of processes, collection of intelligence, arrest of criminals, searches and seizures of property and other detective and preventive measures are undertaken by the police stations located in the field. The big city police stations are called 'kotwalis' and are generally put under the charge of inspectors. Normally a sub-inspector heads the administration of an urban as well as rural police station. He is assigned a varying number of sub-inspectors, assistant sub-inspectors, head constables and constables to do the job of policing. The actual number of these functionaries depends upon the size of the police station and the nature of work or crime a police station has to handle. The character and organisation of urban and rural police stations are almost identical and they follow similar procedures of police work in all the States of the Union. As a repository of information about the area, the police stations maintain daily diaries, case diaries, F.I.R. registers, crime registers, cash books, malkhana registers and history sheet records.¹⁰ Together they present the profiles of crime and criminals, which obviously differ from State to State, area to area and station to station.

The police outposts in the urban and rural areas have their justification corresponding to the vastness of the area and the standard of the communication system, existing within the jurisdiction of a police station. The character of population, their criminal propensities, political and communal complexion and frequency of law and order incidents generally determine the location and extension of police posts. They provide a close police coverage to sensitive areas and bring the police nearer to the people, especially in troubled areas. The rural police outposts are not many and are generally found in inaccessible areas. They are primarily to control specific problems of a local nature, such as special turbulence of some classes or castes in some villages, agrarian conflicts, depredations of dacoits and highway robberies by criminal tribes or gangs of persistent criminals. The outposts are looked after by head constables or sub-inspectors, depending on the nature and volume of work an outpost has to handle.

The beat system in police stations and outposts is an old British way of discharging the watch and ward duties by the police. In urban kotwalis and metropolitan stations the areas are systematically divided and organised into beat duties by the constables, especially during nights. In rural police stations, the regular beat parties are periodically despatched to patrol a cluster of villages for two to three days. The purpose of the beat system is to collect information about crime and criminals, perform service of court orders and do special surveillance over bad characters. It was intended to equip the

¹⁰Refer to Indian Police Act, 1861, Sections 23 to 34.

policemen with the local knowledge of the area and also to develop meaningful contact with the citizens, so very essential for prevention work. But owing to the mounting pressure of work in the police stations and the abuse of the system by the junior functionaries the beat system has been in decline and is positively discouraged by police manuals and officials, except for specific purposes.¹¹

Village policing through hereditary village headmen had been in vogue in rural India since early times. During the Mughal period village watchmen were kept on the payrolls of the police and were expected to keep a night vigil over all suspicious characters, residing in the cluster of villages. Recovery of stolen property was their responsibility. The Englishmen continued with the system but the changing concepts and contexts of district administration put the entire *chowkidari system* in decline.¹² Both the Bihar and the West Bengal police commissions disfavoured the system, which became increasingly ineffective in the wake of the political and social changes in the rural areas. The introduction of panchayati raj in independent India has given a fatal blow to the system of village policing and today in most of the States, for all practical purposes, the village police works under the officer-in-charge of the rural police station, in whose jurisdiction the village lies. In almost all the States of the Union the democratic Governments have created *village defence organisations* to assist the police departments for preventing organised property crimes. These organisations are voluntary and are constituted on the principle of self-help and local responsibility. They have no statutory basis, but have their origin in the individual's right to personal defence, given in the Indian Penal Code.¹³ However, the States of Maharashtra and Gujarat have organised *village defence parties* under the provisions of the Bombay Police Act, which is of a permissive nature.¹⁴ The States of Jammu & Kashmir, Orissa and Kerala do not have village defence organisations. In West Bengal they are called *village resistance groups*, while in the States of U.P., Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Himachal Pradesh these schemes are run purely by the police departments. The Punjab Village Panchayat Act does not provide for the raising of voluntary organisations, but then it is obligatory for the villagers in Punjab to guard their villages at night.¹⁵

THE DISTRICT POLICE

The district tier of the State police organisation in India controls the

¹¹For details see Misra, S.C., "Police Administration in India," Mt. Abu, National Police Academy, 1970, pp. 118-25.

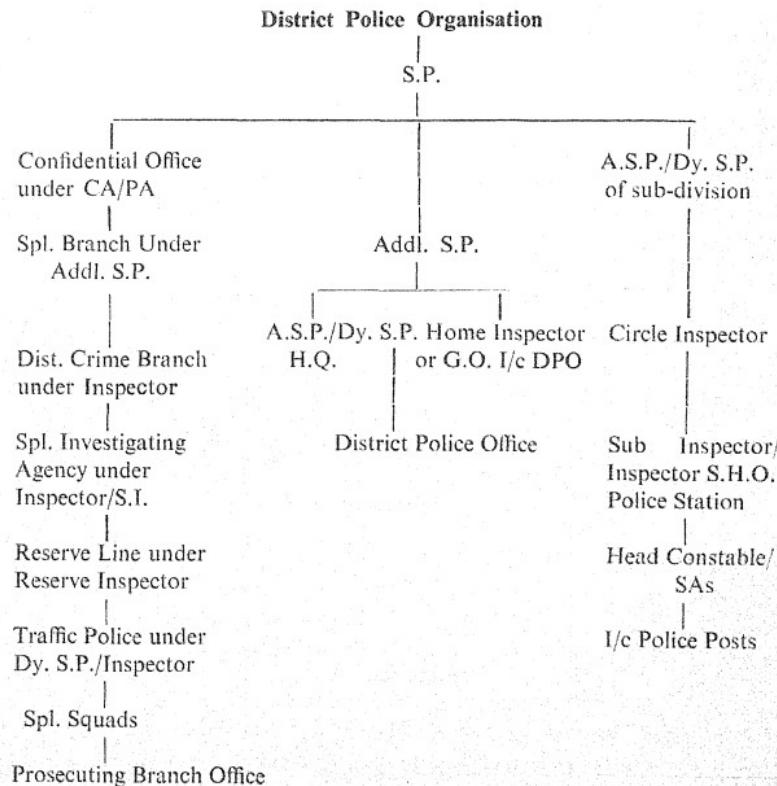
¹²Refer to Reports of Bihar Police Commission, 1961, pp. 202-205, West Bengal Police Commission, 1960-61, pp. 55-57, and Uttar Pradesh Police Commission, 1961, ch. VII.

¹³See Sections 97, 99, 101, 103 and 104 of the Indian Penal Code.

¹⁴Bombay Police Act, Sec. 63(B).

¹⁵See Panjab Patrol Act, VIII of 1918.

network of police stations spread all over the country. The Superintendent of Police, who presides over this organisation, is the key functionary through whom the State Government operates and the police stations below look to him for command, guidance and action. Hierarchically speaking, the district police in most of the States stands organised into police sub-divisions and police circles, which comprise a cluster of police stations. The Additional or Deputy Superintendents of Police look after the work of police sub-divisions, while the Circle Inspectors deal with the supervisory work of police stations falling within their respective circles. A number of staff agencies such as crime bureau, special branch and special investigating agency etc. stand converged into the office of the District S.P., who, in turn, operates through a network of line units, such as police stations, special squads, prosecuting branch, traffic police and reserve police. The organisational profile of the district police can be presented as in the chart below:



The district police organisation, which on an average covers about 3,600 sq. miles, and a population of over a million and a quarter people, has a large jail and store houses for arms and ammunitions and clothing equipment. Constables are recruited and partly trained here. Armed police and sometimes mounted police also have their reserve lines or barracks here. The C.I.D. organisation operates from its headquarters. Working under the overall supervision of the D.M., the S.P. looks after the problems of law and order and that of administration of crime and vice. To perform these twin functions the S.P. has to collect intelligence, cultivate good police-public relations and keep his junior personnel in good trim. As a central person in the district administration, the S.P. has to deal with his juniors, seniors, non-colleagues, people, political parties and an endless variety of political and quasi-political pressure groups. His office, which has a large confidential cell, handles a lot of conventional material of a sensitive nature. All this makes the position of the S.P. pivotal in the district administration.

The police sub-divisions in a district are administered by Additional Deputy Superintendents of Police. These functionaries have two major roles to play *viz.*, (1) they function as police chiefs of their sub-divisions, and (2) also act as staff aids to the S.P. at the headquarters. In the former role, their functions in their respective sub-divisions are almost similar to that of the S.P. in his district. In the latter capacity they perform staff functions of a delegational nature and aid and advise the S.P. in their respective areas of professional specialisation.¹⁶

The police circles in a sub-division have a special historical significance in India. The promotee sub-inspectors, who function as Circle Inspectors keep the Dy. S.P. and S.P. informed about the conduct of the sub-inspectors and other occurrences and movements, having a direct bearing on police functions of the district. The office has been criticised for its irrelevance, duplication of work and proverbial corruption obtained in the inspectorates. Yet it has a justification in its expertise and on-the-spot-supervision of field agencies by experienced police officers of the State.

The crime bureau, the special investigating agency and the district special branch are the major staff units in the district police office. The bureau collects, collates and disseminates all information regarding organised crime and criminal gangs in the district. Different States have given different names to this bureau, such as crime record section, M.O.B. and crime information centre. The district level information is processed and finally passed on to the central crime information bureau of the State on asking as well as through

¹⁶ Misra, S.C., "State Police Organisation in India," *op. cit.*, pp. 94-95

periodical reports. The special investigating agency investigates cases of embezzlement, fraud, forgery and misappropriation. It also collects criminal intelligence in general and keeps the S.P. informed about the activities of confirmed criminals. The special branch which represents an extension of the State special branch collects political intelligence and attends to other secret works connected with foreigners, V.I.Ps, and national security. It submits periodical reports on the political and communal movements, labour and student activities, agitations by organised groups and other allied matters to the S.P. of the district.

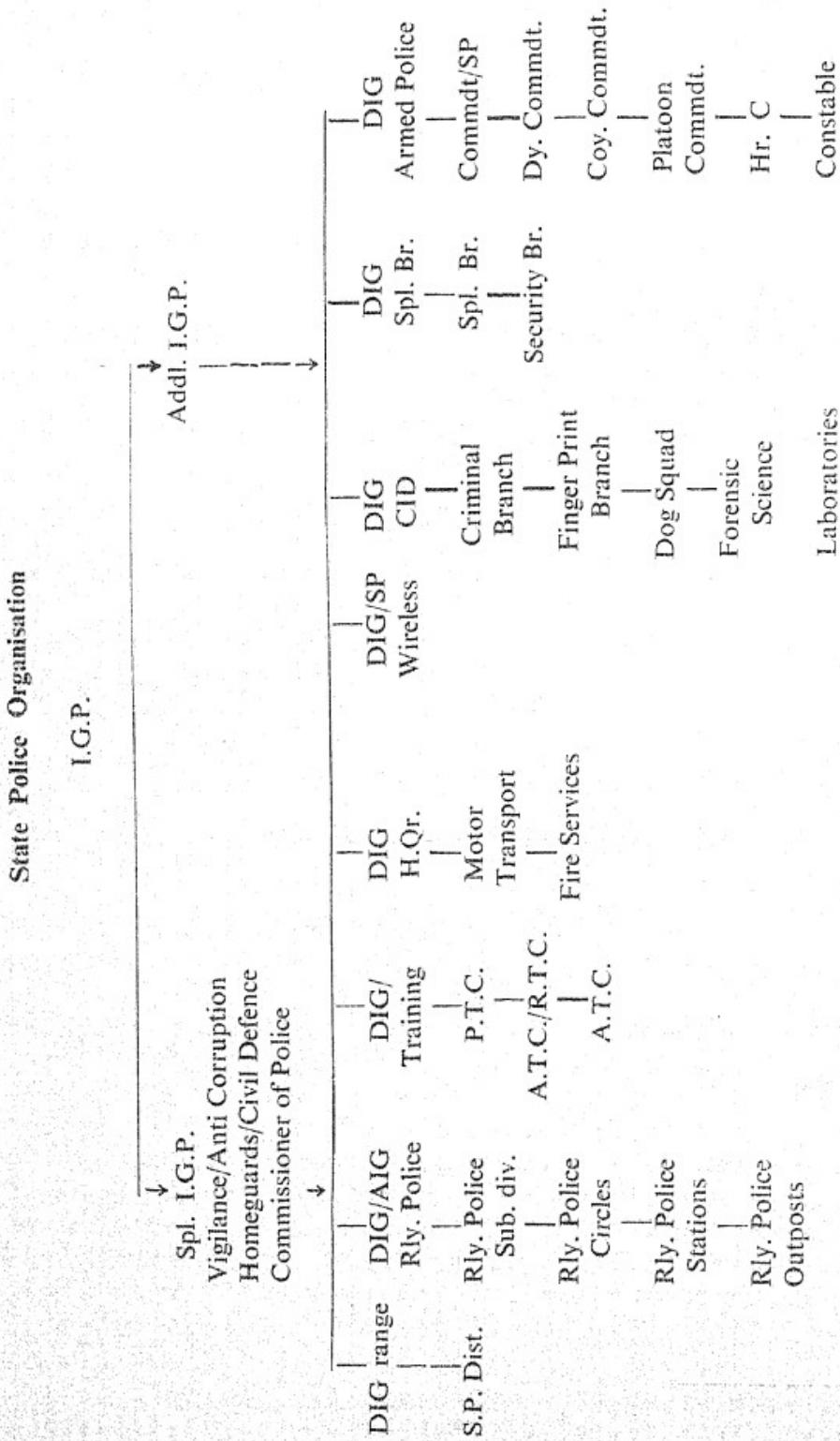
In big districts separate sections of traffic police exist. Some districts maintain special enforcement squads to enforce anti-smuggling laws and anti-black marketing and anti-hoarding orders. For the prosecution of police cases there are Assistant Police Public Prosecutors for the magisterial courts, but Public Prosecutors have been appointed from the bar to conduct cases in the sessions courts. The recent amendment in Cr. P.C. has not materially changed the position in regard to Public Prosecutors, but the Assistant Public Prosecutors can no longer be police officers in the district. The district reserve lines, which exist to meet contingencies, such as leave, sickness and vacancies caused by resignations, suspensions and dismissals have a special role to play in district police establishments. They not only keep the line in good shape, but provide useful training and much needed change from the drudgery of the field.¹⁷

THE STATE POLICE SET UP

The police organisation at the State level performs distinctively staff-cum-line functions. These functions are quite complex and have to be discharged *vis-a-vis* (a) the Union Government and its auxiliary agencies, (b) the Home Department of the State Government, and (c) the line officials of the district police below. Most of these line and staff functions are performed simultaneously. Some of the staff agencies operate from the State headquarters and may or may not have field units. The line functions of the State level police administration include implementation of policies pertaining to law and order and detection and investigation of crimes with the help of district units. The Home Minister, the Home Commissioner and their Home Department constitute the civilian wing of the State police. The professional wing has its unarmed and armed wings, the organisational chart of which is as given at page 504.¹⁸

¹⁷ Misra, S.C. "State Police Organisation in India", *op. cit.*, pp. 97-98.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 79.



Thus the professional wing of the State police works under the overall command and supervision of the *I.G.P.* of the State. He has a couple of special, assistant and additional Inspectors General of Police to aid and advise him at the police headquarters. They may also administer some of the specialised police functions like anti-corruption, vigilance, civil defence and traffic etc. at the State level. The *I.G.P.* is the chief of the State police and the Police Act assigns specific responsibilities to him in the areas of police policy formulation and line operations involved in the execution of the policy. He is the chief personnel officer of his department and has wide powers and discretions with regard to financial management and disciplinary matters in his organisation. As an administrative leader of his team he functions through a number of Deputy Inspectors General of Police working on territorial or functional basis. The *D.I.G.* in charge of a police range supervises the work of 4 to 6 administrative districts, which constitute the intermediary level in the administrative hierarchy, just below the State and above the district. The functional *D.I.G.s.* at the State level take care of auxiliary units such as the CID, the intelligence department, the railway police, the police training institutions, the police headquarters and the armed battalions at the State level. There is no uniform pattern about the number and work of the *D.I.G.s.* in various States of the Union.

The *D.I.G.* range exercises a general supervision over the work of the District Superintendents of Police and the latter look to him for advise, guidance, leadership and coordination of police work in the range. As in charge of the specialised branch like CID, intelligence, anti-corruption, traffic, railway and armed police forces the *D.I.G.* has his own independent hierarchy and functional network, depending upon the nature and scope of his operations. For instance the DIG, CID, has a horizontal organisation to which MOB, finger print bureau, forensic laboratories of the State and dog squads are attached as subordinate offices. The police training institutions in States have their quasi-autonomous organisations and are generally headed by senior Superintendents of Police. The railway police organisation follows the district and State systems of jurisdiction in different States. This jurisdiction conforms to the railway limits, extending between outer signals and the running trains. The functions of the railway police are similar in all the States and it functions as an island of police administration within the larger ocean of police administration of the State. The exchange of personnel between civil and railway police at each level brings home the complementary nature of the railway police organisation.¹⁹

The State armed police force represents the continuation of military

¹⁹For further details see Mullik Committee Report, Government of India, New Delhi, 1954.

police and the crown representative police of pre-Independence days. It is called by different names in different states; PAC in UP and Rajasthan, special armed police in Madhya Pradesh, military police in Bihar, Assam Rifles in Assam and Malabar police in Tamil Nadu. They are in the nature of reserves at the disposal of the IGP, who can deploy them on the requisition of the D.I.G. of the range.²⁰ As a reserve striking force they are employed in special situations or on security duties in sensitive areas. A battalion has 4 to 6 companies, each of a hundred to 120 constables. A headquarters company has transport, signals, stores and training units. The company, the platoons and the sections are commanded by subedar major, jamadar and havaldars respectively.

The organisation of the traffic police at the State level police administration is a recent phenomenon emerging in the wake of increasing urbanisation. At the State level the functions of the traffic police fall mostly within the arena of staff duties, such as planning, road research, coordination of district level efforts and advise to the IGP in matters pertaining to movement of heavy vehicles and road safety in the cities. The wings of women police and mounted police represent welcome additions to the State police organisations in view of the changing nature and techniques of crime, vice and public disorder in free India. The organisation of home guards sponsored and financed by the Union Government as an auxiliary unit of the State police administration in most of the States is a statutory attempt of raising a 'citizen police' as a secondary police organisation, functioning as an adjunct to the regular police organisation of the State.²¹

The Police Commission system in the three metropolitan cities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, which free India has extended to five more capital towns of Hyderabad, Bangalore, Ahmedabad, Nagpur and Poona is a unique and very promising experiment in State police administration. The Police Act 1861 is inoperative in these cities and DMs do not function as guardians of law and order. The Police Commissioners in all these cities, except Calcutta, are equivalent to D.I.G.s. in States and the Deputy and Assistant Police Commissioners have similar functions as those of S.Ps. and Dy. S.Ps. in State administrations, respectively. The unique features of the system are its independence, autonomy and functional specialisation in urban setting.²² The A.R.C. has recommended a wider application of the experiment.

Thus the police organisation at the State level has a wide and complex

²⁰See State Armed Police Forces (Extension of laws) Act, 1952 (Act No. 63 of 1952).

²¹A Home guard is subject to police discipline and can be discharged and prosecuted under penal provisions of the Home Guards Act.

²²For illustrative material see Report of the West Bengal Police Commission, Ch. V.

network of functional and specialised agencies. It controls, coordinates and supervises the work of district field agencies, engaged in the execution of policy. It also provides a link between the political and administrative echelons of the machinery of the State Government. It is here that critical decisions about the problems of regulatory administration are taken, which, in turn, are pumped into the political mechanism of the Government as advice and are systematically processed and formulated into regular policy propositions. In addition to the basic 'postdeorb duties' of police administration, the staff units provide a special and specialised kind of police service to the district administration. As a shock absorbing buffer it has to accommodate new demands of socio-political changes in the districts and political pressures of the State Government from above.

II

A close look at the State level police administration will reveal that most of its problems emanate from history, the legacies of which make it stagnant, disjointed, outmoded and even dysfunctional. Torn between three lists of the VII Schedule, the task of policing remains shared, muddled and is an overlapping responsibility between the Union and the State Governments. The Union Home Ministry, though not directly responsible for police jobs, virtually functions as the Union Ministry for police, entrusted with the responsibility of maintaining peace, security and order in the country. This robs the State police departments of their initiative in reorganising the police administration,²³ so much so that the basic Police Act of 1861 and the three All-India Penal Codes, namely, the Criminal Procedure Code of India, the Code of Civil Procedure and the Indian Evidence Act, remain more or less unchanged since the days of the Indian mutiny. The society has outgrown the police organisation, and the State Governments, despite their best intentions, have not succeeded in revamping their police structure. The reports of numerous State police commissions is an exercise in futility and clearly denote that State police administration has sunk deep into stagnation, from which the Union Government alone can pull it out.

THE ORGANISATIONAL DEFICIENCIES

Organisationaly the three-tier structure of the State, district and police stations seems quite sound and feasible in consonance with the police philosophy and working conditions obtained in the rural area. But, the physical conditions, actually available in terms of buildings, furniture,

²³For elucidation of this point see Veerabhadriah H., "An Insight into Police Administration," in G.S. Halappa (ed.), *Studies in State Administration*, Karnatak University, Dharwar, 1963.

telephone, conveyance, office records, *malakhana*s, police lock-ups, living quarters at the outposts and the police stations are absolutely far from satisfactory. The mounting needs of policing have resulted in the phenomenal expansion and upgrading of police stations, which the State police budgets cannot afford to cope with.²⁴ The expectations of the common man from his police station have gone very high and the newly recruited police officers also find it demeaning to live and work under sub-human conditions.

The sudden decline of the *chowkidari* system in rural India and the failure of village voluntary organisations after the launching of panchayati raj, in various States in the sixties, have caused a void. The problem is not that of transition, but that of incongruence in the system, which expects the emergence of a citizen-police in a traditional milieu of rural India. The *chowkidari* system was positively inconsistent with the system of panchayati raj, but its scrapping along with the decline of panchayati raj institutions in the States has left the villages without any effective system of policing right at their gates.²⁵ The discouragement to the beat system by senior police officers in view of the additional workload and increasing corruption in the police stations represents a sorry state of affairs, which has ultimately rendered the rural police system inefficient and dysfunctional.

At the district and State levels the State police organisation suffers from organisational disequilibrium and lack of requisite staff agencies. The office of the S.P. has disproportionate pressure and volume of work, which in practice is being shared by the S.I. of the police station, who is again a busier and less competent person than the S.P. The staff units like CID, special branch, intelligence branch, ACD, MOB etc. are there at district and State levels, but stand considerably devalued on account of the disproportionate emphasis on line operations in the department.²⁶ There is a tremendous centralisation in the organisation in the name of discipline and coordination is confused or misunderstood as control by the supervisory authorities at higher levels. Police research and reform as an innovative and creative activity is rarely pursued by the police officers as an organisational activity and the organisation looks for outside organisational support and research to put its own house in order. Specialisation of police tasks such as traffic, railway policing, female crimes, urban, labour and youth disorders, etc., has not been accepted by the police department at the organisation level and exchange of personnel among various specialised units continues quite freely to the detriment of organisational efficiency. The organisation of State

²⁴Misra, S.C., *State Police Organisation in India*, op. cit., pp. 113-114.

²⁵For a Statewise discussion, see Misra, S.C., "Police Administration in India," op. cit., pp. 118-55.

²⁶Cf. Adequacy of intelligence regarding Law and Order at district level, a syndicate study in *Transactions XVI*, November 1971.

railway police is a living anachronism that perpetuates duplication and dis-coordination in the job of policing without lending any specialisation to railway police organisation of the State.²⁷ The para-military character of the armed police, notwithstanding its historical nuances, creates problems for the organisation of the civil police, which has to pay for its deficiencies in terms of its foul image. The armed police lacks the purposefulness of the army, which *ipso facto* deprives it from the goodwill of the civil police. Moreover, the creation of union agencies like the C.R.P.F., B.S.F., I.S.P.F. etc. renders the organisation of State armed police force somewhat superfluous, especially in view of the fact that these forces eat away a large chunk of the State police budgets and when the chips are really down their presence is not adequate enough to avert the intervention of the Union Government.²⁸

THE PERSONNEL PATHOLOGY

From the personnel point of view the State police administration has a real pathological case to look into. When practically every police department of the State has exploded in terms of numbers and enhanced responsibilities, there is relatively very meagre effort to work out the personnel needs and job chartings of the policemen. The senior police officials complain, and perhaps very rightly too, about the inadequacy of numbers, commensurate with the prescribed strengths of their outposts, police stations and special agencies in the department. Worse still is the non-availability of proportionate senior positions in the hierarchy, which forces most of the State police employees to retire without having anything to look forward to by way of reasonable promotions, not even at reasonable intervals. Notwithstanding stray efforts here and there, the police personnel reforms in most of the States have eluded implementation on account of the non-bargaining capacity of the disciplined forces. There is an enormous amount of ill-matching of jobs, persons and emoluments in key positions of the hierarchy.²⁹ For instance, the post of the S.I. police carries much heavier responsibility for the competence of its incumbent available for the given emoluments. Similarly, there is a great amount of imbalance, lag and disparity in the calibre, competence and intellectual cultivation of the members of IPS and State police services.³⁰ The S.P., who is always an IPS and the Additional and Deputy

²⁷See Railway Crime in *Transactions*, Mt. Abu, National Police Academy, April 1965, p. 168.

²⁸Alexander, P.J., "Centre's Role in Public Functions" in *Transaction*, VIII, Mt. Abu, N.P.A. Nov. 1966.

²⁹For useful details see Rao, K.V. Recruitment, "Training and other related matters of the Indian Police", *Journal of the Society for Study of State Governments*, Varanasi, July-Dec. 1972, pp. 179-205.

³⁰Ibid., pp. 324-388.

Superintendents of Police (who come from State cadres of police services) belong to two different worlds and, naturally, it should require special efforts on the part of both the functionaries to pull together as a team in the district. Similarly, the S.P. and the sub-inspector, who run most of the chores of police work in the field are two different kinds of human beings, who can always work as seniors and subordinates, but never as colleagues and partners in the enterprise. The two offices of the D.I.G. and the Dy. S.P. in the State police hierarchy need a special position classification.³¹ They occupy dignified positions, but the incumbents usually complain against the anachronistic situations in which they are placed *vis-a-vis* their immediate juniors i.e., the S.P. and the S.I. They have relatively little functions to perform and can very conveniently be bypassed by their juniors in the range and in the district. The training of the IPS officers assigned to the States is a responsibility of the Union Government, but police training of the State police officials, juniors as well as seniors, leaves much to be desired.³² There is an obvious emphasis on muscle-building and reading *Blue Books*, which should have their place, but should not be pursued at the cost of mind and liberal orientation of the police officers. The State police training colleges generally do not attract the right kind and the training enterprise, being unlinked with future postings and promotions, as in the army, does not merit attention and involvement of the police officials at various levels of State hierarchy. The outdoor training of the junior functionaries certainly prepares them for arduous jobs of a hazardous career, but it runs the risk of brutalising their instincts for finer things in life and society, the complexities of which should be approached from a socio-psychological angle by the policemen of the future.³³ These personnel problems of the State police present the policeman in a foul image of a corrupt and inefficient official, having a low motivation to his duty. Current research in police behaviour indicates that this traditional image of a classical policeman is empirically not true,³⁴ yet, the fact remains that the State police constabulary leaves a lot to be desired in terms of its professional behaviour. And there is still more in the field of amelioration of working conditions of policeman, which alone can ensure recruitment of the right kind.³⁵

³¹ See Singh, D.P.N. "The Role of the I.P.S." and Bhist, T.S., "The Deputy Superintendent of Police : A Reappraisal of the Position," Advance Course Paper VIII (mimeo), Mt. Abu, 1964.

³² See Acharya, M.R., "The Present Training Progress of Police in India : A Review" *The Journal of the Society for the Study of State Governments*, op. cit., pp. 206-22.

³³ Cf. Reddy, S.K., "Training Police Officers in Developing Society and Police", (ed.) Reddy and Seshadri, Hyderabad, Osmania University, pp. 141-51.

³⁴ Sharma, P.D., "Perspectives on Police", *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, New Delhi, Dec., 1973, pp. 525-51.

³⁵ Singh, M.M., "Minimum Wage for a Policeman", *Transactions*, Mt. Abu, N.P.A., October 1962, p. 12.

Recently, the Union Government has initiated steps for the modernisation of police forces in the States. Funds have been earmarked for the modernisation of fleets, wireless equipments, forensic aids, training experiments and housing facilities for the personnel. When all this can be called a welcome beginning, it has hardly touched the fringe of the problem. The stringent finances of the States have failed to match up the effort and modernisation has not yet led to the much desired specialisation in the working of the State police. The State administrations are seized of the problem, but highly specialised police units in various areas of policing remain a desirable goal before police leadership in the States.

THE D.M.-S.P. DYARCHY IN THE DISTRICT

Lastly a reference may be made to the most ticklish and sensitive problem of dyarchy in the administration of law and order in the district. The Collector-S.P. relationship, as postulated in the Police Act, has acquired all sorts of pro-D.M. overtones in the process of history. Logical rationale apart,³⁶ it is a problem surcharged with professional bias and status equations in the district administration. The justification of dyarchy of the colonial days in the administration of law and order makes little sense, especially when the two functionaries belong to two all-India services of a coordinate nature.³⁷ The presence of D.M. in emergency situations of law and order may have some incidental benefits for the district administration, but it certainly betrays a lack of confidence in the senior officials of police, who resent the primacy of the D.M. in a domain which exclusively belongs to the police.³⁸

III

All these problems of State level police administration are not that simple as they appear to be from a distance and that too to a lay observer. A number of police commissions appointed by the States of Kerala, U.P., Bengal, Bihar and Delhi and the various committees and commissions appointed by the Union Government during the last two decades have studied the problems in depth and their detailed reports represent a lot of insight and research experience that has gone into the understanding of the problems.

³⁶Rai, Hardwar, "Dual Control of Law and Order Administration in India : A Study in Magistracy and Police Relationship," *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Delhi, XIII (1), Jan-March, 1967, p. 57-67.

³⁷Cf. Report of the Study Team on District Administration A.R.C., Government of India, New Delhi, 1967, p. 82.

³⁸Singhvi, G.C. "District Magistrate and District Police", *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, (XIX), 4, Oct-Dec. 1973, pp. 496-505.

THE NEED FOR FEDERAL INITIATIVE

The time has come when the recommendations of these State police commissions need to be processed by a committee of the Union Home Ministry which alone should bear the cost involved in these reforms. Needless to say, the State police reform cannot be taken up by State Governments even on a priority basis. The massive capital expenditure required to undertake most of the proposed reforms can be borne by the Union Government alone, which must make police a plan subject. The Planning Commission should engage itself in an exercise of working out the policing costs of economic development in India. It is a commonplace view that development brings new social tensions and political disorders in its wake, which bring their corresponding pressures on the police administrations of the States. The Union Government has already realised this empirical fact of social change and has invested huge funds of money in creating Union police agencies to supplement the efforts of State police administrations. Still, making police a plan subject will initiate fresh thinking on the problems of police in a developing society and the State police administration will get its legitimate and due share of allocations and grants from the plan outlay on a systematic basis and that too in a continued manner.

A PLEA FOR ALL-INDIA POLICE COMMISSION

Once the requisite funds are made available on recurring and non-recurring bases, the ideas and issues in police reform can be taken up for scrutiny by some kind of an institutional arrangement. It has been proposed several times in police conferences and seminars that an All-India Police Commission on the lines of the UGC may be set up for the disbursement of federal funds to improve standards of police efficiency and working conditions of policemen in the States.³⁹ This Commission may have eminent policemen and other knowledgeable people from public life and it may be entrusted with the specific responsibility of pursuing the goals, contents, strategies and impact of administrative reforms in State police organisations on a continuous basis. The Commission may initiate research studies in the field and ultimately grow into a clearing house, offering consultancy on police problems to the administrations of the State. It may also explore the avenues in which meaningful penal reforms may be undertaken by the Union Government, in areas of concurrent jurisdiction, so that the reform efforts in State level police administrations may be given a purposeful direction and meaningful content.

Notwithstanding a pioneering role of the Union Government in initiating and funding police research and reform in the States, the State

³⁹ Misra, S.C., "Police Administration in India," *op. cit.*, pp. 163-67.

level police administrations can ill-afford to shelve some of the urgent and long overdue police reforms feasible within the given limits of their resources. Some of these reforms can be:

1. Constitution of permanent State police reforms committees. The committees consisting of knowledgeable people in every State may make recommendations, which should be mandatory. The committees may be given wide terms of reference and should suggest ways and means to implement the short term and long range proposals for reform, which they seek to suggest. This continuous reform effort should result in the reorganisation of the State structures of police, which should initiate change, without causing a big dislocation in the total system of administration of the State.
2. The State police administration should increasingly experiment with the police commissioner system prevalent in big cities of the country. To begin with, the capital cities of all the States may be allowed to work under the commissioner system of police and the new cities in every State may gradually be covered with the new system which needs to be worked out in the light of the local experiences of the commissioner system in various States.
3. The pace of modernisation of the State police set-up may be enhanced in such a manner that a satisfactory state of modernisation may be attained by the close of the century. Modernisation in terms of physical facilities and equipments may ultimately lead to specialisation in police tasks and trained policemen may get their legitimate promotions in their own branches of specialisation. The armed police, the CID, the traffic police and the railway police may not be allowed to have a free exchange of personnel, as is the case today.
4. The staff units in the State police administration may not only be increased and activised, but may be given an honoured place in the police organisation. The emoluments and working conditions of police officials employed in forensic laboratories, training institutes, CID, MOB, intelligence branch, etc., should be better and attractive enough to upgrade them from the present state of devaluation.
5. The expenditure on armed police may increasingly be reduced and the State police budgets can be so reorganised as to have more and more of senior positions to make the district police officer-oriented, rather than constable oriented. 'Voluntary citizen police' experiments may be encouraged and better qualified police officials, though less in number, may handle the police work better without engaging a large number of illiterate and rustic constables.

6. The offices of the S.P. and S.I. may be reorganised in terms of their routine workload, legal responsibilities, protocol duties and job hazards. In the place of having assistants, they may be asked to have a formal and horizontal delegation of their work among their colleagues. This will yield them some leisure to think, organise and work creatively as chiefs of district police and police stations respectively.

7. The junior State police functionaries may be specially trained in public relations and special efforts may be made to cultivate various sections of public to project a new image of the police profession in the society. It is fashionable to talk of police-public relations, but the State police administrations should launch efforts in this direction only after having made the necessary preparation. The risks involved should be calculated and understood and half-hearted measures should be rigorously avoided.

Thus, the State level police administration, which, by and large, represents the historical legacies of the colonial days needs fresh thinking, systematic reorganisation and vigorous reform effort to live up to the challenge of change and growth, popularly known as development, in modern India. The organisation as such has a very sound base and the traditions of discipline, loyalty, legal competence and firmness have nurtured it towards the desired end. The uniformity of the pattern in most of the States of the Union makes it doubly relevant in the present day context of national integrity and national discipline. The real trouble lies in its colonial orientations of negativism, simplicity, secondary status and generalism. In free India the people, the civilians and the political masters have been callously apathetic to the problems of police reform. As a State subject, it has suffered neglect and a raw deal at the hands of our planners. Being a disciplined organisation, it could not develop its bargain counters in the democratic system. On the contrary, its functional nature has been responsible for incurring the wrath of all sections of society. Naturally, its case for reform has been lost by default. The foul image of the profession and the service conditions obtained in the State and all-India police services have attracted the second best, which, in turn, has told quite heavily upon the ethics of the profession. The lower level police officials have further exploited the situation and have rendered the organisation and its personnel insulated and incorrigible for reform. The emergency situation in the country today entrusts very heavy responsibilities on the police administrations of the States. The traditional system is obviously ill-equipped to stand to the strains of the situation. The remedy lies in creative thinking inside the State level police administration and on the part of police leadership to take up the challenge of the new political and administrative philosophies of democracy, socialism, secularism and nationalism, so pertinently reiterated by the recent revisions in the Constitution of India.



STATE SERVICES AND THE LAW

O.P. Motiwal

SHrimati Indira Gandhi observed: "If Government has to do more for the people, its employees must play a more dynamic and more creative role as the instrument for implementing Government policies and programmes."¹

"Determination of policy is the function of Ministers and once a policy is determined it is the unquestioned and unquestionable business of the civil servant to strive to carry out that policy and precisely the same goodwill whether he agrees with it or not." These were the observations of Warren Fisher before the Tomlin Commission.² These observations clearly show the spirit behind the relationship between a political executive and the permanent executive in a parliamentary form of government. Parliamentary traditions strive from parliament to parliament and the administrative experience is carried over by the civil service. What the civil service really does is to maintain a government as a going concern.³

The welfare state visualised by the framers of our Constitution requires an efficient and particular type of civil service whose objective should be public service. H.V. Kamath, member of the Constituent Assembly, had, in this connection, observed that a country with an inefficient civil service cannot make progress in spite of the earnestness of those people at the helm of affairs in the country.⁴

The basic feature of the parliamentary system of government is the association of: (*i*) an amateur, lay, political, non-permanent protecting body and officials, and (*ii*) an expert, professional, non-political, permanent subordinate staff. The former provide the democratic element in administration; the latter the bureaucratic. Both of them are considered necessary; the political wing makes the Government popular and the civil services bring efficiency to

¹Presidential Address by Smt. Indira Gandhi delivered on October 22, 1971, at the Annual Meeting of IIPA, New Delhi.

²Royal Commission on the civil services, minutes of the evidence 1268 (1929) quoted in Jennings Cabinet Government, 1962, p.125

³Harold J. Laski, *Parliamentary Government in London* (1959), p. 312.

⁴IX CAD 586.

it. The successful combination of both the wings runs the administration smoothly. Finer, in this connection, has observed that "modern states have particular need of civil servants, for the latter serve two purposes of cardinal importance. They furnish the expert knowledge without which ministers and parliament cannot, in any adequate fashion, create and enact policies and they carry out the commands of the policy making body."⁵

The general executive administration of a country is carried out through the medium of various Government offices and departments. In the States, the Governor acts as the head of the State in the executive matters merely as a constitutional head and he is bound to accept the advice of the Council of Ministers.

Article 166 of the Constitution deals with the conduct of business of the Government of the State. It lays down that all executive actions of the Government of a State shall be expressed to be taken in the name of the Governors and orders and other instruments made and executed in the name of the Governor shall be authenticated in such manner as may be specified in the rules to be made by the Governor. The validity of the order or instrument which is authenticated in such a way is not to be called in question on the ground that it is not an order or instrument made or executed by the Governor.⁶ This Article further provides that a Governor of a State shall make rules for the more convenient transactions of the business of the Government of the State and for the allocation, among Ministers of the State, business insofar as it is not business with respect to which the Governor is bound or under the Constitution required to act in this discretion.

Civil services have been classified into all-India services, central services, class I to IV, state services, specialised services and subordinate services. The state services in most of the States have been broadly classified into the following three categories:

- (i) Administrative services, state judicial services and the other services like sales tax officers, treasury officers, inspectors of school, etc.,
- (ii) Technical services include engineers, doctors and other technicians,
- (iii) Subordinate services.

⁵Finer Herman, the British Civil Services 1937, pp. 14-15.

⁶Shri Ram Dayal Yadav-vs-State of H.P., 1975(2) SLR 360.

RECRUITMENT

The recruitment of employees to Government posts is a function of the executive. The Constitution has specifically made provisions for the appointment of certain officers of the State while other appointments are to be governed by the rules framed by the Governor on the subject. The State legislatures have the option to pass legislation governing the recruitment of the employees. There are different types of appointing authorities to make appointments to different posts. Their power and authority is governed by the rules. Article 309 of the Constitution deals with the recruitment and conditions of service for persons serving the Union or the State Governments. Article 315 provides for the establishment of a Public Service Commission for the Union and each State. But two or more States can agree to have a common Commission. If the Governor of a State and the President agree, the Union Public Service Commission can also act for a particular State. The Public Service Commission is an independent body and cannot be identified with the Government.

The State Public Service Commission is to be consulted on all matters relating to recruitment, disciplinary matters and connected matters affecting the civil servants of the State. A Governor of a State has been authorised by the Constitution to frame regulations specifying the matters or the circumstances in which a Commission is to be consulted. Such regulations framed by the Governor are to be laid before each house of the legislature of the State as soon as possible after they have been framed. It may, however, be pointed out that the functions of the Commission, as laid down in Article 320 of the Constitution, are only advisory and the Commission does not have mandatory powers. Article 320(3)(c) does not confer any right on the public servant and the absence of consultation of the Public Service Commission or any irregularity in consultation does not afford him a cause of action in a court of law. It is, therefore, clear that Article 311 of the Constitution is not controlled by Article 320. It has been held by the Supreme Court that the Governor is not bound by the advice of the Commission.⁷ It has further been held that failure to consult the Commission shall not render the order imposing the penalty, etc., against the civil servant invalid.⁸

CONCEPT OF PLEASURE

Article 310 of the Constitution provides that except as expressly provided by the Constitution, every person, who is a member of a civil service of a State or holds any civil post in a State, holds office during the pleasure of the Governor. The expression 'during the pleasure' in this Article relates only

⁷A.N.D. Sinha, vs. Union of India—AIR 1962-SC-1130.

⁸N.T. Singh vs. State of Manipur—AIR 1958 Mani 35; Shivnandan vs. State of West Bengal—AIR—1954-Cal. 61.

to the tenure of office of a civil servant and does not relate to other conditions of services. The pleasure of the Governor does not mean that this article is attracted only when a Government servant is dismissed by the Governor himself. Since all executive powers of the State can be exercised by the Governor, either directly or through officers subordinate to him, this Article is attracted whenever a person is dismissed by an officer competent to dismiss such person serving under the State. In fact, the word 'Governor' in this Article denotes the executive powers of the State.⁹ Article 310 is subject to two limitations. One of these restrictions is contained in Article 309 and the other in Article 311. The former provides for framing of rules while the latter imposes procedural restrictions. The provisions of Article 311 operate as a proviso to Article 310(1).¹⁰

The courts in India have accepted that the 'pleasure' under Article 310 cannot be exercised in a discriminatory manner and is subject to the provisions of Articles 14, 15 and 16.

RIGHT TO EQUALITY

The principle of equality as enshrined in Article 14 of the Constitution has been made applicable to the civil servants of the States as well as Central Government. Article 14 lays down that the State shall not deny to any person equality before the law or the equal protection of the laws within the territory of India. Article 15 prohibits discrimination on the grounds of religion, race, sex, place of birth or any of them. Article 16 deals with equality of opportunity in matters of public employment. We will now examine how far equal opportunity has been granted in the matter of appointment, in the matter of promotion and in regard to other conditions of service.

The right to equality of a citizen at the time of entrance in the service includes the right to make an application for any post under the Government. This right has been guaranteed by the Supreme Court in *Krishan Chander Nair Vs. Central Tractor Organisation*.¹¹ In this case, the employers had terminated the services of an employee and had further disqualified him from future services under the Government. The Supreme Court held that he had been deprived of the constitutional right to equality of opportunity in matters of employment or appointment under the State as guaranteed by Article 16 of the Constitution. It was further laid down that this Article guarantees not only the right to apply for a particular job but also the right to be considered on merits for the post applied for. It is open to the appointing authority to prescribe such prerequisite conditions of appointment as would be conducive

⁹Jagannath Singh vs. Asstt. Excise Commissioner—AIR 1959—ALL 771.

¹⁰Babu Ram vs. State of UP 1971(2)—SLR (649).

¹¹Sadanandan vs. State of Kerala AIR 1963—Ker 57.

to the maintenance of proper discipline among Government servants. The State Governments can frame necessary rules for verifying the character and antecedents of a candidate selected for the appointment and if he is not found suitable he could be refused employment.¹² An Advocate approved by the Public Service Commission for the post of civil service (judicial) was refused appointment by the concerned Government because he had participated in RSS Satyagraha.¹³ Article 16(1) does not preclude the administrative authority from making selection from numerous candidates before making appointment. But the selective test employed must be reasonable and not arbitrary. Holding of a special qualifying examination with a specific purpose and for a particular class or persons is not against Article 16 because it has been held to be a reasonable classification.

The Government of Orissa laid down that no new entrant to Government service will be confirmed unless he passes a particular standard of examination in Oriya language within a specified period of his appointment. This decision of the Government was challenged and it was held by the Court that neither Article 15 nor 16 prescribe restrictions being imposed on grounds of language qualification. As such the State was entitled to select only legible candidates who qualify for the language test. Clause 2 of Article 16 prescribes discrimination in respect of any employment or office under the State on the ground of residence, but Clause 3 of the same Article provides an exception. Parliament has been empowered to lay down residence within a particular State or Union Territory as an essential qualification for certain specific types of jobs under the State Government. This exception has been made with a view to achieve efficiency.

The retention of political sufferers, even if they were juniors in a service, when a general retrenchment of supply inspectors was ordered by the Government of Bihar has been held to be violative of Article 16 of the Constitution. The Supreme Court has held that if the services of a temporary employee have been terminated in accordance with the provisions of the rule, and some junior man is retained, it will not amount to violation of Articles 14 and 16.¹⁴

PROMOTIONS

Mr. Justice Gajendragadkar (as he was then) opened a new chapter of the constitutional right to equality of opportunity in promotions, etc. in the case of *General Manager, Southern Railways Vs. Rangachari*.¹⁵ In this case the expression "matters relating to employment" used in Article 16(1)

¹²Ravinder Kumar vs. State of UP—AIR 1969—ALL 361.

¹³AIR 1962 SC 602.

¹⁴Raj Kumar vs. Union of India 1975 (I) SLR 774.

¹⁵AIR 1964—Supreme Court 502.

were explained and it was held that this term does not relate to only employment but it includes other matters as salary, increments, leave, gratuity, pension and superannuation, etc.

No Government servant has a right to promotion under Article 16 of the Constitution. What is guaranteed is the right to have his 'case considered for promotion'.¹⁶ The question of promotion is within the power and discretion of the superior authority and the dispute is not justiciable unless the question is decided in contravention of the provisions of the specific rules.¹⁷ The Supreme Court has settled that inequality of opportunity for promotion as between citizens holding different posts in the same grade will be an infringement of Article 16; for example, if some income tax inspectors are eligible for promotion to a superior grade while other income tax inspectors of the same grade are not entitled for such a promotion it will be an infringement of Article 16.

The provisions of efficiency bar in the scale of pay or withholding of increments of a Government do not amount to infringement of Article 16. They are necessary for the maintenance of efficiency in Government service.

The Supreme Court has held that promotion is one of the conditions of service and Government should frame necessary rules for the same. The State Government could prescribe fulfilment of certain conditions by the State employees before they could be promoted to a higher rank. The prescription of conditions for promotion should not be discriminatory. If the pre-promotion conditions violated Article 14 or 16 they are liable to be struck down by the Court.¹⁸

The Government has a right like any other employer to pick and choose proper persons for employment including by promotion in Government service. The Government in selecting the proper person can exempt some members from passing the test required for promotion and its denial of such exemption to other members will not constitute unequal treatment violative of the principle of equality. A Government servant does not acquire any legal right merely by inclusion of his name in the list of persons who are to be promoted to a higher post. The Government can change the list and drop or include other names before the promotion actually takes place.¹⁹

Can an order promoting a State civil servant be withdrawn? This was the main point for decision by the Mysore High Court in *T.S. Gurusiddiah*.

¹⁶P.S. Chawla vs. Union of India, 1975 (1) SLR 813.

¹⁷High Court Calcutta vs. Amol Kumar—AIR 1962 SC (704).

¹⁸Ram Saran vs. DIG of Police, Ajmer AIR 1964 SC (1669).

¹⁹James Adven vs. The State—AIR 1961—Assam 74.

*Vs.-State of Mysore.*²⁰ In this case the superintendent in the Home Department was reverted to his substantive post just after two days of his promotion. The order revoking the previous order of promotion was challenged on the ground that the reversion attracted Article 311 as it was a stigma on his record of service. The Court held that a stigma is not attached to a person if his promotion which was stated to have been made under a mistake was revoked. Since the promotion was purely on a temporary basis no penal consequences have fallen on the superintendent. As such Article 311 was not attracted. Cancellation of promotion on a representation of another employee without giving any opportunity to the Government servant affected will amount to violation of the principle of natural justice.²¹

If a Government servant goes on deputation to any other department his right to be considered for promotion is to be preserved. Merely temporary deputation of a civil servant does not render him disqualified for consideration when his other colleagues are being considered for promotion.

RESERVATIONS

In order to bring the backward sections at par with the other sections of the society, and to raise their social and economic standard, the Constituent Assembly thought it necessary to give special privileges, including relaxation in age for joining Government service, payment of fees in examination conducted by the State and reservation of posts. These concessions were guaranteed to backward and scheduled castes in spite of the acceptance of the principle of equal opportunity in State employment. This has been done by inserting clause 4 in Article 16 guaranteeing them a preferential treatment. The reservation made in Article 16(4) beyond the permissible and legitimate limitations is liable to be challenged. The Supreme Court has held that a Government order to carry forward reservation posts was unconstitutional and invalid because it was against the spirit and motive behind the principle of equal opportunity in employment to all citizens of the country.²²

CONTROL AND DISCIPLINE

There are two types of control over State civil services, namely, (i) control of legality, and (ii) control of policy and expediency. Control of legality is required to ensure that actions of public authorities conform to the law of the land, and control of policy is essential to ensure that public authorities

²⁰AIR 1963, Mysore 109.

²¹Nilganandan Das vs. State of Orissa, 1975 (1) SLR 515.

²²T. Devadasan vs. Union of India—AIR 1964-SC 179.

act in accordance with the declared policy of the Government or the legislature.

In a parliamentary form of Government, civil services cannot exercise powers independent of political power. The most important task of the political executive in a State is the framing of policy on all administrative matters and these policies are executed by State civil servants whose actions are guided by the Ministers. The legislature of a State formulates and controls the policy during its proceedings, namely, address in reply to the Governor's speech, adjournment motions, substantive motions and question time. A vigorous and well informed public opinion is also an important factor in the control of public service. Another method of control exercised by the people over civil services is through their inclusion as members of certain departmental advisory committees.

The power to scrutinize executive act by the law courts and to test their conformity with the Constitution, and whether they are found to be inconsistent with it, is generally described as a power of judicial review. The role of the courts while exercising such a power is to serve as a check on the administrative branch of the Government, a check against excess powers and abusive exercise of power in negation of law. The Supreme Court and the High Courts have been empowered to issue different kinds of writ petitions to control the actions of administrative agencies and civil servants.

The action of the civil service in regard to financial matters is controlled at various stages by the legislatures and its committees.

Since a higher standard of efficiency and good conduct is required from the servants of a State, it is presumed that civil servants are obedient, faithful, careful in discharge of their duties, honest, punctual and well-behaved. In order to ensure these qualities in the civil service of a State and to have a proper control over their actions, the State prescribes certain rules pertaining to their actions and conduct. The breach of such rules results in the infliction of punishment to a civil servant. The important rules are the Government Servant Conduct Rules, Punishment and Appeal Rules and Discipline and Appeal Rules. For the police force, the State Governments have framed police regulations. Different conduct rules have been framed for different categories of civil servants in a particular State. These rules mostly deal with matters that are not expected to be done by the State Government servants, for example, prohibition against drinks, participation in politics and elections. State Government servants in most of the States have been debarred from engaging themselves in any organisational activities which are prejudicial to the interest of sovereignty and integrity of the country or morality. The

Government Servants Conduct Rules prohibit bigamous marriages. Government servants cannot participate in any strike or criticise the Government or its actions. The Supreme Court, however, has held that peaceful demonstration by Government servants is legal while their strike has been declared to be illegal.²³

Restrictions on acceptance of gifts or engaging themselves in private trade or employment have also been imposed. State Government servants in addition to the written restrictions have to follow an un-written code of conduct of morality in their official as well as private life. The restrictions mentioned in the Conduct Rules are not exhaustive and the discretion of the State remains unfettered as to what type of conduct it shall consider not worthy or unbecoming of a Government servant. The Civil Servants (CCA) Rules empower the State Governments to prescribe the penalties that could be imposed on the employees of the States. In exercise of these powers, States have framed rules for punishment and other connected matters.

The punishment can be also classified into two categories: Major punishment includes reduction to a lower service, grade or post or to a lower time-scale or to a lower stage in a time-scale, compulsory retirement, removal from service and dismissal. Minor punishment includes censoring, withdrawal of increment, recovery from pay of the whole or part of any pecuniary loss caused to the Government by negligence or breach of the orders.

DISCIPLINARY PROCEEDINGS

The principle of natural justice has been specially adopted for Government servants in Article 311 of the Constitution. Under this Article, a Government servant is to be given a reasonable opportunity to answer the charges levelled against him and lead evidence in support of his stand before he could be dismissed, removed or reduced in rank. The Supreme Court in Khem Chand's case,²⁴ has held that the requirements of natural justice are the same as those that implicate in reasonable opportunity under Article 311. Broad tests of reasonable opportunity were laid down by the Supreme Court in Sabir Hussan's case.²⁵ Reasonable opportunity as envisaged in Article 311 includes:

- (a) an opportunity to deny his guilt and establish his innocence which he can do only if he is told what the charges levelled against him are and the allegations on which such charges are based;

²³Radhey Shyam vs. P.M.G. Nagpur 1965 (2) SCG 581.

²⁴1958 SCJ 497 : AIR 1958 SC 300.

²⁵U.P. Government & Others vs. Sabir Hussan 1975 (2) SLR 267.

- (b) an opportunity to defend himself by cross-examining the witnesses produced against him and by examining himself or any other witnesses in support of his defence; and
- (c) an opportunity to make his presentation as to why the proposed punishment should not be inflicted on him which he can do only if the competent authority, after the enquiry is over and after applying his mind to the gravity or otherwise of the charges proved against the Government servant tentatively proposes to inflict one of the three major punishments and communicates the same to the concerned servant.

If a Government servant asserts that he has not been given reasonable opportunity, then he must prove that there was a contravention of the mandatory provisions of law or rules of natural justice.²⁶

Before framing formal charges against a Government servant, the authorities concerned make an investigation to ascertain the wrongs committed by him and decide whether the employee should be charge-sheeted. This is not a formal enquiry, as such, no rules are to be observed. There can be an *ex parte* examination or investigation. If a statement recorded in the enquiry is relied upon for awarding punishment its copy is to be given to the delinquent official.²⁷ A borrowing authority cannot suspend an employee on deputation or initiate departmental proceedings.²⁸

A departmental enquiry starts with the delivery of the charges to the delinquent servant. The charge-sheet must be specified and must set out all the necessary particulars of alleged faults. Even if the official knew the charges, he must be informed of the same formally. Article 311 does not speak of any charge-sheet being drawn up. It becomes necessary due to rule 55 of C.C.A. Rules and the latent spirit in Article 311 itself. The object of furnishing a charge-sheet is to give an opportunity to the person, who is charged with misconduct, to give an explanation to defend himself. The charges should not be vague. They should be clear, precise and accurate.²⁹ If charges are vague it will be deemed that reasonable opportunity has not been given and the whole proceedings is vitiated. If a charge-sheet contains the proposed punishment also, it will be deemed that the Government has prejudged the issue. Charges can, however, be added or modified.

When the charges have been drawn, they are to be communicated to the

²⁶K.L. Shinde vs. State of Mysore 1976 (II) SLR 260.

²⁷State of M.P. vs. Chairman AIR 1961 SC. 1623.

²⁸V. Muttuswami vs. AG(Admn.) 1971 (I) SLR 772.

²⁹Partap Singh vs. State A.I.R. 1964 SC 72.

delinquent official by the disciplinary authority, and not by the enquiry officer,³⁰ asking him to file a written statement of his defence by a prescribed date which would give him reasonable time, and to state whether he desires to be heard in person.

When the explanation has been received by the punishing authority, that authority appoints an enquiry officer to record all oral or written evidence on the charges. During the enquiry stage the Government servant can cross-examine the witnesses who have been produced by the department to prove his guilt. All evidences should be recorded in his presence.³¹ He is entitled to receive copies of depositions and reports of the enquiry leading to the charges and failure to give such copies which are necessary for making a proper defence would vitiate an order of punishment. The accused official can summon necessary documents to prove his innocence. The punishing authority can take into consideration the record of the past service of the Government servant, in determining the appropriate punishment but the authority concerned must inform this fact to him.³²

Enquiry proceedings are not judicial in nature. A person conducting the preliminary inquiry is not barred from conducting the detailed departmental inquiry. Technical rules of evidence are not applicable in such enquiries.³³ The appointment of an officer who is biased against the official will amount to the denial of reasonable opportunity. If an enquiry officer is subordinate to the punishing authority it cannot be inferred that he is biased.³⁴ The enquiry officer should not be personally interested in the welfare of the civil servant.

The Supreme Court has held that if the rules do not provide for the engagement of a lawyer and if the same is refused, then it will amount to denial of reasonable opportunity.³⁵ Assistance of lawyers in departmental proceedings has not been held to be a right of the Government servant.³⁶ It is the discretion of the enquiry officer to allow a lawyer to defend a State employee, denial of request by a State employee for assistance to defend by a Government servant is violation of Articles 14 and 16.³⁷

The enquiry officer after completing his enquiry prepares his report

³⁰Onkar Singh Khosla vs. Union of India 1975(2) SLR 135.

³¹Bai Inah vs. State of Orissa AIR 1957 Orissa 70.

³²State of Mysore vs. K. Mancha Gosda AIR 1964 SC 506.

³³R. De Dequaria vs. Govt. of AP 1975 (1) SLR 862 followed in 1976 (2) SLR 103.

³⁴Madan Lal Sathee vs. Union of India 1975 (2) SLR 286.

³⁵H.C. Sarin vs. Union of India 1976(2) SLR 248.

³⁶Niendra Nath Bagchi vs. Chief Secy. W.B. AIR 1961 AIR 1.

³⁷N.P. Padmandha vs. Supdt. of Post Office, 1975 (1) SLR 8.

containing his findings and the penalty which, in his view, may be imposed. He submits it to the punishing authority who, in turn, sends a copy to the official asking him to show cause, by a particular date, why a particular penalty should not be imposed on him. The delinquent Government servant can submit his explanation again.³⁸ On the receipt of the explanation the punishing authority passes a final order after considering the explanation submitted by the Government servant.

If the official punished is not satisfied with the order of the punishing authority, he can prefer an appeal against the order to a higher authority as provided in the respective rules. An aggrieved Government servant can request the punishing authority to review its own order but the request should be within a reasonable time.³⁹ A memorandum against the punishment can also be submitted to the Governor. After availing all departmental opportunities he can move the law court by a writ petition or a civil suit. The Supreme Court⁴⁰ has, however, made it clear that a suit challenging the validity of departmental proceedings cannot be treated as an appeal from the findings in the departmental proceedings or the punishment inflicted upon the Government servant even if these are erroneous. A question which could affect the result in a civil suit has to be of such a nature that it goes to the root of the jurisdiction and the conduct of the departmental trial and vitiates the result. It is only if the departmental proceedings is null and void that a plaintiff in such a suit could obtain the reliefs he had asked for.

CHARACTER ROLLS

"A confidential report is intended to be for a general assessment of work performed by a civil servant, subordinate to the reporting authority, that such reports are maintained for the purpose of service as data of comparative merit when questions of promotion, confirmation, etc., arise."⁴¹

It is necessary that adverse reports recorded in the character roll should not be vague and colourless; they must specify the period for which the report is given. Since the communication is intended to enable the official to make his representation in respect of adverse entry, vagueness completely defeats the purpose and is violative of the principles of natural justice.⁴²

It has been held by the courts that adverse remarks should invariably

³⁸Siba Budek vs. The State of Orissa, 1975 (I) SLR 671.

³⁹State of UP vs. J.L. Bhargava, 1975 (I) SLR 239.

⁴⁰R.C. Sharma vs. Union of India 1976(2) SLR 265.

⁴¹R.L. Butani vs. Union of India, 1970 SLR 926.

⁴²P.O. Varghese vs. Director of Public Instructions, 1970 SLR 524.

be communicated to the Government servant concerned and there should be no delay in doing so.

Adverse remarks affect the future career of a civil servant; as such, it is necessary that he should be given an opportunity to challenge it. If this opportunity has been denied to him and the adverse remarks are taken into account by the selection board, then its recommendations are liable to be quashed.⁴³

An interesting case came to the notice of the Punjab and Haryana High Court in which the adverse remarks were conveyed to a Government servant with an interdict that no correspondence would be entertained on the subject. This interdict was directly in violation of the rules of natural justice. That no person should be condemned unheard is a well-known canon of natural justice.⁴⁴

The Supreme Court has established a relationship between the crossing of the efficiency bar by a Government servant and adverse remarks recorded in the character roll prior to his crossing the efficiency bar. The Supreme Court has held that adverse confidential reports, made prior to the crossing of the efficiency bar, by the employee, cannot be used in an enquiry against him. The crossing of the efficiency bar by an employee gives him a clean bill up to date.

CONSEQUENCES OF PROPOSED AMENDMENT IN THE CONSTITUTION

There has been a feeling in certain quarters that the Constitution of India should be amended to meet the social changes in the country. Our Prime Minister, speaking on the need of an amendment, observed that "there are bound to be lacunae in a written Constitution. As the society itself and the economic conditions change, we require necessary amendment to the Constitution".⁴⁵ Having this aspect in view the all-India Congress Committee appointed a committee to go through the provisions of the Constitution and to suggest amendments thereof. Shri Swaran Singh, ex-Foreign Minister, Government of India, was appointed chairman of this Committee. On the basis of the Swaran Singh Committee report, the Government of India introduced in the Lok Sabha a comprehensive Bill known as the 44th Constitution (Amendment) Bill, on September 1, 1976, to amend the Constitution.

The proposed amending Bill, in addition to other Articles, has inserted

⁴³Sri Angpal Kapoor vs. The State of Punjab, 1973 (1) SLR 989.

⁴⁴Ibid.

⁴⁵Prime Minister's speech at the valedictory meeting of the General Body of the Congress Parliamentary Party. *Economic Times*, Sept. 3, 1976.

Article 323A in the Constitution which relates to the establishment of tribunals. 'The development of administrative law in a welfare state has made administrative tribunals to be a modern necessity, since they have distinct advantage over the ordinary courts because they ensure cheapness, accessibility, freedom from technicality, expedition and expert knowledge of their particular subject.'⁴⁶ Article 323A provides that Parliament may by law provide for the adjudication or trial by administrative tribunals all disputes and complaints with respect to recruitment and conditions of service of persons appointed to public services and posts in connection with the affairs of the Union or any State or any local or other authority within the territory of India or under the control of Government of India or any corporation owned or controlled by the Government. Parliament has been authorised that when they frame a law under this Article they may provide for the establishment of an administrative tribunal for the Union and a separate administrative tribunal for each State or more States. This legislation may also specify the jurisdiction, powers and authority which may be exercised by each of the State tribunals. The law to be framed by Parliament should also provide the procedure, including provisions, as to limitation and rules of evidence to be followed by such tribunals. This Article also authorises Parliament to provide in the Act, to be enacted in this connection, for exclusion of the jurisdiction of courts except the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court under Article 136 of the Constitution with respect to disputes or complaints referred to in Clause 1 of Article 323A. Parliament can also provide for the transfer to each such administrative tribunal of any case pending before another court or other authority immediately before the establishment of such tribunals as could have been within the jurisdiction of such tribunals if the causes of action on which such suits or proceedings are based had arisen after such establishment. Parliament has further been empowered by this amendment to repeal or amend any other order made by the President under Clause (3) of Article 371 D. Parliament, if it considers necessary, may also provide such supplemental, incidental and consequential provisions for the effective functioning and speedy disposal of cases and the enforcement of the orders of such tribunals.

Section 44 of the amending Bill proposes to amend Article 311 of the Constitution. This amendment has not affected Clause 1 of Article 311 which still provides that no person who is a member of a civil service of the Union or of all-India service or a civil service of a State or holds a civil post under the Union or a State shall be dismissed or removed by an authority subordinate to that by which he was appointed.

Clause 2 of this Article, however, has been amended and the result of this amendment is that in future, i.e., when this amendment comes into force,

⁴⁶Seervai, H.M., Constitutional Law of India, 1967, p. 896.

no civil servant shall be dismissed or removed or reduced in rank except after an enquiry in which he has been informed of the charges against him and given a reasonable opportunity of being heard in respect of those charges. Before this amendment, it was provided in this Article that where it is proposed, after the enquiry, to impose on a civil servant any such penalty, it will not be inflicted until he has been given another reasonable opportunity for making representation on the proposed penalty but only on the basis of the evidence adduced during such enquiry. This second opportunity, on the proposed punishment, will not be given to a civil servant when Article 311 is amended in accordance with the Bill before Parliament. The proviso to Article 311 which specified certain contingencies, where reasonable opportunity contemplated in Article 311 was not to be given, still stands and no amendment is proposed in this regard.

In this connection it may be pointed out that much before the amending Bill to the Constitution was introduced in Parliament, Uttar Pradesh had issued the Public Services (Tribunals) Ordinance 1975 which was converted into an Act later on, providing for the constitution of two or more tribunals each to be called the State public services tribunals. The UP Government has already constituted two such tribunals and each tribunal consists of a judicial member and an administrative member. The judicial member is to be a person who is or has been or is qualified to be a judge of a High Court and an administrative member is a person who holds or has held the post of or any post of equivalent to the Commissioner of a Division. One of the members of the tribunal is to be designated by the State Government as chairman of the tribunal. If the tribunal consists of a judicial member who is or has been a judge of a High Court, he shall invariably be the chairman. The age limit that has been prescribed for the retired High Court judge is 65 years and in other cases 61 years. It has been provided that the State Government can transfer any case from one tribunal to another and if in any case two members of a tribunal are unable to agree, the State Government can transfer that case to another tribunal. The provisions of the Limitation Act 1963 have been made applicable to all references made to the tribunals. The tribunals have been given certain powers provided in CPC and in regard to the rules of evidence as provided in the Indian Evidence Act. The tribunals under the Act are expected to be guided by the principle of natural justice. An award made by the tribunal is binding on the claimant and his employer. Where the tribunal makes any other order in favour of the claimant and against his employer or any other public servant and such order remains uncomplied with for a period of three months, the tribunal can, on his application, issue a certificate for recovery of the amount awarded, or as the case may be, for other relief granted by it and any person in whose favour such certificate is issued may apply to the principal civil courts of original jurisdiction in the State within the local limits of whose jurisdiction he has for the time being

been serving, or last served, such employer for execution of the order of the tribunal and such court shall thereupon execute the certificate or cause the same to be executed in the same manner and by the same procedure as if it were a decree for like relief made by itself in a suit.

The employer has been empowered to appoint a public servant or a legal practitioner to be known as presenting officer to present its case before the tribunal. The Government servant may also take the assistance of any other public servant to present his case before the tribunal on his behalf. He cannot engage a legal practitioner to represent him unless either (i) the presenting officer appointed by the employer is a legal practitioner or (ii) the tribunal, having regard to the circumstances of the case, so permits.

The Act further provides that no suit should lie against the State Government or any other local authority or any statutory corporation or company for any relief in respect of any matter relating to employment at the instance of any person who is or has been a public servant.

The State Government has been authorised to make rules for carrying out the purposes of the Act. In exercise of these powers, the State Government has also framed the public services tribunals rules which provide for the powers, procedures to be adopted by the tribunals and registers to be maintained by the tribunals. The rules have provided for the payment of fees in respect of proceedings before the tribunals. In this connection, there is a feeling that no fee should be provided for invoking the jurisdiction of the tribunal. As soon as the Constitution is amended, other States will also constitute administrative tribunals to deal with service matters of their employees.

SOME PROBLEMS OF COOPERATIVE ADMINISTRATION

J.G. Kanga

THE co-operative movement originated in Western Europe as a reaction to the harsh working conditions and exploitation of the poor during the Industrial Revolution. Though it is dated as starting with the Rochdale pioneers in 1844 in the United Kingdom, Rober Owens in England and Charles Fourier in France, had initiated co-operative thought and action several years earlier. Similarly, in Germany, Schulze and F.W. Raiffcisen developed their ideas on similar lines in order to relieve distress among the agrarian masses. The early co-operative movement in Western Europe was the response of a number of dedicated persons who felt the urge to help the poor suffering masses by organising them in such a manner as to protect themselves from the evils inherent in the economic system then prevailing. Thus, it is true to say that the co-operative movement grew and flourished as a genuine democratic and people's movement and official recognition and legal procedures came at a later stage to give the movement a firm base and to overcome difficulties and problems which arose.

The co-operative movement in India, however, originated in a different manner. It was introduced as a state policy because of the prevailing socio-economic climate in the country. While the economic conditions of the agrarian masses of this country were similar to that prevailing in Europe during the Industrial Revolution, there was a conspicuous lack of leadership both in the rural and urban area to organise these masses in order to improve their economic condition. Even amongst the masses themselves, there was little awareness or ability to organise themselves to resist exploitation. Small peasants, agricultural labourers and petty artisans, thoroughly illiterate and under heavy indebtedness, had neither the idea nor the capacity to organise themselves in order to improve their lot. Their response to the situation of tyranny and oppression of moneylenders and usurers was either to indulge in violence or to accept their miserable lot in a supine manner. The Deccan riots in 1875 and the subsequent enquiries and commissions led to cautious official experiments in the form of co-operative societies for providing credit to the agriculturists at reasonable rates and relieve them from the oppression of moneylenders. The models used for this were the schemes for co-operative finance which were evolved in Germany by Schulze and Raiffcisen. A number of enlightened British civil servants experimented with

different types of co-operative societies in the various provinces of the country with mixed results. This culminated in the passing of the Indian Co-operative Act, 1904. Sir Horace Plunkett has rightly described the co-operative movement "as not a movement; it is an official policy". This official policy was very clearly enunciated in the Maclegan Committee Report which set out the aim of this policy. "The chief object of co-operation in India was to deal with the stagnation of the poor classes and more especially of the agriculturists who constitute the bulk of the population. It was found in many parts of India that in spite of the rapid growth of commerce and improvements in communications, the economic conditions of the peasants had not been progressing as it should have; that indebtedness instead of decreasing has tended to increase; that, usury was still rampant and the old unsatisfactory features of a backward rural economy seemed destined persistently to remain. The peculiar feature of co-operation as a remedy for stagnation is that it is intended to meet not only the more obvious material evils but also the underlying moral deterioration to which the poor classes have so long been exposed." Since the passing of the Indian Co-operative Act, 1904, with the prodding of the Government of India, different provincial governments were encouraging the formation of co-operative societies with the help of the local officials of the revenue and the agricultural departments. The pace of development depended upon the zeal of the local bureaucrats and naturally, therefore, the progress was patchy and differed among the various provinces. Reading the early history of the co-operative movement in India, one finds the individual idiosyncrasies of registrars and revenue members determining the directions in each province. In the absence of any genuine local leadership, the incidents such as the following mentioned in an old report occurred due to misplaced zeal. "These tehsildars received some excellent instructions from the deputy commissioner, but entirely misunderstood their purpose, though, thought that it was a government order that the society should be started anywhere and without the least comprehension of the nature of the schemes, proceed to take energetic and active measures."

There was some awakening among the local leadership, particularly in the urban area at this stage and in Western India Shri Lallubhai Samaldas, Shri Vithaldas Thackersee, Shri G.K. Gokhale and others began to take interest in the movement due to a genuine desire to help the rural masses. A number of urban co-operative societies were organised and Shri Lallubhai Samaldas and Shri Vithaldas Thackersee were instrumental in organising the first central co-operative bank in India in 1911. However, rural co-operatives still continued to depend upon official support and leadership but, as this was forthcoming, the movement flourished and the number of co-operative societies in the country kept increasing. Official anxiety and interest can be gauged from the number of commissions that were formed during the

following period to chart a proper course and to give directions. While initially, the Government of India was hesitant about the expansion of the department and were not in favour of a large organisation being set up to organise and to look after the co-operative movement, it was proposed to give the duties of the Deputy Collector by appointing him as Registrar of Co-operative Societies for his district. However, after the passing of the Co-operative Act, 1904, it was decided that while the Collectors and other revenue officials could be of assistance in the organisation of societies, the Government of India attached much importance to the appointment of a special officer in each province to guide and control the movement, especially in the early days of the movement. "Each province was advised to appoint a Registrar—who should be selected for his special qualifications and should, for the first few years, at least, be constantly visiting societies and watching their progress.... Upon the selection of this officer, the success of the experiment will very largely depend. In deciding to ask the provincial government to appoint a special officer for co-operative work, the Government of India made a choice which was to have a lasting effect on co-operation in India and, in fact, in many other Asian and African countries which have since followed the Indian model. The official Registrar working out the overall policy and intervening frequently in co-operative affairs was no mere temporary phenomenon. Each Registrar was to leave his own special brand on the co-operative movement so that, to some extent, in the first 20 years, especially, the history of the co-operative movement became the history of the reigns of an individual Registrar."

GROWTH AFTER INDEPENDENCE

The real growth of the co-operative movement in this country began after Independence. Before this, the co-operative movement had a very insignificant place in the overall economy of the country. We see the growth in the successive five year development plans. The first Plan recognised that co-operation was an indispensable instrument of planned economic action in a democracy. The Second Plan emphasised that in a country whose economic structure has its roots in the village, co-operation is something more than a series of activities organised on co-operative lines; basically its purpose is to evolve a system of co-operative community organisation which touches upon all aspects of life. The Third Plan emphasised that within the rural economy in particular, co-operation is to be the primary means for raising the level of productivity, extending improvements in technology and expanding employment so as to secure the basic interests for every member of the community.

The Rural Credit Survey Committee, set up in 1952, came to the conclusion that the Maclegan Committee's optimistic conclusion "that the

co-operative movement had taken roots" was rather premature and not borne out by subsequent events. It described the co-operative movement in the country as "a plant held in position with both hands by Government since its roots refused to enter the soil". The Committee recommended two major reforms for improving the health of the co-operative movement in India. These were : (a) Government participation in the share capital of a primary society, and (b) establishment of a multipurpose single village society. The Rural Credit Survey Committee recommended Government participation because it was not possible for a community of poor agriculturists to raise funds initially required for starting a co-operative society out of their own resources.

As stated by Dr. D.R. Gadgil, "the importance of co-operation to a society which is poor and in which weak economic units are overwhelmingly large in number, cannot be over estimated. However, in many of such societies, if co-operation is to succeed, it is necessary that it should be initiated and nursed by external effort and that co-operative activity should always be supported by an appropriate government policy in relation to economic security and economic progress."

With the increased role given to co-operatives in the development plan, the role of the Department of Co-operation became more important. Initially, the Registrar of Co-operatives, in whom a large number of powers have been vested, was assisted by a few officials in the tasks of registering, developing, nurturing and regulating the societies. Now the Department has grown in size and the Registrar has a huge organisation with officials of varied ranks, such as joint registrars, deputy registrars, assistant registrars, etc., to assist him in his work. The vast proliferation of the Co-operative Department has posed a number of problems. The co-operative administration has certain problems which are common to all departments of public administration. However, it has some problems which are peculiarly its own. It is in the interest of the development of co-operative movement that these problems are properly examined and solved.

Starting with the disbursement of credit for which, initially, the co-operative movement in the country was organised, soon different sectors of the economy came to be organised in the co-operative form. Activities as diversified as development of dairies, lift irrigation, fishery, farming, housing, labour contract, small- medium- and large-scale industries, etc., were undertaken through co-operative institutions. Though the work of promotional and consultancy character could be adequately performed by the Department of Co-operation, in the initial years of the co-operative movement, when simple credit societies were their only customers, with the organisation of different types of societies undertaking varied forms of economic activities, the proper ascertainment of technical feasibility and the provision of technical

assistance assumed great importance. The Department of Co-operation, however, did not have resources to provide this type of assistance. While in some States, the Registrar of Co-operative Societies has control over all the co-operatives of different sorts, which are registered in the State, for the purposes of providing technical assistance and keeping a liaison with the concerned technical departments, the officers of the technical departments are made to work under the control of the Registrar. In other States, some or all the powers of the Registrar are conferred on the heads of the technical departments in respect of co-operatives in their particular field and the heads of these departments are designated as Additional Registrars of Co-operative Societies. In Tamil Nadu, there are as many as 11 heads of departments who have been designated as Registrars. Where such splintering of the functions and powers of the Registrar has taken place, among the heads of the departments, a problem has arisen in the matter of evolving and implementing a unified and consistent policy of co-operative development. A number of committees have examined the merits of the two systems and the opinion is in favour of the former system though it is realised that in different States, different administrative patterns are bound to evolve. The main problem that arises where different societies are under each technical department's control, is that it is difficult to evolve a unified and consistent policy of co-operative development. It is also noticed that in many cases, there is a tendency to neglect the co-operative societies, in favour of other organisations undertaking similar activities as the claims of the bigger and more efficient units receive the prior attention of the officers of the department. In the interest of fast achievement of the department's goals, the technical departments tend to neglect the co-operative institutions. This is particularly so because the co-operatives, which are organised to uplift the weaker sections of the society, are bound to be less efficient and are in greater need of sympathetic treatment in the initial period at least before they are able to compete on equal terms with other well-organised units. The Committee on Co-operative Administration had concluded : "On balance, therefore, it would ordinarily be an advantage to keep the administrative charge of co-operative enterprises of all kinds with the Co-operative Department, with responsibility enjoined on the special wings of the technical departments to provide the co-operatives with such services as they are best fitted to render.... Even well organised private undertakings have to maintain large liaison establishments to negotiate their way through governmental restrictions which are an inevitable concomitant of planning. Co-operatives cannot do without these services. The correct line of development is for the federal societies to build up these services. Until they do so, it would be necessary for such services to be provided by the Co-operative Department. The promotional and developmental role of the Co-operative Department can, thus, be said to consist in its being the co-operative and financial consultant of co-operatives and their liaison agency with all external

agencies, including other departments of Government." In the States, where the splintering of the Department has taken place, many co-operative institutions are co-operative only in name insofar as their management is usually controlled by the departmental officers and the co-operative character is sadly lacking. It would perhaps be better to run these institutions as public sector corporations; but, by doing so, the advantage of the co-operative system is lost.

The multiplicity of discipline with which the Co-operative Department has to deal, causes problems of unique nature which are not faced by other departments in the administrative system. A field officer of the Co-operative Department has to deal with co-operatives engaging in a variety of activities. His responsibility is to examine the feasibility of such type of a society before he registers it, to audit its accounts and inspect its working. For this purpose, he may have to discuss with experts of other departments of Government the conditions obtaining in the business concerns and to make a realistic forecast of the economic prospects of the proposed co-operatives with special reference to the quantum of the benefit likely to flow to the members. He will have also to liaise with other governmental and non-official agencies as well as with financing institutions and to ensure that the financial assistance is made available. He has also to assist the co-operatives in marketing their produce. Hence, the type of the responsibilities that are cast on the officials of the Department are different from those cast by the officials of other departments. The proper selection and training of the officers is very essential if the co-operative movement is to get proper guidance and assistance from the Department. After selecting persons of the requisite academic qualifications, preferably with economic or commerce background, it is necessary to train these persons in such a manner that they would be able to specialise in some field of co-operative enterprise. Broadly, this can be divided into following : (1) credit and banking, (2) marketing and processing, (3) consumers, and (4) industrial co-operatives. While the training in the co-operative theory and practice is essential, thereafter it would be advisable to allow persons to specialise in one or more of the above-mentioned fields as then they would be well equipped to guide the co-operatives of that type. The persons so specialised should be invariably kept in the concerned units of the Co-operative Department and also sent on deputation to these institutions to be able to understand their problems at first hand. At present, there is a total neglect of this type of cadre planning and cadre management with the result that the officers of the Department can be considered as a specialist only in the theory of co-operation and the co-operative laws. With the increased emphasis being placed on professional management of the co-operative enterprise, it is equally important to see that a greater degree of professional and technical expertise is developed in the Co-operative Department.

MANAGEMENT SCIENCE AND COOPERATIVES

With the introduction of the twenty-point economic programme for the rapid economic development, in 1975, the focus of Government has been to improve the lot of the poor and the weaker sections of the community. The various programmes, which are being undertaken for this purpose, are such as will necessarily involve the co-operative movement to a greater extent in the economic activity of the country. At least, five of the items in the twenty-point programme involve the co-operatives. With the increase in the responsibility cast on the co-operatives and considering the present state of the co-operative movement in many parts of the country, this will involve a greater role of the Co-operative Department. While many co-operators in this country have accepted governmental support and assistance as an essential condition for co-operative development, in a developing country, they look upon this as a transitional stage and regard beauracratic involvement and the State Government's supervision as against the basic concept of the co-operative movement. They consider all powers vested in the Government machinery as an interference in the rights of the co-operatives and as a hindrance to its growth and look forward to the stage when the Co-operative Department, like the State in the communist theory will "wither away". To these purists, the strict application of the co-operative principles is more important than the achievement of the objects for which the co-operatives have been organised. It must, however, be recognised that where the co-operatives are for the assistance of the weakest section of the community, the Government will have to be there to protect and assist them and prevent them from being deprived of the benefits by these persons who are economically stronger and more influential. As has been remarked by the Rural Credit Survey Committee, "the not-so-stronger combine co-operatively and get the same advantage as the strong. But the very weak are not in the same position as the not-so-strong; certainly not, if the strong have in addition the whole reservoir of institutional strength from which they can add immeasurably to their own. This disproportion provides a key to the wholly different record of co-operative credit in the West and in India." While the "withering away" of the Co-operative Department, and the acceptance of the responsibilities for guiding and supervising by federal bodies, is an ideal to be hoped and striven for, it appears unlikely that in the near future, this is likely to come about. It is, therefore, essential that the peculiar administrative problems, which are being faced by the Co-operative Department, are solved so that they can render the kind of service that would enable the co-operatives to fulfil their role in the twenty-point programme.

Now that the co-operative movement covers a large spectrum of economic activities in this country, it is necessary to consider the problems of management within the co-operatives. Relevance of management science

to co-operative philosophy during the present time is immense and its application is as necessary in the co-operative business as it is in private or public sector undertakings. It is not enough that the co-operatives are formed and they manage their affairs somehow or the other. They have to compete with various other enterprises undertaking similar activities, and in today's competitive economy, the performance of any enterprise has to be judged by the type of service it provides and the ease and the economy with which it can deliver the goods. Management has become such an important aspect in modern business that for any enterprise to survive, it must possess technical know-how and should be backed by clear-cut thinking, judgement, capacity to take decision and ability to bear the responsibility. Unless the co-operative develops sound management practices, select well-trained managerial personnel to manage its affairs and train its officers and office-bearers, they will not be able to withstand competition in the modern world of business. However, it is unfortunate that this aspect is not yet given the importance that it deserves by the co-operative leaders of the country. One of the reasons for this has been stated by P.R. Dubhashi in *Strategy of Co-operative Development and Other Essays*, "Perhaps one of the most important reasons for the lack of attention to the aspects of management, especially, in an under-developed country, is that the movement owes its origin to the initiation of the Government and is now even dependent on it and in such a situation, business criterion of efficiency, calculations of profits and losses, naturally tend to be replaced by administrative practices and procedures, rules and regulations." There is considerable resistance to increasing professional management in co-operatives and a tendency to regard co-operative enterprise as something different from the business world where too much professional management would sully the pristine image of the co-operatives. Perhaps, it is also due to the undue interference which the office-bearers of the co-operatives try to bring upon the management which leads to the reluctance on the part of the well-trained managers to work for co-operatives. This results in a vicious circle whereby only those who are prepared to be influenced by the office-bearers are allowed to continue and those who are not so inclined are not interested in joining co-operative enterprises. Unless it is realised that it is the legitimate function of the committee of management of a co-operative only to lay down broad policies, subject to the advice given by the professional managers and to leave the actual day-to-day operations of the business to the professional managers, the work of the society would suffer and it would fail to compete successfully against similar enterprises in the public and private sectors.

INTER-STATE COUNCIL AN ASPECT OF COOPERATIVE FEDERATION

Sudesh Kumar Sharma

INDIAN federalism is historically a product of tradition as both under the ancient Indian empires and during the Mughal regime, the constituent units were enjoying a certain degree of autonomy. The founding fathers favoured a strong Centre because they felt that "having regard to the diverse nature of the population, the number of religions and sects which divided it and the fissiparous tendencies which it had on a number of occasions shown, on any emergency arising affecting either the country or the State by the breakdown of its constitutional machinery, the Central Government should have power to take over its administration."¹ It was, on pragmatic considerations, provided that only those powers, concerned with the regulation of local problems, should be vested in the States; the residue, especially those which tend to maintain the economic, industrial and commercial unity of the country was to be left to the Union.² While distributing powers, unconsciously the foundations of a cooperative federalism were being laid. This new spirit was to depend not so much on institutional devices but, "on the harmonious working of the federal power structure, in the stability and effectiveness of the Centre, in a just system of resolution of Centre-State and inter-State conflicts and in adequate institutional system for consultation, coordination, interchange and integration."³

The factors pressing for 'unity in diversity' have been dynamic leadership, the force of a common nationalism, the desire for an economic planning, historical inter-dependence, a common religion and basic culture of the majority community, strategic military considerations and, above all, "a desire and an ability to secure the component units against encroachment by the

¹M.C Setalvad, *Union and State Relations under the Indian Constitution*, Calcutta, Eastern Law House, 1974, p. 9.

²*State of West Bengal Vs. Union of India*, 1864 (1), S.C.R. 371. They (the distribution) embody in the constitution "a principle of paramount importance that the economic unity of the country will provide the main sustaining force of the stability and progress of the political and cultural unity of the country." *Atiabari Team Co Vs. State of Assam*, 1961 (1) S.C.R 809 at p. 844.

³Subhash C. Kashyap (ed.), *Union-State Relations in India*, New Delhi, Institute of Constitutional and Parliamentary Studies, 1969, p. 212.

Central Government."⁴ Where many factors contributed to the formation of the federation, the forces for regional autonomy soon gathered momentum due to: (a) the internal diversities in caste, religion, economic status, class, language, etc.; (b) the belief that self-government can be achieved only if there is complete regional autonomy; (c) different regions within an area having cultural, political or economic ties with other areas outside the realm; (d) different ethnic and cultural groups trying to grow independently; and (e) the geographic dispersion. It was not surprising, therefore, that Centre-State harmony was disturbed and these malefic and pernicious tendencies even led to belligerent attitudes. Some potent sources of conflict between the Centre and the States have been:⁵ (a) tensions over issues like boundary disputes, river water disputes and disputes regarding inclusion of certain cities or projects in particular States; (b) dissatisfaction over the scheme of distribution of powers with certain specific obligations on the States in relation to the Centre, such as maintaining the means of communication; (c) competition for more and more share in civil services; (d) posting of Central reserve police in the States; (e) deployment of all-India services, and the role of the Governor; (f) the food zones and the acute shortage of foodgrains; (g) the setting up of the linguistic States, and the political reality as it exists and the extent to which it conforms to the constitutional intention.

The challenge before India was how to fight the fissiparous tendencies in the country and maintain its democratic structure. F.G. Carnell observed: "As the States reorganisation suggests, the Centre cannot always triumph. At the very time when the Planning Commission would have liked to reduce India to a unitary character with five enormous provinces, coinciding with "nodal" economic regions served by river valley projects and other schemes, which completely cut across State boundaries, linguistic regionalism was powerful enough to insist on a State reorganisation which was purely tribal in its approach to social, economic and political problems."⁶ Some of the States find themselves severely and unfairly handicapped in fulfilling their frustratingly limited constitutional, legal and financial powers.

⁴W.S. Livingstone, *Federalism and Constitutional Change*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1956, pp. 308-9. Vide also R.L. Watts, *New Federations: Experiments in the Commonwealth*, Oxford, 1966, p. 65. K.C. Wheare lists seven factors for such a Union cf. *Federal Government*, London, O.U.P., 1963, pp. 37-40.

⁵Refer Asok Chanda, *Federalism in India*, London, George Allen and Unwin, 1965, *The Indian Express*, April 11, 1969, M.C. Setalvad, *Union and State Relations Under the Indian Constitution*, Eastern Law House, Calcutta, 1974. Also S.A.H. Haqqi (ed.), *Union-State Relations in India*, Meerut, Meenakshi 1967).

⁶Refer *The Politics of the New States*, O.U.P. London, 1961 and *Federalism and Economic Growth in Under-developed Countries*, pp. 55-56. Vide also Norman D. Palmer, *The Indian Political System*, George Allen and Unwin, London, 1975.

As the Congress Party was in power from 1950 to 1967, there were occasions when the States could not assert their individuality and the system worked more or less on a monolithic basis. The prominence of Nehru's leadership, the Centrally directed planning, superior skills and initiative exercised by Central leadership, the administrative services, the emergency powers and many similar factors fortified the Centre beyond expectations.⁷ The *Bhoodan* and *Gramdan* movements also could not succeed in driving the people emotionally away from the Central Government.⁸

LEGALISM AS AID TO FEDERALISM

Dicey regarded some sort of legalism as essential to federalism. Conflicts are but natural in a big society, and judicial intervention in one form or the other becomes a necessity. The Constitution provides a number of institutions to solve Centre-State conflicts and to promote cooperative federalism consistent with national integration. As far back as 1935, Section 135 of the Government of India Act provided that "if at any time it appears to the Governor-General that the public interest would be served by the establishment of an Inter-Provincial Council charged with the duty of: (a) inquiring into and advising upon disputes which may have arisen between provinces, (b) investigating and discussing subjects in which some or all of the provinces, or the Dominion and one or more of the Provinces, have a common interest, or (c) making recommendations upon any such subject and, in particular, recommendations for the better coordination of policy and action with respect to that subject, it shall be lawful for the Governor-General to establish such a Council, and to define the nature of the duties to be performed by it and its organisation and procedure. An order establishing any such Council may make provision for representatives of Indian States to participate in the work of the Council."

In Australia, section 101 of the constitution lays down that, "there shall be an inter-state commission with such powers of adjudication and administration as the Parliament deems necessary for the execution and maintenance, within the Commonwealth, of the provisions of the constitution relating to trade and commerce, and of laws made thereunder."

The above provision has not been applied for the last fifty years, since

⁷Myron Weiner (ed.), *State Politics in India*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1968, p. 57. Also R.L. Walls, *op. cit.*, p. 20. K.M. Panikkar said, "The Centre has arrogated itself and is assuming more and more powers at the expense of the states", *The Foundations of New India*, Allen and Unwin, London, 1963, p. 236.

⁸B.B. Jena, "Contradictions of Equal Sovereignties in India", *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, No. 1, 1962, p. 71 cf. *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. I, No. 2, pp. 140-150 and *The Radical Humanist*, Vol. XXIII, December 6, 1959, p. 571.

the inter-state commission was not held to be a judicial tribunal.⁹ In the U.S.A., there is no provision for any institution to effect inter-state co-ordination, but the Congress created an "Inter-State Commerce Commission" to control the charges of inter-state carriers to prevent preference or discrimination as between persons or localities, to prevent any device which aims at an unlawful interference with inter-state commerce and to hear and investigate complaints.¹⁰ Besides, there are two inter-state bodies, i.e., (a) the National Conference of Commissioners for Union State Laws; and (b) the Council of State Governments.

The problem of defining the administrative relations between the union and the units unfortunately received little attention in the early drafts of the Indian Constitution as all the committees were preoccupied with working out the details of the basic features of the Constitution.¹¹ Even then the Inter-State Council was proposed in the first draft of the Constitution.¹² This proposal was, however, abandoned later.

After many vicissitudes, the idea of Inter-State Council triumphed and the Council was envisaged; under Article 263 which says: "If at any time it appears to the President that the public interest would be served by the establishment of a Council charged with the duty of: (a) inquiring into and advising upon disputes which may have arisen between States; (b) investigating and discussing subjects in which some or all the States, or the Union and one or more of the States, have a common interest; or (c) making recommendations upon any such subject, and, in particular, recommendations for the better coordination of policy and action with respect to the subject, it shall be lawful for the President by order to establish such a Council and to define the nature of the duties to be performed by it and its organisation and procedure." The provisions appear to be exhaustive and comprehensive but still the Constitution did not establish the Council; may be, the founding fathers did not anticipate the future developments and the way they happened. Moreover, it was not envisaged that the Council would be called upon to play any executive role; its activities would mostly be confined to a mixture of cognitive, consultative, normative and advisory functions.

THE ZONAL COUNCILS

To bring about inter-State cooperation and coordination, five Zonal Councils were set up with regard to: (a) any matter of common interest in the field of economic and social planning; (b) any matter concerning border disputes, linguistic minorities or inter-State transport; (c) any matter connected

⁹N.S.W. Vs. Commonwealth, 1915 (20).

¹⁰Inter-State Commerce Act, 1887.

¹¹B. Shiva Rao, *The Framing of the India's Constitution: A Study* (IIPA), (1968), p. 641.

¹²Article 246 of the Draft Constitution of India.

with or arising out of the reorganisation of the States.¹³ Each Council developed its own nuances and differed from its counterparts both in details and positive achievements. A Zonal Council was to consist of : (a) a Union Minister to be nominated by the President,¹⁴ (b) the Chief Ministers of each of the States included in the zone and two other Ministers of each State to be nominated by the Governor; and (c) where any part-State was included in the zone, not more than two members from each such State to be nominated by the President.¹⁵ Two or more Zonal Councils could also hold joint meetings, meetings being held in the States included in each zone by rotation. The expenditure was to be borne by the Central Government out of the money provided by Parliament. Such Councils did not grow powerful enough as the States did not show much keenness or sufficient articulate expression in their favour. Moreover such Councils came to be regarded as the proverbial fifth wheel, impeding speed and efficiency in administration.¹⁶ With the emergence of the multi-party political complexion, such Councils ceased to be of much interest. Even at best, "the Zonal Council is but a modest institution from which it would be too much to expect more than modest results".¹⁷

Article 263 of the Indian Constitution leaves it to the President to define the organisation and procedure of the Inter-State Council so far as the purpose of coordinating the policy of the States is concerned. The National Development Council was established¹⁸ on the recommendation of the Planning Commission "to review the working of the national plan from time to time, consider important questions of social and economic policy affecting national development and measures for achieving the aims and targets set out in the national plan". The President established the Central Council of Health, the Central Council of Local Self-Government and four Regional Councils for Sales Tax for the northern, eastern, western, and southern zones in 1952, 1954 and 1968 respectively.¹⁹

¹³ *States Reorganisation Act, 1956*, Section 21(2). As a part of the reorganisation of States, 14 States and 4 Union Territories (leaving out the Islands) were grouped into five Zones: *Northern Zonal Council* : Punjab, Rajasthan, J&K, Union Territories of Delhi and Himachal Pradesh; *Central Zone Council* : Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh; *Easterly Zonal Council* : Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa, Assam, Nagaland and the Union Territories of Manipur and Tripura; *Western Zonal Council* : Maharashtra and Gujarat; *Southern Zonal Council* : Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Mysore and the Union Territory of Pondicherry.

¹⁴ Union Home Minister was nominated by the President as the Chairman of all the Zonal Councils.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, Section 16(1).

¹⁶ S.R. Maheshwari, *Government Through Consultation: Advisory Committees in Indian Government*, New Delhi, IIPA, 1972, p. 312.

¹⁷ A. Avasthi (ed.), *Aspects of Administration*, New Delhi, Allied, 1964, p. 126.

¹⁸ 9th August, 1952.

¹⁹ Refer SRO 1948 dated 9.8.1952 and SRO 2953 dated 6.9. 1954 and G.S.R. 238, Gazette of India Extraordinary, Part II, Section 3, 1968.

There are pulls and counter-pulls in federal systems and to keep the centrifugal and centripetal forces in equilibrium some agency is urgently needed for: (a) securing national consensus in the matters regarding policies of all-India nature; (b) coordination of financial policies; (c) progressive legislative measures as regards concurrent jurisdiction; (d) uniform income policy to remove gross inequalities from State to State, e.g., dearness allowance; (e) reducing overlapping of functions; (f) acting as a forum for discussions; (g) affording coordination for the follow-up action. There is a suggestion that the Rajya Sabha should be made so strong that it becomes an exact replica of the American Senate.²⁰

CENTRE-STATE CONSULTATION CHANNELS

The need for consultation cannot be under emphasized in a federal set-up. There are a number of conferences at higher levels where the Ministers occasionally meet and discuss.²¹ Advisory committees are a modern innovation in public administration, their growth being in immediate and direct response to the progressive complexity and diversification of a modern society and also to help remove the friction among the federal constituents. The five hundred and odd advisory committees currently advising the machinery of public administration at the Central level are also performing a limited role.²² The main cause of their restricted effectiveness is that they are treated as merely peripheral to the federal system.

The Study Team of the Administrative Reforms Commission has also emphasised on the need of an Inter-State Council. Its composition, according to it, should be: (a) the Prime Minister (chairman), (b) Union Ministers for Finance, Home, Labour, Food and other subjects in the State and concurrent lists, (c) Chief Ministers or their nominees, (d) a few others invited by the chairman or co-opted by the Council.²³ However, in the final report submitted to the Prime Minister on January 19, 1969, the Commission wanted the Inter-State Council to consist of the Prime Minister (chairman), the Finance Minister, the Home Minister, the Leader of the Opposition in the Lok Sabha, and a representative each from the five Zonal Councils. A question naturally arises: would such a Council enjoy the confidence and cooperation of the States? It obviously suffers from the following defects: (a) It will be a politically dominated body and might fail to inspire confidence; (b) it will have more bias towards the Centre, because of the presence of the Union Ministers

²⁰ Refer S.N. Jain et. al. (ed.), *The Union and the States*, New Delhi, National, 1972.

²¹ For details refer Ram K. Vepa, "Administrative Consultation—Formal and Informal" (Special Issue) *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. XVI, pp. 419-429.

²² S.R. Maheshwari, *op. cit.*, pp. 288-289.

²³ Vol. I, p. 304 (Chairman: M.C. Setalvad)

and the Prime Minister; (c) it may fail to give a non-partisan outlook where the Centre is a party to the dispute; (d) it may fail to secure an impartial view because of the regional and factional loyalties of some of its members (the Mysore case in relation to its boundary dispute with Maharashtra may be cited as one illustration), (e) other practical difficulties. For instance, if one person is holding both the portfolios of the Prime Minister and Finance Minister, would the Council lose one member? Again, since the term of the Zonal Councils is less, would their representatives retire from the Inter-State Council also with the expiry of their earlier tenures? Would the Council have a stable composition and image? And, would the Council be able to resolve the conflicts within the short term of two years?

Would it not be better if the Inter-State Council is made a stable and permanent body consisting of five members nominated by the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court who should also nominate the chairman of the Council? The Council may further have as many *ad hoc* members as there are parties to the dispute, nominated by the parties concerned, and with the right to vote. The decisions of such a Council should be final and binding on the parties. Some technical personnel may be co-opted at the discretion of the chairman to assist in its deliberations. There should be a separate secretariat of the Council and the parties to the dispute may be brought for a direct dialogue in the presence of impartial persons. The Council may not have any original jurisdiction and the aggrieved parties should not be approached unless the matter is discussed in the Zonal Councils. If the States of different zones are involved, the matter may first be discussed in the National Development Council, from the national point of view, and a political settlement may be feasible provided the Central Government prepares the ground, failing which the matter should be taken to the Inter-State Council. The proposed composition of the Council may be so modified as to include one from the judiciary, it may be a retired judge.²⁴ Incidentally such a Council would have no representative of the services; therefore, the chairman or a member of Union Public Service Commission would be a useful addition. In short, membership should not be based on the power structure but on the brain trust of sagacity, experience and wisdom.

THE INTER-STATE COUNCIL'S FUNCTIONS

The Council is supposed to perform many functions. The important ones are: (a) to remove conflicts and controversies between the Centre and the States; (b) to enunciate and formulate broad guidelines for the appointment, functions and discretionary powers of important functionaries like

²⁴Dr. L.M. Singhvi wants the Vice-President to be the Chairman of the Council. *Cooperative Federalism: A Case for the Establishment of an Inter-State Council*, Subhash C. Kashyap (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 218.

Governors, (c) to act as a forum of discussions; (d) to remove the fiscal imbalances; and (e) to check the growing dissatisfaction over financial allocations.²⁵ While the Administrative Reforms Commission has failed to prescribe definite functions, the Study Team (acting negatively) is keen to exclude certain functions from the ambit of the Council. Particularly, it has recommended that the Council should not interfere with (1) inter-State disputes like border disputes, and (2) with the appointment of federal officers like the Governor, the Chief Justice of India, the Chief Election Commissioner, the Chairman of the Union Public Service Commission, the Auditor General of India, etc. The former is on the ground that it may create considerable ill-feeling between contending States, and the latter may dilute Cabinet responsibility and split the executive.²⁶

There appears to be no justification whatsoever in circumscribing the functions of the Inter-State Council, which has mainly to act as a fulcrum of harmony and homogeneity. In case the contending States want to refer even the boundary disputes to such a Council, there should be no bar. It may help the States to mobilise public opinion. Again, something good may come out by the mutual discussions, particularly if we view it in the context of Morris Jones' description of inter-State relationship as a "bargaining federalism".²⁷ The Council can perform a useful function to : (a) investigate and discuss subjects of common interest, (b) recommend broad lines of policy for mutual benefit, (c) make proposals for inter-State or boundary legislation, and (d) discover the areas where greater cooperation can be achieved and better coordination affected. The Council can provide background data and hold inquiries which may be helpful to discover common ground for securing reconciliation of conflicting claims. These studies can influence policy-making and serve the needs and exigencies of federal fair play, equilibrium and integration.

The functions of the Council being purely advisory, there are many limitations. The Law Ministry has always taken the plea that the President is only a constitutional head under the Indian Constitution and hence there is no question of his being advised by any other agency except the Cabinet.²⁸ The objection, however, is not tenable particularly when the proposed Inter-State Council is to work under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister. His presence there would be a great safeguard against any decision of the Inter-State Council which might undermine the position of the Cabinet. When the Planning Commission and the National Development Council can exist

²⁵A.K. Ghosal, "Need for a New Look at Centre-State Relations in India after 1957", *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. XXX, No. 4, p. 374.

²⁶Ibid., pp. 303-304.

²⁷Also refer A. Krishnaswami, *The Indian Union and the States*, Oxford, Pergamon, 1966, Ch. V.

²⁸Refer S.L. Shakdher (ed.), *The Constitution and the Parliament in India*, New Delhi, 1976, Part III.

without diluting the Cabinet responsibility or authority, why not the Inter-State Council? Moreover, the President was not intended by the Constitution makers to be a silent spectator in the sphere of Centre-State relations.²⁹ He has to act as a moderator and regulator so that the relations remain true to the spirit of the Constitution. He cannot remain "a passive on-looker" but has to be "an active participant"; only then he can be a real guardian of the Constitution.³⁰

Has the President of India the power to secure compliance in case he wants to implement the recommendations of the Council? It appears that the guidelines as contemplated by the Administrative Reforms Commission would be a sort of the Instrument of Instructions. It may be pointed out that the idea regarding the issue of such instructions did not find favour with the Constituent Assembly.

The only argument advanced was that the Council should limit its scope to inquiry and determination of the facts of a dispute which may lead to amicable settlement or conciliation. If it fails, the parties may take the dispute to the Supreme Court. Asok Chanda also regards such a Council as basically an "investigating committee without power to adjudicate".³¹ The experience of the working of Indian federal system shows that when the States are adamant and recalcitrant, it is difficult to satisfy them and setting of Inter-State Council may not serve much purpose. Therefore it becomes sometimes necessary to invoke the formal machinery for "the settlement of these disputes and Article 131 affords a means for adjudication of such disputes".³²

The answer to such objections can be met by having a look at the functioning of the Finance Commission and the Planning Commission. It was widely believed that the Planning Commission was an oversized and obstructionist body which froze State initiative and bred frustration in matters of economic development.³³ There is always a need for flexible balancing devices for effecting federal finance adjustments because there is a chronic gap between the own resources and expenditure potential of the States.³⁴ The Finance Commission's set-up to recommend the basis for grants-in-aid and sharing of taxes also failed to evolve any satisfactory formula of financial allocations and make recommendations taking into account the flexibility in

²⁹Refer S.L. Shakdher, *op. cit.*

³⁰*Ibid.*

³¹Asok Chanda, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

³²R.S. Gao, "Administrative Relations Between the Union and the States", in S.N. Jain et al (ed.), *The Union and the States*, New Delhi, National, 1973, p. 319.

³³Gunnar Myrdal *Asian Drama*, London, Lane, 1968, Vol. II, p. 1840.

³⁴D.K. Lakdawala, "The Four Finance Commissions in India," *The Indian Economic Journal*, Vol. XIII, No. 4, 1968, p. 498.

inter-State allocation of divisible pools.³⁵ Are the recommendations of such Commissions mandatory? Today planning is based largely on methods of consultation and cooperation rather than on pressure and dictation.³⁶ Planning has now come to stay as a joint responsibility and the State Governments actively participate in the planning process.³⁷ The Inter-State Council, if established, shall also make its presence felt in the constitutional set-up of this country. At a high level seminar at Simla, there was a general agreement on the need for the establishment of an Inter-State Council with advisory functions³⁸ to coalesce regional interests and approaches to national strategy.³⁹

The Council should have its own appropriate secretariat. The Administrative Reforms Commission would like it to be located in the Cabinet Secretariat,⁴⁰ but till such time as it does not have a permanent headquarters of its own, it would be better if it is allowed to work under the guidance of the Ministry of Home Affairs. It may be helpful in : (a) the preparation and coordination of agenda notes and the timely circulation of papers to the members of the Council, (b) getting latest statistics about the States if it wants, and (c) taking follow-up action where necessary. The Council should be manned by an efficient staff recruited by the Union Public Service Commission. The Administrative Reforms Commission has recommended that the cost of setting up and running the Council should be borne by the Central Government; but if there is some contribution of the States, may be small, it would ensure greater participation and a sense of involvement.

To conclude, there are many vistas, explored and unexplored, where the Centre can profitably end its meddling in the State activity without in any way curtailing its rights. The Centre has to quit the role of creditor and patron and assume the role of a willing helper. The setting up of an Inter-State Council may prove helpful in stemming political antipathies and resolving them on a national plane. After the declaration of emergency, it has become more necessary than ever before that a new type of relationship between the Centre and the States be evolved; a relationship of cooperative federalism, in which every sign of initiative and self-expression in the States is not regarded as a threat to national integration, but as a prelude to traditions of responsibility and cooperation.

³⁵G. Ramchandran, "Union-State Relations in Finance and Planning", *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. XII, No. 3, p. 380. Vide also, A.H. Birch, *Federalism, Finance and Social Legislation in Canada, Australia and United States*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1955, p. 129.

³⁶W.H. Morris-Jones, *Parliament in India*, London, Longman, 1957, p. 10.

³⁷Arthur W. Macmohan, *Delegation and Autonomy*, Bombay, Asia, 1961, p. 70.

³⁸In this connection the recommendations made by the Finance Commission as contemplated by Article 281 may be noted by way of contrast.

³⁹Statement issued by the Seminar on Union-State Relations in India, May 18-31, 1969, at the Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla.

⁴⁰Report of the Study Team, Vol. I, p. 304.

STATE LEVEL PLANNING THE RAJASTHAN CASE

Rakesh Hooja

A GREAT literary debate has been going on about national planning ever since planning was introduced in India. In the last 5-6 years the concept of district planning has also come in for detailed examination. However, planning at the State level, perhaps the most important tier of all, has remained relatively undiscussed.

This paper first describes the State level planning organisation and process in Rajasthan and then undertakes a limited critique of planning at the State level.

IMPORTANCE OF STATE LEVEL PLANNING

The State is not only the administrative unit which compiles the data and facts on which our plans are built, but it also sets forth suggestions which contribute to the formulation of our national plan frame, and then, within that frame, prepares detailed proposals for approval of the Planning Commission and later implements them with or without modifications. The State is also the monitoring and evaluating unit and the Planning Commission primarily relies on the State for information in this regard (the lower level administrative units being totally controlled by the State level administration). This naturally makes the State the key link in the process.¹

Another factor which makes State planning important is the nature

The starting point for this paper is M.S. Mogra, "Planning Process in Rajasthan" in *State Administration in Rajasthan* (ed.), Ziauddin Khan, et. al., (Asha, Jaipur 1973).

¹This is not to say that district as a planning unit is not desirable. Refer to the writer's article: (i) "The District as a Planning Unit—Style and Locus" in *The Indian Journal of Public Administration* (New Delhi), Vol. XIX, No. 3, July-Sept. 1973, pp. 393-406; (ii) "District Planning Approaches" in *The Journal of the Lal Bahadur Shastri National Academy of Administration* (Mussoorie), Vol. XIX, No. 2, Summer 1973, pp. 365-370; (iii) "District and Regional Planning—Some Aspects with Regard to India", in *The Journal of the LBS National Academy of Administration*, Vol. XX, No. 1, Spring 1975, pp. 191-204; and et al.(ed.) *Indian Administrative System—Essays in Honour of Prof. Ziauddin Khan* (in press) all have supported the pleas of many economists and regional scientists to make the district the key operational unit. However, district planning is yet to come of age in our country. (iv) "District and Regional Planning in India—Some Reflections" in Ramesh K. Arora.

of our federal system. Because we have the Union, State and Concurrent Lists of subjects enumerated in our Constitution, the State naturally has a greater responsibility while making plans for such sectors as agriculture, irrigation, power, education, health, social services, small scale industries, etc. while the Central Government is concerned more with planning of large-scale industries, railways, national highways, major ports, shipping, civil aviation, communications, defence, fiscal and monetary policies etc.

The Organizational Set-up

While each Government department contains some sort of machinery for planning, the main organ of planning at the State level in Rajasthan is the Planning Department (also called the Department of Planning and Finance in some other States) in the State secretariat set up in 1953. (*See chart* for the present organizational set-up).

The division of work between the functionaries, subordinate to the Special Secretary Planning of the Planning Department, is as follows:

1. Deputy Secretary Planning:

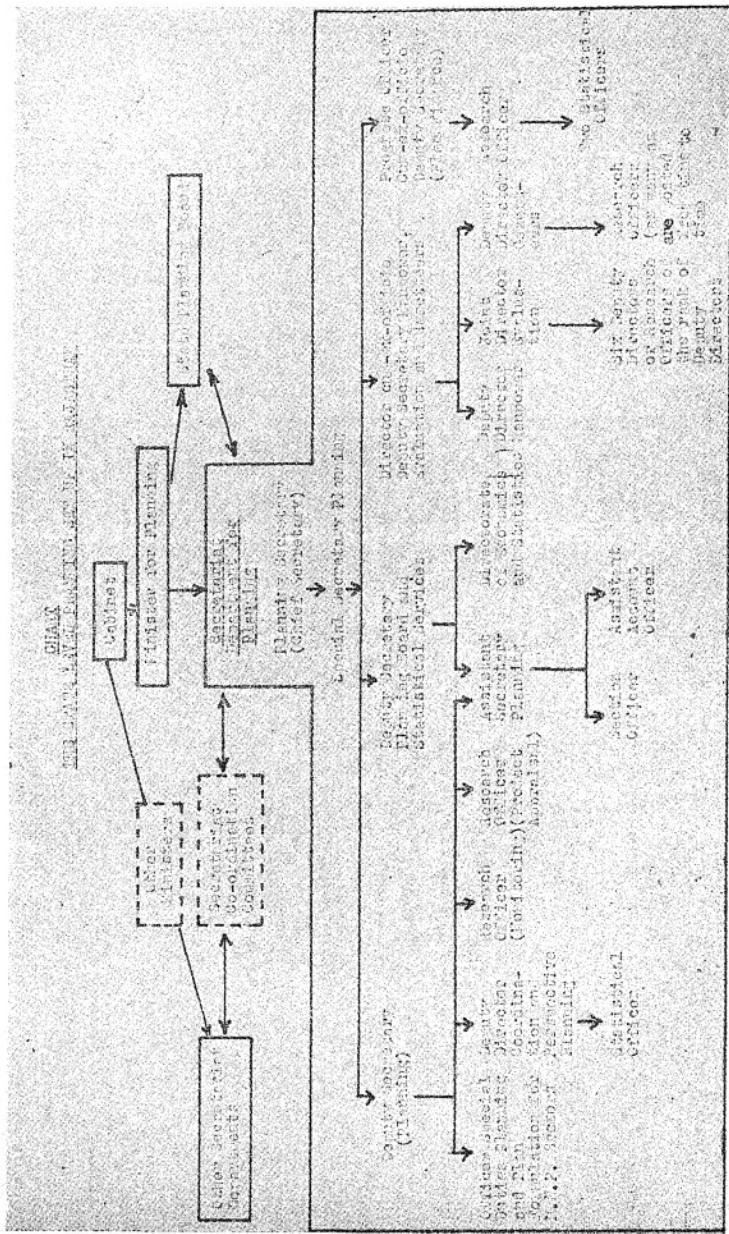
- (a) Administration of the department
- (b) Progress reporting and monitoring of projects and sectoral programmes
- (c) District planning, including sectoral plan formulation of the minimum needs programme and other district programmes
- (d) Perspective planning
- (e) Project appraisal
- (f) Planning and development coordination committees
- (g) Assembly and parliamentary questions
- (h) Plan publicity

2. Director and Ex-officio Deputy Secretary (Manpower, Evaluation and Gazetteer):

- (a) Manpower planning
- (b) Evaluation department
- (c) Gazetteers

3. Deputy Secretary (Planning Board and Statistical Services):

- (a) State Planning Board matters (of which he acts as the secretary)
- (b) Statistical services



4. Progress Officer and *ex-officio* Deputy Secretary (Plan Finance):

- (a) Formulation of annual and five year plans
- (b) Budget finalization committee meetings and liaison with the Finance Department and preparation of revised estimates.
- (c) Identification of savings in various departmental outlays for purposes of diverting them to other uses.
- (d) Inter-departmental references (except minimum needs programme and district programmes), inter-departmental (I.D.) cases, new projects which he refers to the project appraisal cell.
- (e) Central assistance cases
- (f) Coordination of Central and Centrally sponsored schemes

5. Officer on Special Duties (Planning) :

- (a) District planning (heads the district planning cell)
- (b) Sectoral plan formulation of the minimum needs programme and other district programmes
- (c) Miscellaneous functions relating to the work of Deputy Secretary, Planning

6. Deputy Director Coordination and Perspective Planning :

- (a) Assembly and parliamentary questions
- (b) Planning and development coordination committee meetings
- (c) Perspective planning
- (d) Plan publicity
- (e) Library of the Planning Department
- (f) Organization of conferences/seminars
- (g) Collection of data regarding utilization of plan outlays under various programmes and schemes for taking decisions about diversions of funds.

7. Assistant Secretary (Plan):

- (a) Administration of the Planning Department
- (b) Statistical services
- (c) Administrative work of the Planning Board

Before turning to the State level planning processes, it would also be appropriate to refer to the various committees set up to facilitate the work and to the State Planning Board and the Planning Department.

The State Planning Board was set up in February 1973 as a high level advisory body for advising the State Government on matters of perspective planning, determination of sectoral priorities, formulation of five yearly and annual plans, and effective implementation and evaluation of various plan programmes. It consists of nominated experts and administrators and is assisted by 7 working groups set up in 1975 consisting of nominated public men, experts and officials. These working groups are:

1. Working group on implementation and coordination
2. Working group on resource mobilization
3. Working group on irrigation and power
4. Working group on agriculture and allied sectors
5. Working group on livestock and dairy development
6. Working group on transport and industries and mineral development.
7. Working group on social services.

Ten² State level planning and development committees exist in which the progress of plan schemes and development efforts are discussed. These committees are presided over by the Chief Secretary with the concerned Secretaries of secretariat departments and heads of executive departments and representatives of the Finance Department attending. The Special Secretary, Planning, is the member-secretary of all these committees. The following are the ten committees:

1. Agriculture production, forests, cooperation and community development (including soil conservation, warehousing and marketing)
2. Animal husbandry and dairy development
3. Drought prone areas programme and tribal sub-plan (including other special programmes of the special schemes organization)
4. Irrigation and power
5. Rajasthan canal project and chambal command area development
6. Industries and mines
7. Tourism and publicity
8. Roads, building, housing and urban development
9. Education, social welfare and labour
10. Medical and public health (including water supply)

A couple of months ago five committees of direction for the perspective

²Originally, in 1967, twentyone such committees had been set up. They have now been reorganised into ten (in between 1972 and 1976 there used to be nine such committees)

plan of Rajasthan have also been set up with the Director, Economics and Statistics, as member-secretary of all the five and officials as members.

These Committees are :

- (a) Agriculture (chairman—Agriculture Production Commissioner)
- (b) Fisheries, livestock and dairy development (chairman—Commissioner, Dairy Development)
- (c) Industries and mines (chairman—Industrial Adviser to State Government)
- (d) Irrigation and Power (chairman—Commissioner, Irrigation, Power and P.W.D.)
- (e) Rural development (chairman—Special Secretary, Planning).

Special sectoral working groups were also set up previously for each five year plan formulation exercise.

PERSPECTIVE PLANNING

Now to turn to the planning process. We might start with perspective planning. The State Government has undertaken to formulate a perspective plan for 15 years with 1988-89 as the terminal year. The National Council of Applied Economic Research has been given the task of formulating this plan on the basis of data supplied to it by the State Government. Officials of the NCAER have discussed the matter with the concerned heads of secretariat and executive departments. They are working under the supervision of the committees of direction for the perspective plan and their work is being reviewed every quarter. Draft chapters prepared by them are then discussed by the working groups of the State Planning Board. If approved, they will be discussed by the State Planning Board and, after the necessary modifications are made, the draft shall be submitted for approval to the State Council of Ministers. It is hoped that the perspective plan will be useful while formulating the Sixth Five Year Plan.

FIVE YEAR PLAN FORMULATION

Now to consider preparation of five year plans³, the broad guidelines

³The brief description of plan formulation in Rakesh Hooja and Harsh Sethi, "Planning for Industrial Development in Rajasthan", *The Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. XX, No. 3, July-Sept. 1974, pp. 662-680, is applicable to both five year and annual plan formulation though more so to five year plans. Also see M.S. Mogra, *op. cit.*, and Rakesh Hooja, *op. cit.*, note 1. S.S. Tanwar, *Planning Administration at the State Level: A Case Study on Rajasthan*, Department of Public Administration, University of Rajasthan, Jaipur 1969 and P.C. Mathur, "Multi-Level Planning in Rajasthan", *Voluntary Action (Delhi)*, Vol. VIII, July-Aug. 1966, pp. 23-33, also describe plan formulation at the State level.

and strategy of development are indicated by the Planning Commission in Delhi. Keeping these in view the State Planning Department determines the State's own plan strategy. For this, the investment required in the plan period is worked out on the basis of the economic objectives enunciated, the natural, material, and human resources that have been available in the course of the previous plans, fresh resources which are likely to be generated, the employment position, the present and desired rates of growth of the economy, continuing plan schemes, and sector-wise growth potential.

It is hoped that the perspective plan of Rajasthan valid till 1988-89 will be ready in time for the Sixth Five Year Plan formulation period. Earlier, special working groups used to be set-up to spell out sector-wise plan frameworks which spelt out the factors to be considered while formulating the sectoral segments of the plan.

At this stage the tentative plan size and sectoral allocations are also determined in the light of indications received from the Planning Commission after a meeting of the National Development Council.⁴ This plan document (approach paper to the plan) is approved by the State Council of Ministers and thereupon corresponding sector-wise expenditure ceilings are sent to all heads of departments for preparing detailed proposals.

The heads of departments have already been receiving, from their field staff, a list of the additional requirements for continuing projects and suggestions for the setting up of new projects. They now discuss those schemes with their subordinates in the light of the directives from the State Planning Department. Tentative targets and financial allocations are worked out and discussed in the concerned planning and development committees. Meetings are also held in which Secretaries and heads of executive departments discuss matters with representatives of the planning department.

After these discussions, a preliminary memorandum on the five year plan is compiled, approved by the State Council of Ministers and submitted to the Planning Commission. Comments of the concerned divisions of the Planning Commission are sent to their counterparts in the State Government through the State Planning Department and further discussions ensure at the State level and also at the Planning Commission in Delhi where a host of State

⁴For some idea of what happens at the Central level see (1) C.P. Bhambhri, *Public Administration in India*, Vikas, Delhi, 1973, (2) D.R. Gadgil, *Planning and Economic Policy in India*, Orient Longmans, Delhi, 1972, (3) *Report on Machinery for Planning of the Administrative Reforms Commission*, Delhi, 1968 and (4) Rakesh Hooja and Abhay Bhargav, "The Planning Experiment Since Independence" in Ramesh K. Arora (ed.), *Administrative Change in India*, Aalekh Publishers, Jaipur, 1974, pp. 235-255.

level officials go to meet their counterparts in the Planning Commission. Thereupon a finalized plan is prepared.⁵

ANNUAL PLAN FORMULATION

The annual plans are prepared in the light of the broad objectives enunciated and the financial and physical targets laid down in the five year plan documents. The preparation of the annual plan precedes the preparation of the budget. Each annual plan seeks to provide not only for the following year but also includes investments and preliminary action whose benefits are intended to accrue in later years.

For this purpose, each September, the Planning Department requests all heads of departments to intimate their requirements of spill-over expenditure on continuing schemes, funds required to meet the commitments already made by the Government, as also to maintain the tempo of development, and the requirements for new proposals that are proposed to be taken up in the next year, subject to availability of resources. These are discussed in a series of meetings convened by the Planning Department and attended by the concerned heads of the administrative (secretariat), as well as the executive, departments and modified accordingly.

About the same time information about the quantum of Central assistance being made available is received from the Planning Commission and subsequently the State Planning Department and Finance Department hold consultations to make an estimate of the resources available as well as to work out additional resources that could be made available in the coming year.

Keeping the estimated requirements and resources in mind, as also the overall priorities (with the 'core sectors' receiving top priority), a tentative annual plan ceiling, along with its sectoral and departmentwise break-up (financial and physical), is worked out and submitted to the State Council of Ministers.

After the Council of Ministers approves the plan size and its sector-wise break-up, all the departments are informed of their respective sectoral financial allocations and are asked to submit scheme-wise proposals for the scrutiny and approval of the Planning Department before including them in the

⁵In the case of the Fifth Five Year Plan, the total size of the Plan not yet having been finalised by the Planning Commission, only a *Draft Fifth Five Year Plan 1974-75, Rajasthan* (Planning Dept., Government of Rajasthan, Jaipur, 1973) has been got finalised after discussions with the Planning Commission and forms the basis of the annual plans for this period. This document is also a useful reference for understanding the organisational and functional set-up for planning in Rajasthan.

draft plan. While compiling the next year's draft plan the Planning Department keeps the following points in mind: (*i*) the assessment of the previous annual plan's progress in both financial and physical terms, (*ii*) the expected fulfilment of the current year's annual plan; (*iii*) spill-over expenditure from the current year and other unavoidable or committed expenditure; (*iv*) the possibilities of utilizing the infrastructure already created; (*v*) stage which projects in hand have reached; and (*vi*) further developmental gaps that have to be filled up. The Planning Department finalizes the draft annual plan proposals after a further series of meetings with the concerned departments and submits them again for approval to the Council of Ministers.

The proposals so approved are sent to the Planning Commission where they are discussed by members of the Planning Commission's working groups and representative of the State Government. The Programme Adviser, Planning Commission, suggests sector-wise allocations, based on the recommendations of these working groups, to the Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission. The Planning Commission then finalizes the proposals in consultation with the Chief Minister and the Ministers of Finance and Planning.

The sectoral ceilings, as finalized by the Planning Commission, are sent by the Planning Department to the various heads of (executive) departments and (administrative) Secretaries for the preparation of scheme-wise budgetary details to be included in the budget. These proposals are discussed in the Budget Finalization Committees (BFCs) consisting of representatives of the Finance, Planning, and concerned administrative (secretariat) departments and of the heads of (executive) departments. The details finalized at these BFC meetings are incorporated in the budget. After the voting of the budget by the legislature, the heads of departments are asked by the Planning Department to prepare scheme-wise details of financial outlay (showing what comes under the revenue head and what under capital) and physical targets along with their district-wise break-ups. The details are again finalized through a series of meetings in the Planning Department and a publication entitled 'annual plan' is brought out. Simultaneously district-wise⁶ break-ups of the annual plan are also prepared and published by the Planning Department.

⁶While district planning itself is outside the scope of this paper, some mention of district planning is inevitable. It may also be clarified here that a district-wise (and simultaneously department-wise) break-up of the annual plan as mentioned above is not district planning. Nor is the panchayat samiti oriented Fourth Plan effort district planning. (see Rakesh Hooja *op. cit.*, note 1)

Some sort of limited district planning for the minimum needs programme and for the drought prone areas programme will be described later in this paper. However, it would be appropriate here to mention that the Planning Department is now attempting to formulate

PLAN FORMULATION AND THE MINIMUM NEEDS PROGRAMME

Starting with the Fifth Plan it was decided that planning for the minimum needs programme (MNP)⁷ should be district based. Hence, once the district-wise annual outlays for the MNP have been decided, according to the procedure described earlier for the formulation of annual plans, these outlays and guidelines for proposals concerning the MNP are sent, not to heads of departments, but to district planning committees at the district headquarters which are presided over by the Collector (in his capacity of district development officer) and were set up in 1974.

These district planning committees consist of the three executive engineers for waterworks (P.H.E.D.), for buildings and roads (P.W.D.), and for electricity (R.S.E.B.), the district medical and health officer, the district social welfare officer, the district education officers (boys and girls both), the zila pramukh, all MLAs of the district, and the additional district development officer as member-secretary. The district planning committee prepares proposals for MNP schemes in the light of the guidelines and financial outlays prescribed and recommends them to the Department of Planning which accepts them as they are.

However, paucity of funds (and thus of allocations for the MNP) has hamstrung the effectiveness of the district planning committees.

SPECIAL SCHEMES SECTOR IN THE PLANS

A special schemes organization (SSO) has been set up in the agriculture department to coordinate the work of the two command area development projects (Rajasthan Canal and Chambal), the tribal sub-plan area, the drought prone areas programme (D.P.A.P.), small farmers development agencies, marginal farmers and agricultural labourers agency, etc. (The command area projects work is also coordinated by the command area department which is a part of the agriculture department of the secretariat). In their case, the special schemes organization performs some of the functions normally performed by the Planning Department, of course, with the assistance by the Planning Department. In the light of the Government of India

(Continued from page 557)

comprehensive 10 year integrated district plans for the districts of Chittorgarh, Jhalawar, Sirohi and Sawai Madhopur. For details see the writer's review in *Development Policy and Administration Review* (Jaipur), Vol. 1, No. 2, July-Dec. 1975, pp. 150-154 which demonstrates how the Planning Commission's *Guidelines for the Formulation of District Plans* (1969) is being applied in these four districts of Rajasthan.

⁷For details about the MNP see *Draft Fifth Five Year Plan 1974-79*, Government of India, Planning Commission, Delhi, 1973, pp. 87-91, and *Draft Fifth Five Year Plan 1974-79 Rajasthan, op. cit., note 5*, pp. 25-26 and 27-34.

guidelines the SSO has prepared project reports for these schemes. The project reports form the basis for the preparation of annual plans for these special programmes. The allocation of funds also is dependent more on fixed Government of India or World Bank criteria. Thus, after the lump-sum allocations for these projects have been worked out in the annual plan by the Planning Department, the SSO in consultation with the Planning Department and the Planning and Development Coordination Committees, works out the detailed scheme-wise allocations and finalizes them on its own.

To take an example of the DPAP here the decision-making about phasing of inputs and location of works has been left primarily (subject to the project reports and the guidelines) to the district development authorities headed by the Collector (district development officer) in the concerned districts and having all the district level officers (DLOs) as their members. These decisions are, of course, subject to SSO scrutiny and even may have to be cleared by the Government of India. Here again, as in the MNP, decisions are not taken on a department-wise basis.

MANPOWER PLANNING

Estimates are being made of the likely backlog of the unemployed, likely additions to the labour force, existing employment opportunities, additional employment opportunities likely to be generated by the five year or annual plan and the employment potential of various areas. These estimates are both aggregate and broken up according to various categories. Separate forecasts are attempted for each category of technical personnel with regard to their demand and supply and the existing imbalances between the two. The problem of wastage and stagnation of trained personnel is also under study. In addition to the manpower planning wing of the Planning Department, an inter-departmental standing panel on unemployment has been constituted. Quarterly surveys of employment and under-employment are being carried out by the Directorate of Economics and Statistics for the Planning Department, which also happens to be its administrative department. It is hoped that these studies will help in the formulation of employment generating schemes as also provide the data for the fixing of priorities between various types of training and educational institutions to be set up.

IMPLEMENTATION : MONITORING, APPRAISAL AND EVALUATION

Based on the BFC minutes, the heads of administrative departments (Secretaries) issue the necessary administrative and financial sanctions for taking up new programmes or for continuing old ones to the heads of executive departments for implementation. Thereafter the heads of departments are

required to send monthly, quarterly and annual progress reports to the Planning Department in prescribed formats which have recently been revised to enable better coordination. The new formats came into use starting with the quarter ending December 1975.

The new formats provide for information about physical targets, financial allocations and expenditure, power requirements, inter-departmental problems, institutional finances raised, credit progress, employment data, including training and recruitment needs, etc.

Apart from this general monitoring of all plan schemes, 12 important programmes/projects have been selected for special, more comprehensive, monitoring, with more detailed proformas being used. These projects are: command area project, Rajasthan canal (I.D.A. assisted), command area development, Chambal project (I.D.A. assisted); dairy development (I.D.A. assisted); Rajasthan canal stage I (construction); Rajasthan canal stage II (construction); DPAP Jodhpur (I.D.A. assisted); DPAP, Nagaur (I.D.A. assisted); Mahi project (irrigation); Jakham irrigation project; Gopalpur irrigation project; extra high tension transmission lines project; and rock-phosphate (Rajasthan State Mines and Minerals Limited).

The progress reports received from the various heads of departments are closely scrutinized and the performance recorded is discussed from time to time in the concerned State level planning and development coordination committee.

In addition to this monitoring, concurrent and post completion evaluation of plan programmes is also being done regularly to assess the impact of the plan programmes by the Evaluation Department which is controlled at the secretariat level by the Planning Department. Every year, 10 to 12 development programmes/schemes are so studied and evaluation reports published. The programmes/schemes to be evaluated are selected each year by a high power committee of directions. Certain brief studies are also taken up at the local level mainly for use at the district level.

A project appraisal cell has also been set up recently in the Planning Department to conduct ex-ante appraisal of project reports in order to determine the priorities and likelihood of success of the various projects.⁸

⁸Now that the structure and process of State level planning has been described the *Draft Fifth Five Year Plan 1974-79—Rajasthan, op. cit., note 5* would prove interesting as a point of comparison between the Planning Department's hopes about improvements in the planning machinery as described there, and what has actually been achieved.

SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE STATE PLANNING SET-UP

A few reactions to the working of the State level planning are described above.⁹

The first thing that comes to mind is the huge data gap between requirements and availability, because the technical expertise and resources to collect comprehensive and detailed data are lacking. The various departments lack in sufficient planning expertise (in fact even the Planning department seems to be lacking in it). Perhaps functionaries in the various secretariat and executive departments even lack in the perspective geared to planning. Hasty, *ad-hoc*, fund-based projects on guidance from above are the rule of the day. Centrally sponsored model schemes are blindly adopted. Few departments care to work out all the implications of a scheme as they do not yet have faith in plan exercises which they consider to be a lot of show; for them planning often depends upon the availability of funds and personnel given to them and not on needs and environmental circumstances. They seldom look upon their work from an integrated point of view. Departmental jealousies as well as rules and conflicting priorities blind them to all but the problems of their department, and even there they tend to look upon each problem separately in isolation. They do not dovetail the schemes they prepare and are quite willing to see continuous *ad-hoc* changes being made as they go along.

It was once written, perhaps in jest, in a letter to the editor that "planning from below" means that the secretariat department endorses the endorsement by the executive department's director of his lower staff's proposals and that the executive department's proposal means the lower division clerk's proposal as dittoed by the upper division clerk, section officer, deputy director and director. Unfortunately this is often true; as Satish Kumar¹⁰ has described in the case of the Finance Department, the Planning Department seems to be one of the two (the other being Finance) departments that carefully scrutinise

⁹ However, the remarks here will have more meaning for the reader if he knows what the writer's belief and value preferences about planning are for he can then place his remarks in that perspective. The writer's beliefs can be gleened from the following articles: (1) Rakesh Hooja, "Administrative Development—The Concept Re-explored", *Administrative Change*, Vol. 1, No. 1, July-Dec., 1973, pp. 78-91; (2) Rakesh Hooja and Abhay Bhargav, "The Planning Experiment Since Independence" *op. cit.*, note 4; (3) Rakesh Hooja, "Administrative Development—The Debate Continued", *Administrative Change*, Vol. 3, No. 2, Jan-June 1976, pp. 80-86; (4) Rakesh Hooja, *op. cit.*, note 1.

¹⁰ "Administration of State Finances—Some Observations" in *State Administration in India*, *op. cit.*, note 1, where Satish Kumar has also given reasons which are equally valid in the case of the Planning Department.

proposals; other departments merely seem to function as post offices transmitting proposals up and allocations and targets down.

Another problem is that of there being a profusion of different types of 'areas' (desert, tribal, river or lake command area, special backward region, capital region, etc.) which are overlapping. This leads to overlapping of plan exercises at times. While such special 'command area schemes' are meant to overcome department-wise segmentation of administrative efforts, the degree of coordination thus achieved is questionable. There have even been alleged instances of different people belonging to different departments writing different chapters, which tagged together constituted a project report.

The emphasis on achievement of physical targets rather than on impact on society is also not desirable.¹¹

However, these criticisms should not negate the plus points of the existing system. Just as the Department of Planning has been changing for the better, so also there are signs that the entire administrative set-up is becoming more and more efficiency-oriented and planning-conscious, and the emphasis on development after the declaration of the emergency of June 1975 has contributed to this trend.



¹¹This entire section can be profitably compared with D.R. Gadgil, "The Basic Requirement of Planning in Maharashtra", *Planning and Economic Policy in India, op. cit., note 4* especially pp. 235-246. Another critique which the writer would tend to endorse is that by V.R. Gaekwad, "Management of Rural Development Programmes—Organizational Deficiencies and Strategies for Improvement", *The Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. XXI No. 4, Oct-Dec. 1975, pp. 649-662.

ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS IN THE STATES A KALEIDOSCOPIC PANORAMA

Bata K. Dey

ADMINISTRATIVE reforms—an artificial inducement of administrative transformation against resistance—has existed ever since men conceived better ways of organising their social activities.¹ Viewed in this sense, it is as old as administration itself; for, no organisation, however well-gearred towards the fulfilment of its set objectives, can remain stable in its maintenance. It will, after a time, develop discontinuities, norm-displacement, and other goal-alignmental problems caused by a wide variety of uncontrollable variables—technological explosion, environmental imperatives, demand fluctuations in consumers, objectives-reframing an urge for improvement or finding an alternative to *status quo*, i.e., a 'better tomorrow'! The last is an important motivation, though it operates alone and in combination with other factors, for a change along desirable direction; no reform exercise, indeed, is an 'act of God' or a gift from Santa Claus but a deliberate social action, pre-meditated and planned by administrative reformers.

Administrative development (and through it reforms) in this country has traditionally been linked with political development and has naturally had an unprecedented velocity after Independence, more particularly after the adoption of integrated planning as a tool for a total transformation of a halting, near-crippled economy into a vibrant self-reliant one, decadent institutions into modern ones, a tradition-bound society into a social order based on egalitarianism and distributive justice.

COMPULSIONS OF CHANGE

Both the Central and State administrations had to subject themselves to the compulsions of change in response to the new challenges of development. In one area, namely, reforms, the Centre and States have learnt from each other and benefited from a sharing of experiences and adaptive practices. It is, indeed, interesting to note that the term 'administrative reforms' has

¹Gerald E. Caiden, *Administrative Reforms*, Aldine Publishing Company, Chicago, 1969, Chap. 1.

entered the Centre *via* the States.² We shall, however, concentrate in this paper on the administrative reforms in the States.

Since Independence, there have been attempts by the Governments, both at the Centre and in the States, to set up committees or commissions, composed either of an individual or a group of members, to look into the specific aspects of deficiencies in the administrative structure or behaviour. They represented generally *ad hoc* responses to *ad hoc* needs. The reports of these committees/commissions put together constitute a rich radical literature reflecting studied investigation into the micro-inadequacies of the system, or sub-systems, and prescriptive penacea, covering policies, their contents, the styles of organisational functioning, and the whole complex of programme implementation.³

By far the most comprehensive commission to take a global view of the 'systemic' as against the 'sectoral' inadequacies of public administration in this country is the Administrative Reforms Commission (ARC) set up in January 1968. This ARC provided the most significant opportunity for having a total enquiry into the Indian system of public administration, embracing within its sweep even the State administration.⁴ The Commission had submitted 20 reports on 20 different sectors of administration supported by 20 corresponding Study Teams, 13 Working Groups for specific subjects of investigation, 4 Expert Groups and one Task Force. These, evidently, make for a vast and rich source of information for an insightful research on the Indian system of administration and its shortcomings and change-models.

We are here concerned only with two aspects of the Commission's enquiry, namely, 'Administration at the State Level' and 'District Administration' which were amongst the ten agenda themes earmarked for the Commission.⁵

In the schedule⁶ enclosed to the resolution, setting up the Administrative Reforms Commission, the items that were covered under administration at the State level were: (a) Examination of the organisation and procedures

²Bata K. Dey, "Administrative Reforms—A Perspective Analysis", *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. XVII, No. 3, July-September 1971. The Reports of Andhra Pradesh Administrative Reforms Committee (1960 & 1964-65), Rajasthan Administrative Reforms Committee (1962-63), The Punjab Administrative Reforms Commission (1964-66), Kerala Administrative Reorganisation & Efficiency Committee, etc., would reflect the State Governments' concern for modernising their administrative system.

³For fuller details of the processes and methodologies of Administrative Reforms, Bata K. Dey, *ibid.*

⁴Ministry of Home Affairs Resolution No. 40/3/65-AR(P), dated 5th January, 1966.

⁵*Ibid.*

⁶*Ibid.*

of State Governments with special reference to problems similar to those enumerated above. And (b) The need to strengthen administration in the States at all levels.

The main aspects sought to be covered under the district administration consisted of:

- (a) The role of the Collector in respect of general administration and development administration, and as the agent of the State Government.
- (b) The role of the Collector in the matter of public grievances and complaints.
- (c) The relationship between the Collector and panchayat raj institutions.
- (d) The relationship between the Collector and departmental heads at the district and supra-district level.
- (e) The size of the district.
- (f) Personnel policies in relation to the post of Collector.

As these two sectors were eminently inter-related, it was considered by the Commission to be convenient to integrate them together into one report,—the Report on the State Administration. There were, however, two Study Teams, one on State level administration and the other on district administration which, through their separate reports, assisted the Commission in formulating its final recommendations in this regard. Before we take up the key recommendations from the ARC's integrated Report on State Administration, insofar as they relate specifically to administrative reforms,⁷ a few preliminary comments seem relevant. The Commission did not build up its proposals for reforms in the State in isolation of its general framework of recommendations for Central administration, and independently of certain overall problems and issues which the Commission sought to tackle. The same logic and consistency ran through both the sets of suggestions. Indeed, a number of points which arose in its enquiry into State administration arose also in the case of Union administration and, that is why, the Commission has suggested that it would be necessary, while going through the report on State administration, to peruse all relevant portions of earlier reports on the 'Machinery of the Government of India and its Procedures of Work',

⁷We are, for instance, leaving out recommendations on 'Machinery of the Government at the Apex', 'Panchayati Raj Administration', 'Public Service Commissions', 'Administration at the Supra-district Level', 'Executive Departments', etc.

the 'Machinery of Planning', 'Centre-State Relationships', 'Finance, Accounts and Audit', 'Personnel Administration', 'Delegation of Financial and Administrative Power' and 'Problems of Redress of Citizens' Grievances'.⁸ The ARC's reforms proposals form, therefore, a package. And this backdrop needs to be kept in mind for a better and fuller appreciation of what the ARC had to say on administrative reforms in the States.

In its report on the 'Machinery of the Government of India and its Procedures of Work', the ARC came to the conclusion that "as the pace of development quickens, there would be new demands on the administration. The administrative machinery would, therefore, have to be continuously adapted to the requirements of new challenges (of course, within a broad, stable administrative framework)."⁹ In the context of the States, it was considered important that each State secretariat should have a strong O&M unit which would carry continuously detailed studies for suggesting improvement in the administrative structure and methods of work. O&M units or administrative reforms cells, no doubt, existed in almost all the States in some form or the other. Even though these units have helped to promote O&M consciousness among certain sections of the administration, tried, with a modicum of success, to codify and simplify rules and procedures, and also carried out some work studied to effect economy in staff, the general picture that emerged in the State administration is one of diffusion of effort, if not confusion of purpose. Organisation and methods exercises in the States did not, as they should, address themselves to a total study of the structural analysis, organisational behaviour, and the other managerial processes; they satisfied themselves by paying limited attention to what were predominantly procedural matters and some staff economy measures. 'O' of the O&M did not, unfortunately, cover the entire organisation nor did 'M' encompass 'management', O&M lay stuck up in the quagmire of what was mundane in administration, procedures, and could not free itself from their cobweb. Problems of coordination, supervision, morale, motivation, developmental activities, etc., received little or no attention. It is not only important that O&M as an activity in the States should not be dissipated over minor or miscellaneous matters but should be concentrated on key problems of common interest to all—those problems the solution to which would help improving the effectiveness of the total administrative organisation in achieving its set goals and tasks. In other words, O&M should be rescued from its narrow and limited groove, and dynamited into a positive management services movement.

An administrative organisation being a dynamic social institution, with

⁸Administrative Reforms Commission, "State Administration", 1969. Introductory Chapter.

⁹Administrative Reforms Commission, "Report on the Machinery of Government of India and its Procedures of Work", 1968.

its different parts interacting with each other, reforms need also to be conceived in this broad perspective. Needless to say, administrative reforms programmes in the States cannot be undertaken unless organisational structures and the staffing pattern of the O&M agency at the State level are changed and made research oriented. It is the common experience that the separables and the discards normally find an easy and smooth flow into the O&M, mainly because O&M is not integrated with the total programme of desirable administrative change in the States and given a high priority in the scale of importance. And this improvement-movement cannot again be built up unless there is a clearly defined, central direction from a focal unit, is headed by a sufficiently senior officer with innovative dynamism and staffed by a professional corps of people highly motivated and trained in the concepts and techniques of management of change, for launching a massive attack on the dysfunctionalities in the system. In the matter of administrative improvement, there is a great leeway to be made up in the executive agencies which have dealings with the public and also in other fields or subordinate formations of the Government. It is only in this context that the following recommendations of the ARC should be appreciated:

"The O&M/Administrative Reforms Units or Cells in the States should be reactivated and strengthened where necessary. A five-year broad perspective plan of O&M work should be drawn up and within its framework an annual O&M plan should be formulated with a broad scheme of priorities. O&M work should be conceived in a wider perspective covering all the aspects of an administrative organisation and it should be closely related to the attainment of its purposes.

"The central O&M/Administrative Reforms Unit at the State level should be headed by a senior officer of the status of an Additional or Joint Secretary located in the Chief Secretary's organisation. Its organisational structure and staffing pattern should be research oriented. Apart from a nucleus staff with qualifications and experience in techniques of management analysis, the Unit should also have some personnel drawn, on short tenure, from functional areas, or services. The latter should be selected in the light of the programme of O&M studies to be carried out.

"Each major executive department having dealings with the public should have an O&M Cell."¹⁰

Another important aspect which was considered very significant, and rightly so, was that there was an urgent need for the creation of institutional

¹⁰ARC (India), "Report on State Administration", Recommendation No. 51.

arrangements for promoting rational thinking for the solution of current and prospective administrative problems and the role which autonomous professional organisations and academic institutions could play in this regard. As organisational problems grow more and more complex in dimension, O&M needs to be increasingly enriched not only by theoretical insights but also advanced techniques of data analysis, and evaluation. In the ultimate analysis, problems faced by the administration in the States, and particularly at the cutting edge level, are not merely procedural but have also significant sociological and behavioural overtones. Indeed, the management of change is essentially meeting the multi-dimensional problems and issues with interdisciplinary approach tools. These problems would have rural and urban orientations; dimensions relating to the socially unprivileged, underprivileged and privileged sections of the society; public relations; semi-governmental organisations; trade and industry, inter-relation between political and administrative processes, etc. All this cannot be covered by internal efforts alone, within the governmental organisations. It is necessary in this context that there should be more and more coordination and collaboration between the university departments and professional institutions engaged in the teaching and/or study of public administration in the States, on the one hand, and the State Governments on the other. Some studies may be farmed out to these bodies which may inject a valuable new input, objective in its approach and rich in methodology, in the reform programmes of the Government.

In the field of personnel administration and training in the States, the ARC has recommended¹¹ as follows :

Personnel Administration

— The proliferation of personnel under the State Governments must be checked. Organisation and Methods Division and Staff Inspection Units where they exist must be activised and wherever they do not exist, they must be set up with a view to finding out better ways of organisation of work and more efficient methods of doing it and to laying down rational standards for sanctioning of staff in future.

— Staff which has been found to be in excess should not be kept on in their old duties but should be brought on to a separate pool which should be maintained on a supernumerary basis. Recruitment to surplus categories should be stopped. Surplus personnel should be redeployed where vacancies exist or come up. Many could also be trained in new skills such as stenography, etc., and employed accordingly.

¹¹ARC (India), "Report on State Administration", Recommendation Nos. 39, 40, 41, 43, 44, 45, 46 & 50.

— A Personnel Department should be set up in the States under the Chief Minister. The functions of this Department would be :

- (a) Manpower planning, training and career development for all State personnel.
- (b) Liaison with the State Public Service Commission, Central Government, professional institutions, etc.
- (c) Talent hunting, development of personnel for higher posts and appointments to the level of Under and Deputy Secretary and Secretary in the State secretariats and equivalent posts in the field organisations.
- (d) Research in personnel administration.

— An Establishment Board should be established in each State to select officers for the level of Under and Deputy Secretary and Secretary in the secretariat and officers of equivalent status in the field organisations.

— Wherever the number of personnel engaged on a particular function is sufficient to constitute a viable cadre, a service should be set up for that function.

— The field to which all the services should contribute on the basis of equal opportunity should be enlarged and no privileged position should be assigned to any particular service in respect of posts which can be adequately filled by all officers after training and/or experience, if necessary.

— For the posts of heads of departments, men with initiative and drive as well as experience and knowledge of the subject matter should be appointed. The endeavour should be to pick out suitable personnel from the corresponding State service to man these posts. If no suitable men are available from the corresponding State functional services, there should be no objection to consider an IAS officer with the necessary background.

— Suitable personnel from State services should also be considered for ex-cadre posts which are presently reserved for IAS officers.

— Suitable personnel in the functional and specialist services (State as well as all-India) should man those posts of Under and Deputy Secretaries in the State secretariat in which the predominant requirement is a particular functional or specialist knowledge.

— For Secretaries' posts, technical and functional officers of the State services should not be precluded. In areas such as agriculture, engineering and industry, there should be no bar to the consideration of relevant specialist officers along with generalist officers for posting as Secretaries.

— Officers posted as Collectors for the first time should ordinarily have at least 8 years' service to their credit.

— District charges should be divided into three categories having in view their workload and complexity. Commensurate remuneration should be attached, after proper evaluation of work content, to each of these three grades which should be fitted into the unified grading structure recommended by us in our report on personnel administration. It may, however, not be necessary for each State to have all the three grades of Collectors. Some of them may be able to do with only two.

Training

— There should be set up in each State, where it does not already exist, a separate training institution for organising a common foundational course for fresh recruits to Class I or equivalent State Civil Services, institutional training for the probationers of the State Administrative Service and other generalist services, training in management for different levels of officers, and refresher courses.

— Each major executive department should have a training cell to organise suitable training programmes for its personnel of different categories. Special attention is to be paid to organising suitable programmes of training for Class III and Class IV personnel, designed to improve their job skills as well as attitudes towards the public.

— Facilities available at the university departments of public administration and other professional institutions may be availed of for organising some of the training courses.

— The possibility of regional cooperation among a group of States for organising common training programmes may be explored. The Central Training Division of the Union Ministry of Home Affairs, should operate a special programme of assisting the State Governments, in organising training courses, preparation of training materials, securing facilities for training of trainers and organising common programmes on a collaborative basis.

— The new Department of Personnel should have a branch on training, charged with the responsibility of formulating the overall training

policy, coordinating different training activities, arranging for training of trainers and promoting preparation of training materials.

— Special emphasis should be laid in the foundational course on “building proper values and attitudes among the trainees and inculcating in them a sense of dedication to duty and service-orientation.” Living with the people in a village for a first-hand study and observation of rural life and conditions should form an integral part of this course.

A DEPARTMENT OF PERSONNEL FOR THE STATES

As is well known, the basic structure of the Government organisation and the public services in the Central Government as well as in the States is more or less the same. That is why the ARC report on Personnel Administration contains certain ideas and suggestions which may not be directly relatable to the State administration but whose temper will be equally applicable to the States as well. The emphasis is rightly, therefore, placed on carving out a Department of Personnel in each State separately under the Chief Minister and the functional chart of the new department is also quite impressive in its newness, depth and sweep. Indeed, the suggestions have been made to cut for the department a role which was never performed by the erstwhile General Administration Departments (GAD) or services units in the States, pre-occupied primarily as they were with postings, transfers, and other minimal, routine and non-promotional staff functions. To rid such units of their traditional orthodoxies and attach to them developmental functions like manpower planning, career development, liaison with professional institutions, talent hunting, research in personnel administration, etc., are quite a significant new development.

Unfortunately, the recommendations made by the ARC in its report on State Administration were left to the State Governments for necessary action and implementation, on the premise that they basically pertained to the State administration with which the Central Government was not directly concerned. Much, therefore, is not known as to what specific actions have been taken by the State Governments on the various recommendations, though there might have been occasional flashes from the State Governments. It would have been ideal if reports of implementation from the State Governments were regularly obtained as a follow-up of the ARC's report on the State Administration (and published for the benefit of researchers) which would have at least revealed the extent and nature of State participation in the administrative reforms movement in the country.

Following the trail of ARC, which concluded its deliberations in 1969, in the beginning of 1975, two experts in public administration, namely,

Shri L.P. Singh and Shri L.K. Jha prepared a note on 'Improving Efficiency in Administration' at the instance of the Prime Minister and submitted it to her. The main purpose behind this exercise was not to recommend radical changes in the system but to identify certain crucial areas where action could be taken to improve the performance of the administration in a relatively short time. This note was circulated by the Prime Minister amongst the members of her Council of Ministers at the Centre and to all the Chief Ministers and Governors/Lt. Governors of the State Governments and Union Territories.

This note, is significant in its forthright diagnosis of the ills of administration and it maintains that despite efforts from time to time, administrative efficiency is today at a low ebb. No single factor contributes more to the hardships and frustrations of the people as inefficiency and delay in administration. This malady is attributable to two sets of factors : (a) structural and procedural, and (b) deficiencies of the human elements. The note suggests that if improvement is to be brought about, both these sets of factors have to be tackled simultaneously and with determination. The note also adds that no amount of re-orientation of policy and working procedures would improve efficiency unless the general atmosphere and environment in which the officials function are congenial and conducive to discipline and work.

A 20-point administrative programme¹² has reportedly been chalked out from the various suggestions made in that note, namely :

- Need for greatly improving working conditions—cleanliness.
- Stress to be laid on strict enforcement of discipline and punctuality.
- Unit in charge of internal administration should be especially entrusted with :

 - (i) introduction of O&M with a view to ensuring speedy disposal of work;
 - (ii) assessment of staff requirements, job requirements, training of staff and their placing; and
 - (iii) house-keeping and staff-welfare.

- Practical devolution of responsibilities inside the Ministry.

¹²Nicknamed as such, taking a cue from the Prime Minister's 20-point Economic Programme.

- Institutional arrangements to oversee time-bound disposal of items of work.
- Decentralization of legal advice.
- Principles of selectivity and suitability to be followed in appointment to top posts in the Central secretariat.
- Performance assessment to be made more realistic and objective.

Arrangement for weeding out of below average officers.

- (i) Identification of training requirements of various Ministries and Departments for drawing up systematic programme to meet them.
- (ii) Critical appraisal to be made of the work done in the field of training with reference to the present day needs.
- (iii) Special attention to be given to training of officers at lower and intermediate levels.
- (iv) Emphasis to be laid on training by supervision.
- Review of the need for the Indian Economic/Statistical Service.
- Critical examination to be made of service rules and procedures for disposal of service matters and for speeding up redressal of grievances of public servants.
- Analysis to be made of matters taken to courts during the last two years and the orders passed by the courts for drawing the attention of the ministries/departments to the defects and indicating steps necessary to avoid the repetition.
- Administrative tribunals to be set up to adjudicate on the complaints of Government servants.
- Problems that ministries/departments are having with the Union Public Service Commission in matters of recruitment to be ascertained for discussion with the chairman UPSC to find mutually satisfactory solutions.
- In order to review existing policy, comprehensive studies of various

aspects of personnel administration to be entrusted to a carefully selected officer without creating a new post in the department.

— Widening of its concept of functioning by the Department of Personnel for providing leadership and guidance in the field of personnel policy.

— Need for effective coordination between training needs and placement of officers.

— Administrative Reforms Wing should take more positive interest in matters relating to the machinery of Government.

— Need for administrative reforms in the States should be taken up with the State Governments.

These are being pursued vigorously in the Department of Personnel and Administrative Reforms, through the various Ministries/Departments at the Centre and with the State Governments. Though the suggestions made by the experts were made in relation to the Central Government, they also apply *mutatis mutandis* to the States whose involvement in the programme of administrative improvement was absolutely essential. Indeed, issues as are there in the Central Government arise also at the State level. Under our constitutional and administrative structure, the impact of administration on the public depends much more on what happens at the State level and even more in the districts than what goes on in New Delhi. The district continues to be the most important unit of public administration and the district officer occupies a place of pride amongst officials in the district. Whenever there is any kind of crisis or emergency, it is the district officers who have to provide the necessary leadership in dealing with the situation. Even in the course of ordinary functioning, the demand on the administrative machinery, both at the headquarters level and at the field level, is becoming more and more exacting particularly from the point of view of implementation of the development plans. It is not generally appreciated that if the manifold activities of socio-economic planning—agrarian, industrial, urban—are to progress in unison, the importance of effective and timely coordination at the district level cannot be over-emphasised. This analysis should also go to emphasise that the traditional and orthodox demarcation of jurisdiction in regard to the Central and the State administration cannot be fully maintained; the puritanic dichotomy is no longer tenable if planning for progress, developmental goals and ideals of distributive justice on an all-India basis have to fructify. District administration is important not only from the State point of view but it is equally important from the Central, i.e., the country's point of view.

DISTRICT ADMINISTRATION

It may be pertinent here to refer again to what the ARC had to say on toning up district administration. It said :

— The District administration should be divided into two sectors—one concerned with 'regulatory' functions and the other with 'developmental' functions. The District Collector should be the head of the former and the panchayati raj administration should have the responsibility for the latter.

The District Collector and the President, Zila Parishad, should meet at periodical intervals to resolve matters calling for coordination between the regulatory and developmental administration. This procedure should be given official recognition in the legislation dealing with panchayati raj.

— The Collector and the District Magistrate as the head of the regulatory administration in the district should exercise general supervisory control over the police organisation in the district. Except in an emergency, he should not interfere with the internal working of the police administration.

— The Collector and his officers should spend a prescribed minimum number of days on tour with night halts in camp. The tour should be utilised, among other things, for the redress of public grievances on the spot wherever possible.

— There should be only two administrative units whose heads are invested with powers of decision-making in the district administration—the one in the tehsil/taluka or a group of tehsils/talukas or a sub-division (in the States where there are no tehsils/talukas) and the other at the headquarters of the district. The intermediary levels, where they exist, may be abolished.

— Powers should be delegated to the maximum extent to the officer in charge of the sub-district administrative unit.¹³

The recommendations made in regard to district administration and administration at supra-district level have, no doubt, certain normative overtones but an ideal, even if distant for the present, needs to be kept before the eyes for realisation in time. It must be said to the ARC's credit that the structure of their suggestions has an underlining of its own logic, apparently invalid though they may appear to be. Do we not see in most of the literature on development administration that law and order and regulatory functions

¹³Administrative Reforms Commission, "Report on State Administration", 1969. Recommendation Nos. 16, 17, 19 & 20.

should receive a separate treatment from developmental functions which should acquire, in the warrant of precedence, a higher place of attention?

In this context, the setting up of an information and coordination unit at the Centre which would function as a clearing house of information on the various reforms activities and other innovative practices, followed in certain States, for dissemination among other States, should be considered. This would be a data centre which can be enriched by periodic exchange of information and personal contacts and joint meetings—seminars, conferences, workshops, etc.—devoted to the best interests of the Centre and the State Governments.

THE CONFERENCE OF CHIEF SECRETARIES

It will be necessary here to refer to another development which has accelerated administrative improvement movement in the States. On May 7 & 8, 1976, a conference of the Chief Secretaries was held in New Delhi devoted exclusively to the problems of administrative improvement and personnel management. This conference, inaugurated by the Prime Minister, had the following impressive agenda for deliberation:

- (i) Need for administrative reforms in the States.
- (ii) Review of the existing personnel policy and widening the concept of the functioning of the Department of Personnel and Administrative Reforms to provide leadership and guidance in the field of personnel policy and administrative reforms.
- (iii) Institutional arrangements for time bound work disposal.
- (iv) Critical examination of service rules and procedures for disposal of service matters.
- (v) Delegation of financial and administrative powers to the departments and field and regional offices.
- (vi) Establishment of administrative tribunals and amendment of the Constitution restricting the jurisdiction of the courts.
- (vii) Redress of citizens' grievances.
- (viii) Weeding out of the below average persons.
- (ix) Premature retirement of Government servants.

- (x) Retirement in public interest of the members of the IAS.
- (xi) Training of civil servants and career management.
- (xii) Administrative coordination at the district level—role of the district magistrate.
- (xiii) Problems of the all-India services, and the economic and the statistical services.¹⁴

The Chief Secretaries from almost all the State Governments and Union Territories participated in the conference and for two days there were hard deliberations on the various issues on the agenda. The conference made altogether about eighty recommendations covering an array of subjects. Some of the major recommendations of this conference and action taken by the State Governments on them is indicated below. This is based on reports, flashed from time to time in the Press, other documented information and discussions. The purpose here is not to present a complete catalogue of action on all that has been done in all the States but to attempt an overall narration. (Lack of comprehensiveness in this regard is attributable to insufficiency of data or its non-availability).

Setting up of Department of Personnel & Administrative Reforms: Several State Governments have already taken steps to set up either a Department of Personnel & A.R. or add a new wing/cell to the existing set-up to discharge the functions relating to personnel and O&M. A separate Department of Personnel and A.R. already exists in Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Punjab, Maharashtra and Rajasthan. Uttar Pradesh has a Department of Personnel and also a Department of Administrative Reforms. The Governments of Assam, Gujarat, Karnataka, West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh and Andaman & Nicobar Islands have already set up a separate department/wing of Personnel & A.R. with clearly defined functional lines. The Governments of Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Manipur and Delhi have decided to set up separate departments/wings of Personnel & A.R. Haryana's existing Administrative Reforms Branch and the Services Branch dealing with personnel matters meet the requirement of this recommendation. Setting up of a separate department/wing of Personnel & A.R. is under active consideration in Tamil Nadu, Tripura, Orissa and Mizoram.

Redress of Citizens' Grievances: Nearly all the State Governments have addressed themselves to the question of redressal of citizens' grievances. Many

¹⁴Conference of Chief Secretaries, Programme and Agenda Notes, Department of Personnel and Administrative Reforms, New Delhi (May 7 and 8, 1976), (Mimeo).

of the Governments have orders that every departmental officer in the district and lower levels should earmark one particular day every week for listening to and redressing the grievances of the public. This system is already in vogue in Bihar, Punjab, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu, and Delhi. The Governments of Andhra Pradesh, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Manipur, Nagaland, Tripura, West Bengal, Meghalaya, Orissa, Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Chandigarh, Goa and Pondicherry have also issued orders to this effect. District grievances committees already exist in Bihar, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Punjab, Rajasthan, and Mizoram. Such committees have been or are being set up by the Governments of Assam, Goa, Manipur, Nagaland, Tripura and West Bengal. In Tamil Nadu the practice of joint touring by the district heads of various departments in rural areas to make the officers easily accessible to the public is in operation. In Andhra Pradesh the committee that is reviewing the implementation of the 20-point programme in the district has been entrusted with the work of redressal of citizens' grievances also. In the case of Delhi, the programme implementation committee presided over by the Minister of State for Works and Housing looks into the public grievances.

Delegation of Financial and Administrative Powers: The Government of Andhra Pradesh appointed 3 committees in 1975 and necessary instructions for delegation have since been issued. Delegation of financial and administrative powers to the various departments has been made by the Governments of Assam, Orissa, Tamil Nadu, Punjab, Rajasthan and Union Territory of Delhi. The Governments of Bihar, Gujarat, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Nagaland, Maharashtra, Tripura, Uttar Pradesh, Meghalaya, West Bengal, Andaman & Nicobar Islands, Mizoram, Goa and Pondicherry have either set up or are setting up task forces to suggest delegation of financial and administrative powers to the secretariat departments, heads of the executive departments and regional/field organisations.

Reforms at the 'Cutting Edge Level' of Administration: The Governments of Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Karnataka, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Manipur, Nagaland, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu, Tripura, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal, Meghalaya, Andaman & Nicobar Islands and Delhi have issued orders to carry out a drive or to identify specific areas/offices at the cutting edge level so that the quality of the service received by the members of the public at the points when they come into contact with the Government departments can be improved. Bihar and Gujarat have appointed task forces for this purpose and Himachal Pradesh has entrusted this work to the administrative reforms organisation and it has initiated studies in three public dealing departments, namely, (i) rural integrated development, (ii) health and family planning, and (iii) civil supplies. A training programme was recently organised by the Government of Pondicherry for various field

functionaries like village officers, police officers and other development functionaries who come into close contact with the people. Uttar Pradesh has identified departments like food and supplies, transport and cooperation, where a review of procedure is required in order to render better service to the public. The Government of Rajasthan has already initiated action in some of its departments. The procedure of payment of pension has been simplified and at Jaipur payment through the bank counters has been provided, the transport department has simplified the system of issue of tokens, permits and licences. The Government of West Bengal has also issued detailed instructions for simplification of procedures at the cutting edge level. The Government of Punjab has taken action for imparting training in public relations to personnel manning public counters.

Task Forces for Simplification of Rules and Regulations : The Governments of Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Haryana, Karnataka, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Meghalaya, Nagaland, Orissa, Punjab, Rajasthan, West Bengal, Tamil Nadu, Tripura and Delhi have already taken action to simplify/codify and unify service rules and manuals. In Uttar Pradesh the rules cell, existing in the Government since 1972, has so far finalised 160 service rules. The department of administrative reforms of the State has already prepared/revised 14 departmental manuals. In Madhya Pradesh, the pension manual has been issued and rules regarding admission to training and medical colleges have been framed. In Andaman & Nicobar Islands, the police manual and block manual have been made up-to-date. In Delhi a task force for the purpose has been set up.

Constituting Monitoring-cum-Evaluation Cells : Most of the State Governments have some set-up to serve the purpose of monitoring-cum-evaluation cells. In some of the departments of Himachal Pradesh, monitoring-cum-evaluation cells already exist. In Madhya Pradesh, a monitoring cell exists at the State level and evaluation cells in some of its departments. District cells are now being set up in Madhya Pradesh. The Rajasthan Government has such a cell in its Planning Department and such cells are now being set up in its other major departments. Andhra Pradesh also has a monitoring-cum-evaluation cell in the planning wing of its Finance Department. Some of departments of West Bengal have such cells already in existence and are being extended to other departments. The Orissa Government has such cells in its Planning and Coordination Department and Agriculture and Cooperation Department. The Government of Bihar has already such a cell in the PWD Department and in the office of the Agriculture Production Commission. Assam and Punjab have decided to set up such cells in all their major departments. A monitoring-cum-evaluation cell has been set up in the Rural Development and Local Administration Departments of the Government of

Tamil Nadu. Delhi Administration has constituted monitoring cum-evaluation cells in its various departments. Meghalaya and Pondicherry have taken steps for strengthening the monitoring and evaluation cells.

Empowered Committees: Empowered committees with representatives of the concerned departments for taking decision on the recommendations of the task forces/study teams/committees/commissions, etc., through meetings, instead of through notings and files, are already in existence in various forms in Himachal Pradesh, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, Tripura and Delhi. Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Punjab, Meghalaya and West Bengal have issued orders for constituting empowered committees. In Himachal Pradesh, there is the secretaries committee. Andhra Pradesh has a committee of officers and Bihar has a project review committee for on-the-spot sanctioning of the projects. In Tamil Nadu the existing system of inter-departmental meetings has been found satisfactory to serve the purpose of empowered committees. There is a weekly secretaries' conference presided over by the Chief Secretary in Tripura where all important matters are thrashed out.

Performance Appraisal: The Governments of Kerala and Rajasthan have already rationalised the system of performance appraisal and devised new forms for the assessment of employees' performance. The Government of Karnataka is reviewing the system and the Madhya Pradesh Government is revising the forms for self-appraisal where the work is quantifiable. The question of rationalising the appraisal system is being considered by the Governments of Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Himachal Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Tripura and Mizoram.

Premature Retirement: Recommendation on premature retirement by Government at the option of an officer after 20 years of service or on the attainment of 45 years of age is being examined by the Governments of Tripura, Andhra Pradesh, West Bengal, Himachal Pradesh and Maharashtra. Madhya Pradesh has reported that instructions exist, and are followed, for examining the case of persons who attained the age of 55. Uttar Pradesh has already a rule for voluntary retirement after 20 years.

Training: State Governments such as Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu and Tripura have made arrangements for imparting training to their civil servants at various levels. The Government of Goa avails of facilities available in the training institutes of the Government of India, Maharashtra and other States. Haryana, Rajasthan, Himachal Pradesh, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Delhi have taken steps to train officials in public relations. The Himachal Institute of Public Administration has prepared a comprehensive training plan for the year 1976-77.

In order to give pre-entry and in-service training to officers of different departments of various levels, Andhra Pradesh has decided to establish a State institute of administration. Maharashtra has already an Administrative Staff College. Orissa is preparing a draft scheme to impart training to officials in public relations.

Administrative Tribunals : The Andhra Pradesh administrative tribunal (presided over by a High Court Judge) came into effect on 6th July, 1976 and has started functioning from 9th August. In Rajasthan the tribunal (presided over by an IAS officer) has been set up from 1st July. Uttar Pradesh has already constituted two public services tribunals in November 1975 to deal with service matters of the employees. The question of the constitution of another tribunal is under consideration. In Maharashtra and Karnataka, draft Bills on the subject have been prepared and are being processed. Setting up of an administrative tribunal has been accepted in principle by the Government of Bihar. The Governments of Madhya Pradesh, Punjab, Tamil Nadu and West Bengal are having the matter under consideration.

Administrative Coordination at the District Level : Under this head, several aspects such as investing the District Collector with the power to record his appraisal on the functioning of the district level officers of the various departments, filling up the posts of Collectors by sufficiently senior officers, night halts for the Collectors for redress of citizens' grievances on the spot, avoiding frequent transfers of District Collectors, etc., have been covered. In Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Haryana, Madhya Pradesh and Karnataka Collectors have been or are being vested with powers to record their appraisal on the general performance of district level officers of all departments both in the developmental and regulatory spheres. Appropriate orders have been issued by Nagaland and Meghalaya. Himachal Pradesh, Maharashtra and Tripura are processing this recommendation. A task force is being formed by West Bengal to work out the operational details for implementing this recommendation.

This kaleidoscopic panorama of what the State Governments have so far done generally in regard to the administrative reforms may appear to be satisfying to the average viewer, but the discerning eye will probably detect that no integrated strategy or planning has yet emerged for a massive attack on the enemy, which is the system (of administration) itself! Suffer as we all do from strategic myopia, we are absent mindedly indulging in what Jareb F. Harrison would choose to call 'innovative complacency'.¹⁵ What is being done amounts really to using yesterday's remedies today for treating tomorrow's ills, and that too without perhaps a careful diagnosis! With the

¹⁵Jareb F. Harrison, *Management by Obstruction*, London, Prentice-Hall, 1974.

result, to use a different metaphor, we are trying to play hockey with the rules of cricket and, in the process, not playing the game at all, or if at all, playing it miserably! To put it differently, retail trade in reforms can go to influence the administrative delivery system only incrementally but for foolproof result, as the experience of almost thirty years would suggest, wholesale trading, that is to say, a global systemic reform is what seems inescapable. Radical rhetorics apart, time is *now* for working for a fresh functional design, totally new administrative architecture and human engineering and for a wholly different culture, values and ethos!

MACHINERY FOR THE ADMINISTRATION OF WELFARE PROGRAMMES FOR BACKWARD CLASSES AT THE STATE LEVEL

G.B. Sharma

SCHEDULED castes and scheduled tribes constitute a large segment of the Indian population referred to by the omnibus expression "backward classes". Although socio-economic and cultural backwardness are characteristic of the conditions of life of both scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, the stigma of untouchability and their association with unclean vocations make the scheduled castes vastly different from scheduled tribes. Likewise, isolation from the mainstream of national life and living in hilly or secluded plain areas and excessive dependence on forest produce make the tribals widely different from the scheduled castes. Thus, the distinctive features of life of the scheduled tribes make their problems quite dissimilar to those of scheduled castes and vice versa. While the tribals can mould their ways of life and patterns of behaviour through cultural contacts and migration and break their isolation without resistance from the other sections of the society, scheduled castes remain a somewhat permanent separable whole—largely on account of the practice of untouchability by the caste Hindus. Further, whereas the tribals are largely concentrated in certain pockets, the scheduled castes are sparsely distributed all over the country. The peculiar nature of the problems and cultural attributes and the geographical distribution of their populations being widely divergent from each other, each one of them requires a separate treatment, both in terms of formulation of plans and in their implementation. It is for this reason that the Scheduled Areas and Tribes Commission in their report submitted to the Government of India in September, 1969 held that "the existing arrangement whereby tribal welfare is clubbed with the welfare of scheduled castes and other backward classes is both wrong and administratively inexpedient. Whereas the problems of scheduled castes are concerned with backwardness arising out of a pernicious social system based on caste, the backwardness of tribal communities has its origin in conditions created by geography for tackling which an entirely different approach is indicated."¹ However, until very recently, this was never realised by our policy-formulators, planners and administrators, and hence it never got reflected in our

¹India. *Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, 1971-1972 and 1972-73*, General Manager of Publications, pp. 251-52.

process of plan formulation and administrative arrangements devised for its proper implementation. Thus, partly on account of misleading constitutional provisions clubbing both scheduled castes and scheduled tribes together for purposes of welfare provisions and partly on account of lack of a proper perspective on the part of public administrators and planners, which, in turn, was based on their apathy towards the cause of welfare of these communities, a very haphazard growth of administrative institutions took place in a sporadic manner as would be revealed in any critical analysis of administrative machinery for backward classes. It was, however, only at the time of formulation of the Fifth Plan that it was realised that the problems of socio-economic development of the tribals, especially those living in areas with heavy concentration of tribal population (in the non-tribal majority States), being peculiarly different from other backward classes, the former deserve a distinct treatment both in terms of planning of their welfare and also in the administrative arrangements for its effective implementation.

The present paper aims at critically examining the existing administrative machinery for execution of welfare and development programmes for backward classes in India as it obtains at the State level. An attempt shall also be made in this paper to suggest certain administrative reforms that are considered significant from the point of view of improvement of administration of their welfare and development plans, etc.

As mentioned above, there is no uniformity regarding the nomenclature of the agencies, nature of their functions and organisation among the various States. In fact, in the case of a number of States the nomenclatures of the agencies engaged in the task of administration of welfare programmes for backward classes appear to be misnomers. Similarly, there is also no uniformity regarding the organisational affiliation of social/backward/harijan welfare agencies with other State administrative agencies. Thus, the description that follows only indicates the broad pattern of administrative framework in this vast area. In fact, even at present there are administrative agencies that cater to the welfare needs of both scheduled castes and scheduled tribes on the one hand and agencies that cater to the needs of castes and tribes separately. Likewise, there are separate agencies for administration of welfare programmes for tribals residing in the area encompassed by the tribal sub-plan and those residing outside within the same State.

ADMINISTRATIVE MACHINERY

For the sake of clarity the description regarding the administrative machinery for the execution of welfare programmes for backward classes is broadly divided into two parts, political and administrative. The administrative part, in turn, is further classified into State, regional/project and

local levels. The entire organisational framework has been shown in the chart.

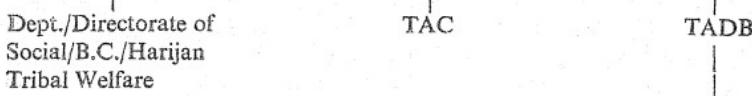
Article 164 of the Indian Constitution *inter alia* provides that "in the States of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa there shall be a Minister in charge of tribal welfare who may in addition be in charge of the welfare of scheduled castes and backward classes or any other work". From time to time, the Governors have appointed special Ministers-in-charge on the advice of their Chief Ministers. Thus, whereas sometimes the charge of this portfolio has been held by a Minister of cabinet rank, at other times it is by a deputy or Minister of state rank who has also been put in charge of portfolios in addition to that of tribal welfare. Though, no such provision regarding the appointment of a special Minister-in-charge of tribal welfare in the case of other States has been made in the Constitution, yet Ministers in charge of social tribal welfare have also been appointed by almost all other States. It is the responsibility of these special Ministers in charge of tribal welfare to look after the interest of these communities and for their work they are accountable to their respective State legislatures.

Machinery for Administration of Welfare Programmes for Backward Class in the States

STATE LEVEL

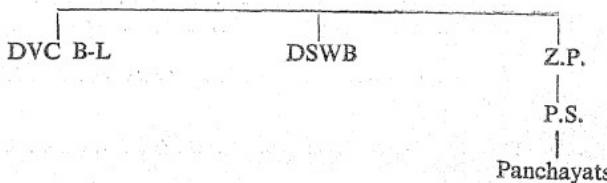
Governor

Minister in charge B.C.



Sub-Plan/Regional Level:

LOCAL LEVELS



Similarly, in Article 164 there also exists a provision regarding the constitution of a Tribes Advisory Council in the States having a sizable tribal population and scheduled areas to protect the tribals from all sorts of exploitation and to promote educational, social and economic progress of the area, etc. Tribes Advisory Councils have been constituted not only in all those States that have declared scheduled areas but also by Tamil Nadu and West Bengal that have no scheduled areas but have scheduled tribes.² However, it would be appropriate here to mention that except in the case of Rajasthan where the TAC is supposed to meet four times a year, in the rest of the States it is expected to meet twice a year. Leaving aside their effectiveness, during several years they have not even been able to meet as frequently as they were expected to.³ Thus, TACs need to be activated on an all-India basis.

Under para 3 of the V Schedule to the Constitution, the State Governors are also supposed to submit annual reports regarding the administration of scheduled areas in their States to the President of India. It is very unfortunate to note that the Governors do not submit the annual reports in time. The latest report of the Commissioner for S.C. and S.T. (Twenty Second Report, 1973-74) shows "that no report for the last three years has been received in respect of scheduled areas of Maharashtra. In the case of Orissa, the Governor's reports have not been submitted for 1972-73 and 1973-74. The Governor's reports for 1974-75 are still awaited from all the concerned States except Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh.⁴

STATE DEPARTMENTS/DIRECTORATES OF SOCIAL/TRIBAL/HARIJAN WELFARE

It is a stupendous task to describe the organisation and functions of the State departments administering welfare programmes for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. In fact, there are States in which we find both secretariats and directorates of social/backward class/harijan/tribal welfare. Such States are Rajasthan, West Bengal, Punjab, Maharashtra, Jammu and Kashmir. Whereas some States have departments/directorates for harijan and tribal welfare jointly or separately, others have combined departments/directorates of social welfare and welfare of backward classes. Similarly, there is also quite a good deal of diversity in the organisational association of these directorates/departments of social/backward classes/tribal/harijan welfare with other State level departments. Thus, we find that whereas in one State the directorate of social welfare is organically linked with the

²India. *Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, 1973-74, op. cit.*, p. 220.

³Ibid., p. 218.

⁴Rajasthan. *Fifth Five Year Plan, Sub-Plan for Integrated Area (1974-79)*, Social Welfare Department (mimeo.), p. 88.

panchayats, in another it is linked with planning and housing and in still another with youth welfare functions. Further, whereas in some States we find both the secretariat and directorate of social/harijan/tribal/ backward class welfare, in others we find only a directorate that performs the functions of both the secretariat and directorate. In the States where there are no separate secretariat level organisations, the work relating to the activities of social/backward classes/tribal/harijan/welfare is looked after by a Secretary who in addition to the above also looks after the work of certain other departments. The top positions in all these directorates/departments are manned by the IAS and State administrative services. Of course, in certain States that have constituted the State Social Welfare Services and the middle and lower levels are manned by the personnel belonging to the SSWs. Thus, in spite of the constitution of specialised services, not only the secretarial positions like the Secretary and the Deputy Secretary but also the directors (and with minor exceptions) deputy directors, etc., continue to be appointed from amongst personnel belonging to the generalist services. On account of the overdose of generalist administrators and also on account of the prevalence of the same general rigid procedures of work, the social welfare agencies and personnel manning them are neither in a position to display a different orientation towards their clientele nor does it allow them to develop any commitment for the area of administration and social group they are supposed to be serving.

With the adoption of the sub-plan approach for integrated tribal area development for contiguous areas with more than 50 per cent tribal population by the States and Union Territories (having large concentrations of tribal population) it was soon realised that the "existing administrative structures will not be able to cope with the work which will devolve on it in connection with the implementation of the tribal sub-plan". The most important single reason for this is that "the situation in tribal areas is relatively simple. The administrative structure for implementation of a developmental plan has to be within the comprehension of individuals whom it is intended to serve. The most important quality of such a system, therefore, has to be its simplicity. The tribals should be required to deal with as limited a number of persons as possible with whom a relationship of confidence can be developed." Keeping the aforesaid considerations in view, the Conference of State Ministers held in New Delhi in April 1975, evolved certain guidelines around which a suitable administrative machinery had to be established by the various State governments for the effective implementation of tribal area sub-plan. Thus as far as the tribal welfare programmes are concerned, with the establishment of new administrative machinery for the execution of tribal sub-plan the actual position is that there are two sets of administrative arrangements—one looking after the welfare of tribals in the sub-plan area and another of the tribals outside the tribal area. Whereas the old

agencies continue to look after the tribals outside the tribal sub-plan area and their welfare continues to form a part of the general five year plans of the respective States in the traditional fashion, the new administrative machinery has been charged with the task of administering the sub-plan programmes in an unconventional and innovative manner.

TRIBAL AREA DEVELOPMENT BOARDS

According to the guideline evolved by the State Ministers' Conference, "there should be a high powered body, preferably, a Cabinet Sub-Committee at the State level with the responsibility of formulation of plan frame and giving a general policy direction during its implementation including authority to revise it."⁵ Thus, such bodies have been constituted by almost all the States with heavy concentration of tribal areas under the chairmanship of the Chief Ministers of respective States. In Rajasthan the high-powered body (with membership of 25 in addition to the chairman)—a Tribal Area Development Board—has been constituted. In other States also such bodies have been constituted for effective implementation of the sub-plan. Separate administrative departments have also been set-up in a number of States and have been put under the charge of very senior and experienced officers. For instance, a senior post has been created in each State to supervise implementation of tribal development programmes. With the strengthening of administrative arrangements, tribal sub-plans are expected to be implemented better, particularly at the project level. Bihar has created the post of a Development Commissioner (equivalent to the rank of Additional Secretary to the Government of India) located at Ranchi who will also be a Secretary to the Government. Madhya Pradesh has created the post of Tribal Development Commissioner and Secretary, Tribal Welfare. Rajasthan has a Tribal Area Development Commissioner. In Gujarat, there is a Tribal Commissioner-cum-Secretary in charge of tribal welfare. Maharashtra has appointed a Tribal Development Commissioner. In Orissa, the post of the Secretary, Tribal and Rural Welfare has been up graded to that of a Commissioner. In Assam, a separate department of tribal areas and welfare of backward classes has been created under the charge of a full-time secretary. Andhra Pradesh has appointed an officer of the rank of the Commissioner as the Secretary to the Department of Employment and Social Welfare.⁶

STATE VIGILANCE COMMITTEE CELLS FOR ABOLITION OF UNTOUCHABILITY

A large number of State Governments have constituted special State level committees/cells for the effective implementation of the Untouchability

⁵India. *Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, 1973-74*, op. cit., p. 274.

⁶The Statesman (New Delhi), 19 August, 1976.

(Offences) Act, 1955 and for the abolition of the social evil of untouchability, besides issuing strict instructions to police and judicial authorities and appointing special police officers and establishment of police stations for quick disposal of cases registered under the UOA. For instance, with a view to reviewing the working of the provisions of the Untouchability (Offences) Act, 1955, the Gujarat State Government constituted in 1970 "the Untouchability (Offences) Act Implementation Committee". During the President's rule in Gujarat in 1973-74 a State level committee was constituted with the Governor as its president and the Director of Social Welfare as *ex-officio* secretary for the purpose of effective implementation of UOA and for supervising, coordinating and adopting measures to eradicate completely the evil of untouchability. A separate cell headed by a Deputy Secretary in the Home Department has also been created to ensure that complaints received from the scheduled caste persons about offences under UOA and other offences committed against them are promptly attended to. An officer of the rank of Assistant Inspector General of Police has been specially designated for this purpose in the Office of the Inspector General of Police at Ahmedabad. Madhya Pradesh has established a harijan welfare cell in the office of the Inspector General of Police at Bhopal and seven special police stations at seven district headquarters (Bilaspur, Bhopal, Morena, Panna, Jabalpur, Raipur and Ujjain) for registration and investigation of complaints regarding harassment and atrocities on harijans and tribals and offences under the Untouchability (Offences) Act, 1955. The Deputy Inspector General (Complaints) is in overall charge of the cell assisted by a Deputy Superintendent of Police at the headquarters.⁷

LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEES FOR THE WELFARE OF SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES

After the constitution of the Parliamentary Committee on the Welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in December 1968, the Central Department of Social Welfare had suggested to all the State Governments to constitute similar legislative committees of their State Legislature to keep a watch over the interests of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes in their respective States. According to the information available, such committees have been constituted in Karnataka, Kerala, Maharashtra, Punjab, Haryana, West Bengal and Rajasthan during 1971-1973. Barring Rajasthan where there are two separate committees—one on the welfare of scheduled castes and another on the welfare of scheduled tribes—the other States have set up only single committees for looking after the interests of both scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. In States like Karnataka and Maharashtra where

⁷India. *Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, 1970-71 and 1973-74, op. cit., pp. 61-62 & p. 183 respectively.*

there are bicameral legislatures both the houses are represented on the committee; in the other States where there are unicameral legislatures the committee consists only of the members of the Legislative Assembly. In most of the States the tenure of office of the committee is of one year. In most of the States the chairman of the committee is either a scheduled caste or scheduled tribe member of the legislature. The membership of the committee in most of the States consists by and large of caste and tribe members of the legislature.⁸

REGIONAL/SUB-PLAN LEVEL

With the adoption of the sub-plan approach for integrated tribal area development by the States and Union Territories having large tribal population it was also considered desirable to constitute a single line agency for the proper implementation and supervision of the tribal sub-plan. Consequently, all the eleven States/ Union Territories, having large tribal population, constituted what are known as the Tribal Area Development Commissions or Agencies. Headed by very senior IAS officers in the super-time scale, these organisations enjoy sufficient powers, authority and autonomy and freedom from the out-moded procedures of work normally prevalent in the traditional Government departments and public sector undertakings. Since the powers and functions conferred on the TADCs and TAD Commissioners in the various States cannot be described here it would suffice here to describe the powers and functions of TADC and Commissioner TAD in Rajasthan to provide the reader with a general idea regarding the vast powers and authority that has been given to such authorities.

In Rajasthan the following powers and functions have been assigned to the TADC and TAD Commissioner:⁹

The Tribal Area Development Commission

1. Conduct a study to demarcate areas of the State having sizable tribal population which require special attention in development plans.
2. To identify the problems and needs of tribal communities in the State.
3. To make a comprehensive study of the working of the developmental programmes undertaken in these areas to-date.

⁸India. *Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, 1971-72 and 1972-73, op. cit.*, p. 254.

⁹*Ibid., Sub-Plan for Integrated Tribal Area Development (Revised Jan. 1976), pp. 111-15.*

4. To undertake a comprehensive study of the natural resources of the areas, the untapped developmental potential and the possibilities of utilising these resources for the benefit of the tribals.
5. To suggest on the basis of studies a proper strategy for the economic development of the area and for raising the standard of living of the tribal population.
6. To prepare a perspective plan for achieving this and tender advice on the preparation of five year plans for the areas.
7. To advise the Government on the preparation and implementation of annual plans and the formulation and implementation of projects.
8. To examine the working of the existing administrative machinery in the tribal areas. To suggest restructuring:
 - (a) to ensure better accessibility to and better involvement of tribals,
 - (b) to ensure that the benefits of the developmental programmes implemented reach the tribals.
9. To study the extent of land alienation, indebtedness and exploitation of tribals *vis-a-vis* existing revenue laws and laws relating to money-lending, to suggest necessary changes, in substance and procedure, which appear to be necessary to give more effective protection to tribals.
10. To study the problems of exploitation of tribals by traders liquor-vendors and moneylenders and suggest necessary measures to check these evils.
11. To review the excise policy of the Government and the working of the prohibition laws in this areas.
12. To review the working of credit institutions and suggest measures for their improvement to meet the needs of the tribals.
13. To suggest measures for providing gainful employment to tribals on a continuing basis.

14. To suggest measures for harnessing tribal leadership and institutions for ensuring their fullest participation in developmental activities and social reform programmes.
15. To suggest ways and means of monitoring and evaluation of programmes undertaken in these areas.
16. To suggest special budgeting and accounting procedures for implementing the sub-Plan for these areas.
17. The Commission may undertake any other studies that may be necessary and make any recommendations that it may deem necessary about welfare of the tribals.

Commissioner, Tribal Area Development

It is proposed to have a super-time scale IAS officer who will have the overall responsibility for programmes of tribal development. The following functions and duties will be discharged by the Commissioner, Tribal Area Development:

- (a) He will be responsible for overseeing the planning and implementation of all developmental programmes within his jurisdiction.
- (b) Ensuring that a coordinated and integrated approach is adopted by the different Government departments and agencies working in the areas by providing the funds for such programmes whether under non-plan, plan or other centrally sponsored schemes under separate budget heads to be controlled by the Commissioner. However, with respect to programmes administered by District Development Agencies the Commissioner will exercise his administrative and financial control by giving directions to the Chairman of DDAs or within the overall policy framework laid down by Government.
- (c) Transfer and posting of officers of these departments from outside the sub-Plan area or *vice-versa* will be done in consultation with the Commissioner, Tribal Area Development.
- (d) The Commissioner will have powers to issue directions to DDAs and to inspect their work. DDAs will refer to him all matters for which sanction of Government is required.

- (e) With regard to development programmes in other sectors:
- (i) Heads of departments and senior officers having jurisdiction in the area will intimate to the Commissioner, Tribal Area Development, at their earliest and not later than a month after the voting of the budget, financial allocations and physical programmes for the area.
 - (ii) Heads of departments and senior officers of the departments will provide information of progress of work, attend meetings and undertake tours as directed by the Commissioner, Tribal Area Development.
 - (iii) Transfer and posting of gazetted officers of these departments within the jurisdiction of the Commissioner or from outside and vice-versa will be done in consultation with him.

The Commissioner, Tribal Area Development, will send his observations at the close of each reporting year to the Secretaries to Government in the Administrative Departments concerned (C.S. in respect of Collectors) indicating the manner in which the concerned regional officers and Collectors of Tribal Districts discharged their duties, during the year in the annual confidential reports of these officers, along with the observation of the Secretary.

- (c) The Commissioner will be directly responsible for the implementation of programmes in the following key sectors except insofar as such responsibility is vested in DDAs:
- (i) Agriculture.
 - (ii) Arrangements for credit to meet the social, consumption and production needs of tribals.
 - (iii) Development and exploitation of forests.
 - (iv) Educational programmes up to the secondary level.
 - (v) Implementation of laws for :
 - (a) Prevention of alienation of land belonging to the tribals; and
 - (b) for protection against exploitation by moneylenders.

- (d) For programmes for which DDAs are made responsible the finalisation of annual programmes and project reports as well as implementation of such programmes will be done as per directions and advice of the Commissioner, Tribal Area Development.
- (e) Finalisation of plan, budgeting, the phasing and physical content and location of developmental programmes in all other sectors will be done in consultation with, and on the advice of the Commissioner or such consultative committee as he may constitute for this purpose.
- (vi) In order to enable him to discharge his functions the Commissioner will exercise the following powers within his jurisdiction:
 - (a) He will be vested by the Revenue Department with powers analogous to the erstwhile Divisional Commissioner to central and other officers and functionaries of the Revenue Department within his jurisdiction. He will be empowered to supervise the maintenance of land records, their correction, and the collection of dues.
 - (b) He will enjoy the powers of the Director, Agriculture; Registrar, Cooperative Societies; Chief Conservator of Forests; and Director, Primary and Secondary Education; with regard to his duties outlined above. He will exercise full administrative and financial control with regard to the programmes of these departments and their staff working within his jurisdiction. This will be facilitated.

At the field level, to look after the execution of social welfare programmes there are twenty District Probation and Social Welfare Officers. Each one of these officers has been given the charge of one or two districts where he has to look after the working of the departmental schemes. Similarly, for exercise of overall supervision over the administration of social welfare programmes a District Social Welfare Board has also been constituted in each district.

FUNCTIONS OF DISTRICT SOCIAL WELFARE BOARDS

- (i) to provide information regarding grievances and special needs of backward classes;
- (ii) to act as a channel of communication between the Director, Social Welfare and the district concerned;

- (iii) to give its opinion on issues referred to it by the Department of Social Welfare;
- (iv) to take suitable measures for the removal of untouchability and other social disabilities and eradication of other harmful practices and social customs prevalent among various backward classes in the district;
- (v) to render assistance to backward classes by bringing their needs and grievances to the notice of the local officers concerned;
- (vi) to launch propaganda drives among backward classes for educating them about their rights and removal of unhealthy social customs and habits prevalent among them;
- (vii) to suggest suitable measures conducive to the promotion of the welfare of the backward classes in the district in general.

The three-tier structure of panchayati raj with the zila parishads at the district, panchayat samitis at the block and panchayats at the village levels have also been charged with the execution of backward class welfare programmes. Under the pattern of panchayati raj adopted in Assam, Karnataka and Rajasthan the panchayats constitute the base of the pyramid, and are nearest to the people. These panchayats are the only directly constituted representative institutions, which provide the basis for indirect constitution of the higher bodies. The pattern of panchayati raj adopted in these States, being very much akin to the one suggested by the Balwantray Mehta Study Team Report, panchayat samitis constitute the pivot round which most of the activities of panchayati raj revolve. All executive powers and functions are vested in the panchayat samitis, as these are primarily responsible for the execution of the community development programmes. Besides, the community development programmes, the State Governments have also transferred almost all such schemes as were executed by the various departments of the State Governments at the block level prior to the panchayati raj in these States. Zila parishads at present are only advisory and supervisory bodies. In other States like Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Gujarat, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal (besides advisory, supervisory and coordinating functions), zila parishads have also been assigned executive powers in respect of limited spheres of operation. In all these States, administrative and executive functions have also been assigned to panchayat samitis. However, in Maharashtra, zila parishad is the strongest body and is thus vested with enormous executive powers with panchayat samitis merely serving as its executive agency.

As far as the mechanism for the execution of welfare programmes for backward classes is concerned, the Panchayat Samitis and Zila Parishads Acts enacted by almost all State Governments provide for the constitution of three or four subject-matter standing committees out of which one is generally a committee on social service/social welfare. The administration of welfare programmes for backward classes comes under the jurisdiction of the said committee. It would be appropriate to point out that though in order to abide by the statutory provisions contained in the relevant act, most of the States have constituted such committees at the panchayat samiti and/or zila parishad, yet on account of the preponderance of casteism and a sense of hatred towards the backward classes no attention whatsoever has been paid by these committees to the problems of welfare of these people. In fact, such committees have by and large remained defunct. In regard to the constitution of such committees at the panchayat level in most of the Panchayat Acts enacted by the States there is no provision as such. However, after the introduction of panchayati raj in some of the States like Rajasthan, administrative instructions were issued to panchayats by the State Governments to constitute such committees. However, in a large number of States no such committees ever came to be formed and in some of the States where these were formed they remained merely on paper.

The high power committee on panchayati raj appointed by the Government of Rajasthan which submitted its report to the Government in 1973, dealt with the issue of institutional mechanism for the administration of welfare programmes for backward classes at length. Although, the recommendations of the high power committee in this behalf have been made in the limited context of Rajasthan, deserves serious consideration by all the State Governments. The committee observed:

"Out of the 4 standing committees of zila parishad, one would be on social welfare. This committee would look after... scheduled castes and scheduled tribes.... This committee would consist of seven members elected from amongst the members of zila parishad with voting rights. The committee recommends that while the standing committee on social welfare should continue to function, a sub-committee specially for weaker sections should also be constituted which should consist of three scheduled castes/scheduled tribes members elected from amongst the members of zila parishad with voting rights. In the case of zila parishads having less than three scheduled castes/scheduled tribes members, the deficiency may then be made up by coopting the S.C./S.T. members on this committee by the voting members of the zila parishad. By convention, the recommendations of this sub-committee should be accepted by the standing committee on social welfare."

**DISTRICT VIGILANCE COMMITTEES FOR ABOLITION
OF BONDED LABOUR**

The latest innovation in the pattern of social welfare administration at the State level is the creation of district vigilance committees, the provisions for the establishment of which are contained in the Bonded Labour (System) Abolition Act, 1976. Section 13 of the said Act provides that:

1. Every State shall, by notification in the official gazette, constitute such number of vigilance committees in each district (and in each sub-division) as it may think fit.
2. Each vigilance committee constituted, shall consist of the following members, namely:
 - (a) the District Magistrate, or a person nominated by him, who shall be the chairman;
 - (b) three persons belonging to the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and residing in the district to be nominated by the District Magistrate;
 - (c) two social workers resident in the district to be nominated by the District Magistrate;
 - (d) not more than three persons to represent the official or non-official agencies in the district connected with rural development, to be nominated by the State Government;
 - (e) one person to represent the financial and credit institutions in the district, to be nominated by the District Magistrate.

It is most encouraging to note that within a very short time such committees have been constituted by all the State Governments and the speed and efficiency with which the legislation on bonded labour has been implemented clearly speaks of the commendable role that these committees have played in the eradication of this social evil. Although the duration for which these committees have been functioning is not long enough to pass any final judgement on the effectiveness of these bodies yet, as of today, the former could be characterised as one of the most effective administrative institutions created in the country after attainment of political independence by us.

NEED FOR REFORMS

From the preceding discussion, it is clearly discernable that a large number of agencies are functioning in this area by and large, independently of each other in most uncoordinated manner. There is not only duplication of effort and wastage of scarce resources but also a complete absence of an integrated and long-term perspective regarding the goals for the attainment of which all of these are working. Prof. Jagannadham in his study entitled "Social Welfare Organisations" made a very significant suggestion regarding this aspect of the problem of social welfare administration in the States. Prof. Jagannadham suggested that "there should be a State Social Welfare Council at the State level. This Council should be a review body. It will have representatives from State level voluntary organisations, academicians and social work experts." Such a State level body should be immediately constituted to function as the highest forum for exchange of ideas and for promoting better coordination and effective review of the performance of various State level social welfare organisations.

Secondly, any effort at reforming an administrative system or any significant part of it must envision comprehensive reforms in its structural, personnel and procedural aspects. Any attempt at introducing reforms in any one of these three aspects without caring to introduce necessary reforms in the remaining aspects may result in the futile exercise of tinkering with the problems of administrative reform. This is what is exactly happening in the area of social welfare administration in India. With the heavy emphasis that has been laid in the Fifth Plan on problems of tribal development and the comprehensive guidelines issued by the Planning Commission in pursuance thereof, efforts have been made by the State Governments to introduce structural and personnel reforms in this limited area of tribal welfare in a piece-meal manner. However, without going into the soundness of these reforms it has got to be emphasized that it would have been much better if reforms in the structural, personnel and procedural aspects of social welfare administration or at least the entire area of administration of welfare of backward classes had been envisaged. To make it more explicit, it would not be out of place here to draw just one example from the reforms suggested in the area of personnel administration for tribal sub-plan. The entire area of personnel policy was given very high importance by the Planning Commission. Thus the Working Group on Personnel Policy appointed by the Planning Commission dealt with the issue of establishment of a separate cadre for tribal administration and resolved that "it may not be very useful to establish a separate cadre at the top level as it might rule out the possibility of making a choice of personnel from a bigger cadre. Still wherever possible such cadres should be created." But, had the terms of reference of the Working Group included the question of desirability of having a larger social

welfare cadre or a cadre for welfare of backward classes with several sub-cadres, perhaps the recommendation of the Working Group would have been different and would have probably favoured the creation of a cadre even at the highest level. It may, therefore, be suggested that the most neglected aspect of the Indian administrative system, *i.e.*, social administration, is more seriously heeded to and problems of its reform that were excluded from the purview of ARC even are seriously examined by a separate reforms body.

It may also be suggested that before a comprehensive study of problems of reform is undertaken and the reforms suggested by such enquiry are implemented it is at once necessary to strengthen the various administrative agencies functioning in this area by providing them with the best and most suitable band of personnel for the proper and effective performance of their jobs. Similarly, it is also necessary to streamline their administrative structures and procedures of working so that these may be prevented from functioning in a regulatory manner like the law and order agencies. Thus, three significant measures need to be adopted in this behalf. First is that utmost importance has got to be given to the training of personnel functioning in these agencies in order to inculcate among them an altogether different administrative orientation. Secondly, the decision-making process has got to be modified in such a manner that quick and prompt decisions could be taken by decision-makers according to the exigencies of the situation and sufficient authority is devolved on the administrative officials at different levels to see their decisions through. The research and statistical units in social welfare agencies that are either non-existent or very poorly organised have got to be created (wherein such units do not exist) and strengthened and properly staffed. The area of social welfare of which welfare of backward classes forms an integral and significant part is a complex whole that requires a lot of research before the problems could be properly analysed and their solutions worked out.

To summarise the preceding discussion: the area of social welfare administration and welfare of backward classes has been the most neglected aspect of Indian administrative system and in which there is enormous scope for administrative reforms. Although, several administrative agencies in this area have been created from time to time in the past, a serious thinking and an integrated view of the problems involved in this delicate and strategic area of social welfare administration with a long-term perspective has never been attempted. Consequently, the pattern of social welfare administration presents a very discouraging and dismal picture today. There are administrative agencies but no adequate and competent staff. There are areas in which no agencies are functioning and at the same time there are areas where several agencies exist and are competing without purpose and wasting scarce community resources. Similarly, there are agencies, staff and equipment but

they have no commitment whatsoever towards the goals for the attainment of which the organisations they are serving stand. Thus, if the aims and objectives of social welfare cherished so very much by the framers of Indian Constitution and our national leaders are to be earnestly achieved, the problems of social welfare administration have got to be viewed with serious concern.



"To organize himself and his work more effectively, an executive must develop a 'talent for perspective' about himself and his job. . . . Without it, no pre-occupation with managerial techniques and time-saving tricks will be of any lasting avail."

—CARL HEYEL

(In *Organizing Your Job in Management*)

STATE ADMINISTRATION

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सम्पादक—डॉ. ब्रह्मदेव शर्मा

‘लोक प्रशासन’ में प्रकाशित कुछ चुने हुए लेख
जुलाई-दिसम्बर, 1975 वर्ष-शरद् (संयुक्तांक)

आदिवासी क्षेत्रों में औद्योगिक विकास के

लिए आयोजन

डॉ. ब्रह्मदेव शर्मा

प्रतिवर्ष नौकरशाही

रामबहादुर वर्मा

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विजय कुमार विशिष्ठ

औद्योगिक वृद्धिआजी और भारत की

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आदिवासियों का विकास—नयी कार्य नीति

ओम मेहता

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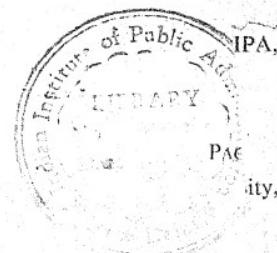
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ATTENTION : PUBLISHERS/AUTHORS

Books are reviewed in our columns by competent scholars. Publishers are requested to send *two copies* of new publications to facilitate early attention.

EDITORIAL

Agricultural development has a discernible connection with grassroot level democracy. The leadership that will be thrown up as a result of a local democratic set-up will help to bring into focus local problems, including those on the farm front, and take the planning process to the intimate level of the village community from a realistic angle. It is true, such an emerging leadership will initially tend to be vociferous about local needs and shortcomings. But, as Shri Haldipur explains in his article, while discussing the role of elected bodies and agricultural development in India, a balance can be expected, with a proper linkage between the local and national problems, as the leadership matures and fully understands its dual responsibility for the local community on the one hand and for the country on the other. Two more connected points claim our attention. There cannot be any improvement on the farm front by tackling its problems in isolation; in a tradition bound Indian village, it is the farmer's whole life in society that has to be thought of. The second point is, in a country of the size and variety of India, there can be no single, uniform, system or apparatus of local politicisation. A multi-pronged and integrated approach, which was basic to the community development movement, has not lost its relevance even in the more distinctly delineated area of greater agricultural production.

As planning grows more and more sophisticated, the cost of achieving a desired target in terms of men, material and time needs to be gone into with a lot more attention to detail than in the past. And public services will also be judged in terms of productivity. Productivity in administration can be reinforced to a large extent through managerial devices and insights. Shri R.L. Malhotra develops this theme in his article 'Work Study and Public Administration', and cites a few instances of mentionable improvement in office setting, space use, etc., as case studies in point. Work study and systems analysis and other connected techniques deserve to be used on a far larger scale in administration than at present and the result would be rewarding in terms of increased productivity and better public satisfaction.

Dr. Virendra Gupta and Shri G.K. Amar, in their article 'Objectives of Governmental Information Systems', carry this theme of measuring efficiency to another stage by dealing with management information systems as they are in this country now, and as they should be. In the past, and to a large extent even now, the information processing activity is confined to routine applications. At the macro level, some of the national information systems are, no doubt, designed to keep to a larger public objective; but the

others need to be similarly attuned and should really be service oriented and not just stop with helping the decision-maker.

The complex and manifold problems of increasing urbanisation pose a great challenge to administration. Probably some problems that may arise in the wake of this urbanisation process have yet to be identified. In any case, their character and dimension need more intensive study. An element of forethought has to be brought to bear in this crucial area. The possibilities of tackling the problems of under development within a planned framework require a systematic approach. It is not just a question of administrative strategy but of a wider socio-economic decision-making. Shri N.N. Vohra attempts to examine the problems and prospects of planned urban development in its broad context.

Some of the related issues have been touched upon by Shri M.L. Mehta in his article 'Urbanization and Economic Development'. Cityward migration, according to him, should be accepted as a non-reversible trend in this country and elsewhere too. Several factors are responsible, not all of them banal, though. The effort should, therefore, be to get the cities ready to accept and profitably absorb the immigrants and thus be generative rather than parasitic. Several cities may be generative to their immediate hinterland and parasitic to a wider area and the reverse could also happen. But there are features in an urban setting which can be put to use in development without necessarily being a drain on the rest of the country and without adding disproportionately to the social cost.

The problem of self-actualization in any bureaucracy is a difficult problem. It is a question of value-system as well as of personal philosophy and social ideology. Not many studies in our country have been made in this field. Indian bureaucracy, according to its critics, at its irreducible minimum, is an inheritance from the colonial days and the role of an individual bureaucrat in the set-up is hardly perceived in terms of self-actualization. He tends to work according to set rules and regulations handed down to him and he is considered efficient if he just adheres to them, and things move smoothly. But changing social and political ethos now prompts him to go farther and seek personal involvement and self-fulfilment. Shri Om Prakash Mehra analyses this problem in the Indian context and discusses the prospects for the three traditionally differentiated levels of executives in the country. It is true, the mores and modes of these levels differ, depending on their respective social background and their own personal order of preference as to what they expect from their jobs. But, more and more, according to Shri Mehra, at least the higher executives do seek personal identification with their work rather than merely exercise authority and it is possible that the functionaries at lower echelons also consider their job as something more than just a

mere means of livelihood. And the propelling force behind this transformation is not the individual executive's mental make up alone. External compulsions like political development, rural awakening, the increasing use of technology, etc., gradually build up a tempo which the executive, whatever be his rank, has to reckon with and readjust his attitude accordingly. Shri Mehra's is obviously a tentative study and many more scientific studies in this area are called for with a view to ensure greater public satisfaction and individual self-fulfilment in public services.

Another allied area is that of the morale of public servants. It is a matter of concern to the Government experts advocating administrative reforms and the public servants of the various categories themselves. Shri Haragopal and his associate have made an attempt to study some of the implications of morale in public service. They have taken in their sample functionaries working in the Andhra Pradesh. They belong to the Central Government, the State Government and even local bodies. The limitations of such a study are evident. But there is no doubt that scientific studies of this nature of various groups and organisations may help to provide the rightful perspective which may be operationally helpful in maintaining and improving the morale of public servants in the country.

Dr. Jabbra in his article deals with some facets of the problem of bureaucratic corruption in the third world with special reference to Lebanon. But this is just not only a third world problem as the developed countries are equally plagued by it though they may not always acknowledge it. But the developing countries cannot ignore its wide ranging impact on the faith of the people in their administrative and political institutions. It also brings out the dilemma of the motivated individual versus the monolithic system. According to the author, the third world is apt to waste its effort in trying to tackle bureaucratic corruption in isolation while the problem has wide social, political and institutional ramifications. One may again differ from Dr. Jabbra and maintain that what has gone right in England or elsewhere, in reforming society, in order to effect a change in its attitude to bureaucratic corruption, may not wholly apply to the third world today. One cannot easily forget that at one time Britain had one set of public morals for itself and an entirely different one for its colonies. In the last analysis, what will help the third world to get rid of this malady is its own societal vigilance and political will besides an adequate administrative system and its norms.

As an instrument of planned economic development of the country, population control has been India's accepted goal and there is no doubt about its validity and social significance. But some experts question whether the policy of population control followed in the country in the past has produced the desired result in terms of an arrested birth rate commensurate

with the cost and the effort involved in the programme. Dr. Uday C. Desai, writing on the formulation of population policy and its effect during the last two decades, argues that by and large the policy making effort was buffeted between the passing fancies of the decision-makers and the foreign experts who came to advise and help, and missed the target group by a wide margin. The result, according to him, is that the population growth trend has hardly been brought down. The recently announced national policy on population control and family planning, however, takes into account the experience of the past as well as the implementation lapses and has a more integrated view of policy issues which gives an altogether different complexion in regard to both acceptability and effectiveness. Dr. Desai acknowledges the value of this change.

Personnel management is important for any organisation and it is vital in the armed forces. Shri Vir Narain sets the problems in this area and suggests possible improvements all through the line in all the three wings of the armed forces in order to get the best out of a dedicated and highly trained section of our manpower. According to the author, the convergence between the military and civil establishments is striking and the reason is the vastly increased technological basis of modern warfare, resulting in the numerical preponderance of the technical and managerial over the combat posts. If, therefore, a military career becomes, in the author's language, a 'pseudo-profession' to the young men who join the forces, with the prospect of dependence on a low-grade second career subsequently, the initial quality of the forces will suffer. Shri Vir Narain raises many issues for improving the morale and motivation and optimisation of manpower resources in the defence organisation which seem to deserve detailed and dispassionate consideration.

In his article on water management in India, Shri P.N. Chary distinguishes the different types of water use and points out the need for conserving and judiciously putting to use the available supply and, at the same time, taking steps to tap the underground reserves for augmenting the present supply. Shri Chary is for linking the major rivers of the country by a system of barrages and canals with the dual purpose of arresting floods and extending water availability to the drought prone areas especially in the central part of the country. As the author points out, a scheme of this type had been propounded by Shri K.L. Rao, former Irrigation Minister. Apart from the technical feasibility which may not be in doubt, the political, administrative and financial considerations will also need much greater thought.

May we take this opportunity to wish the members of the Institute, our contributors, subscribers and readers all the best in the New Year.

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ELECTED BODIES AND AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA*

Ramdas N. Haldipur

"The future of Indian democracy as envisaged by Mahatma Gandhi will depend upon our ability to translate the aspirations of an awakened peasantry into proper institutional norms."

—V.V. Giri
Former President of India

THREE is a general tendency to look at agricultural development from the macro level. This is, of course, essential to provide the necessary policy direction, inter-sectoral linkages and institutions which can mobilise, and supply inputs and distribute the produce on a nationwide scale. However, modern agriculture is not 'commodity-specific' but works within a socio-economic system which operates in a spatial framework, with socio-economic compulsions.

In a developing economy, it is necessary to provide a total view of life not merely in terms of an input-output nexus but in a positive way of "modernization, democratisation and politicisation."¹ "Most farmers, everywhere, are substantially influenced by people among whom they live; they are affected by local traditions and values even in a highly commercial agriculture. Agriculture cannot move away from its setting in the midst of a

* A paper contributed to the Second International Seminar on "Change in Agriculture" organized by the University of Reading and Overseas Development Institute, London, from September 9 to 19, 1974.

¹ Iqbal Narain, "Emerging Concept", in M.V. Mathur and Iqbal Narain (ed.), *Panchayati Raj, Planning and Democracy*, Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1969, pp. 19-34.

rural culture, so programmes to change the rural culture advantageously can contribute to agricultural growth."²

Social changes have various dimensions—the social, political, economic and technological. These cannot develop at the cost of one another. Although short-term results may be considerable in one aspect of change, the initial thrust is likely to slow down its tempo subsequently and the development process could become halting. This is more so in the case of an old society on which a new nation has been super-imposed.

In his book, 'Modernizing Peasant Society'³, Guy Hunter describes the unique situation of 'ancient' social structure in a modern world emphasising that societies live and grow as a whole; technology and economies are dependent upon politics, administrative standards, education and even fundamental beliefs and values. Again in his book, 'The Best of Both Worlds?', he has pointed out that "it is difficult to transfer to developing countries, without great modifications, the institutions of technology of the twentieth century found in the developed countries and that yet equally they are not likely to follow the earlier European stages of growth, for their outer environment is not the fifteenth or eighteenth century but the twentieth century."⁴ This has created what may be called, "an inner contradiction of the co-existence of the non-contemporaneous."

ROLE OF ELECTED BODIES

In this context, it is important to examine the crucial role of elected local organisations, particularly with reference to India where size, the federal nature of its constitution, cultural and ecological diversity, different stages of development and entrepreneurial level pose problems of such complexity that any kind of uniform recipe for the entire country is impracticable. However, broadly, one could discern two parallel movements in the process of change. On the one hand, there is bound to be an effort to stabilize from the national level; on the other, there is a likelihood of the emergence of localized forces which may try to assert themselves. In a pluralistic society, it is essential to recognize and reconcile all these diverse elements. Smothering or steamrolling them at the local level into uniformity will not help the emergence of a national consensus.

² Mosher, A.T., *Creating a Progressive Rural Structure—To Serve a Modern Agriculture*, New York, Agricultural Development Council, Inc. 1969, p. 91.

³ Hunter Guy, *Modernizing Peasant Societies*, London, Oxford University Press, Institute of Race Relations, 1969.

⁴ Hunter Guy, *The Best of Both Worlds?*, London, Oxford University Press, Institute of Race Relations, 1967.

In ancient Indian literature there is a reference to village councils which discussed all matters concerning village welfare and regulated the social system. "Decentralisation was a matter of necessity in days of bad transport and communications such as existed in the ancient and medieval days and not an administrative device, deliberately adopted. Nor was decentralisation in India a matter of historical evolution in a political system where local people zealously guarded their autonomy as in Britain."⁵ The British rule altered the traditional form and gave the local bodies some municipal functions. Experiments in village panchayats were launched by the Congress Government in U.P., as early as in 1937.

Realising the importance of these institutions, the Indian Constitution laid down, under Article 40, as a directive principle of State policy, that "the State shall take steps to organise village panchayats and to endow them with such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as units of self-government". With the establishment of the community development blocks, it was felt necessary to streamline the process of administrative decision-making. A nominated advisory committee was introduced in 1954 to operate at the block level. Later, the Balwantrai Mehta Committee⁶ was appointed in 1957. It had recommended a three-tier system of local government— one at the village level, the other at the block/taluka level, and the third one at the level of the district.

The Gujarat State strengthened its district as well as block level bodies by giving adequate powers to the elected representatives. Maharashtra concentrated the powers primarily at the district level. Tamil Nadu, Rajasthan and Andhra Pradesh conferred powers on the middle tier and made the district council, at the top, only advisory in character. Thus a variety of experiments were conducted in the spirit of the deliberation of the fifth meeting of the Central Council of Local Self-Government (1959), which recommended that "while the broad pattern and the fundamentals may be uniform, there should not be any rigidity in the pattern.... What is most important is the genuine transfer of power to the people. If this is ensured, form and pattern may necessarily vary according to conditions prevailing in different States."⁷ The panchayati raj system, therefore, varies in terms of size, population, mode of election—in some cases it is direct, in others it is indirect—and powers and functions.

⁵ G. Ram Reddy and Seshadri, K., *The Voter and Panchayati Raj*, Hyderabad, National Institute of Community Development, 1972, pp. 6-7.

* Report of the Study Team on Community Development and National Extension Service, Planning Commission, New Delhi.

⁶ Jacob, George, *Readings on Panchayati Raj*, Hyderabad, National Institute of Community Development, 1967, p. vi.

DO WE NEED THESE BODIES?

The question before us is: "Do we need elected bodies at the local level?" One can argue both ways and probably the answer will be different in different countries, particularly in developing countries where there is need for creating social overheads and social reserve for laying the foundation of economic and political development. Modernisation is essentially a process—a movement from the traditional order to certain desired types of technology and associated forms of social structure, value orientation, motivation and norms. Western technology cannot easily be grafted on the traditional social structure and cultural norms; for its successful adoption certain essential pre-conditions must be satisfied. In initial stages, a limited number of innovations can be absorbed in the different aspects of culture, but for the 'critical take-off' stage, a conjunction of the pre-conditions becomes necessary. According to Walt W. Rostow, "among the many others, including a massive build-up of infrastructure, the building up of a new generation of men and women trained appropriately and motivated to operate a modern society is one of the most important conditions. This adds greatly to the complexity of the process and necessitates widely ramifying changes covering the entire spectrum of the traditional culture."⁷ But in doing this, a nation must not lose its identity.

A U.N. report on 'Measures of Economic Development for Under-developed Countries' says: "Men learn administration by participating in it. They, therefore, learn fastest in countries where self-governing institutions are most widespread." It is, however, true that such institutions are likely to be instruments of political power rather than the essential means to attain the goals of rural development, particularly in the developing countries and, therefore, some people advocate that the lower echelons of public administration could be enlivened to solve the problems of rural population under the dynamic and effective leadership of a good district officer. However, this would not in effect solve the problem because the processes of growth and development cannot be institutionalised unless there is a certain in-built device to make the apparatus responsive to the citizen by having locally elected bodies. While saying so, it is important to realise that decentralisation means a representative government, reflecting the needs and aspirations of the people. If elected people are not the true representatives of their interests, they can hardly serve any purpose. However, a beginning has to be made somewhere and at some time.

Ministerial and parliamentary remoteness from the actual inter-change

⁷ Dube, S.C., *Modernization and its Adaptive Demands in Indian Society* (Published by the Training Division of the Department of Personnel and Administrative Reforms, New Delhi, as Training Abstract 24, 1973).

between administrative organs and the citizens, particularly of the rural area, could be corrected by a process of devolution of powers to the lower levels. Such a process could also serve as an upward pressure so that the higher tiers function more purposefully by concentrating on national or State-level issues rather than pre-occupying themselves with the local needs, ventilating local grievances and concerning themselves with the transfer or criticism of local officials.

THE CONCEPT OF DECENTRALIZATION

Some amount of misunderstanding, however, has crept in due to lack of conceptual clarity about democratic decentralization. To my mind, decentralization certainly does not mean complete transfer of power to local bodies, even in matters pertaining to some aspects of local development and local administration. We cannot have, as some people have advocated, a charter of local government whose leaders are elected by a consensus. This is neither possible within the framework of a parliamentary democracy nor feasible in a complex society such as ours where the village community is not homogeneous. It suffers from structural and cultural contradictions with different interest groups and varying needs. Many so-called elected bodies hardly represent any such diverse interests.

One of the legitimate complaints against such elected bodies is that they are captured by vested interests—the village magnates, the money-lenders or the dominant caste. That is why there is a school of thought which maintains that the ends of social justice are better served at the national and the State levels. Roscoe Martin, for example, opposed complete transfer of power to local bodies on the ground that they would not be in a position to discharge a number of functions. According to him, "little Government is amateur, casual, often highly personal and even proprietary. They arouse little interest in people and are not free of politics."⁸

In spite of this strong debunking of local bodies, it is important to realise that there is need for a local safety-valve. In a critique of the Mehta Committee recommendations on decentralization, Arch Dotson expressed the view that "the team did not tackle on a more fundamental plane the basic question why democratic vigour is lacking."⁹ No plan, however well conceived, can be implemented without adequate political support and without the

⁸ Roscoe, C. Martin, *Grassroots*, Alabama, University of Alabama Press, 1957 (Reviewed in the *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. VIII, No. 3, July-September, 1962, pp. 426-427).

⁹ Dotson Arch, "Democratic Decentralization in Local Self-Government", *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. IV, No. 1, (Jan.-March), 1958, pp. 38-50.

willing participation of the people. "In fact any country that tries to accomplish the entire task of creating a progressive rural structure exclusively through national agencies denies itself the use of one of its most valuable resources; the creativity, enthusiasm and knowledge of local conditions of a large number of its own citizens."¹⁰ This gives scope to people for effective participation in the realisation of their local goals. "The politics of adult franchise and participation, and diffusion with decentralisation of political power that it entails, would lead to both more responsive and more integrated polity."¹¹

The basic concept behind elected local bodies is to create rural local agencies responsible for discharging select functions pertaining to development. It is not merely an agent of the State Government but an institution which can mobilise its own resources—both human and material—so that development can be energised and local leadership can be built up. While it can act as a check on local staff or ensure that they function effectively it is not intended to control that staff, particularly the technical functions for which the staff is intended.

The words of Aneurin Bevin, that "the whole art of local government is to estimate the effective catchment area for dealing with particular service before deciding where the boundaries of those services should be drawn", are very relevant. One must remember that decentralisation at lower levels is possible only if democracy is secure at the national level. Paul Appleby brought it out very appropriately when he said that "democratic decentralisation appears to suggest that decentralisation axiomatically enhances democracy. On the other hand, decentralised democracy correctly assumes that democracy has first been achieved through the establishment of a centralised governing institution designed to operate under popular control . . . it may, when it is strong enough, carry on some or all its functions through structures, which in various ways and in various degrees, are more than ordinarily decentralised when this is found to be effective, desirable and not nationally debilitating."¹² The final tests of any decentralisation are the efficiency of administration and national integration. Appleby, therefore, cautioned against too much decentralisation which is likely to create 'local egoism'.¹³

POLITICAL PROCESS IN DECISION-MAKING

Political decision-making is a major manifestation of political power

¹⁰ Mosher, A.T., *op. cit.*, p. xiv.

¹¹ Kothari, Rajni, *Politics in India*, Boston, Little Brown, 1970.

¹² Appleby, M.H., "Some Thoughts on Decentralised Democracy", *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, New Delhi (Special Number), Vol. VIII, No. 4 (October-December), 1962; aiming ..

¹³ *Ibid.*

and authority. It is very difficult to divorce the operation of the exercise of this power from any social or developmental situation where choices have to be made from amongst the various alternatives claiming the attention of the people. Any elected body at the grassroot level is bound to go beyond its initial humanitarian service or municipal role and seek power by aligning itself with higher tiers. It is inevitable for these institutions to become ladders for the local leaders, especially the ambitious ones to climb up and be a part of a political pyramid.

On the other hand, elections are great levellers and they educate the masses. It is during this period that some kind of interaction takes place between the elite and the masses. "As long as people who vote for panchayati raj bodies are the same ones who also vote for State and Central legislatures, it is very difficult to see how the leaders at the State and Central level would stand and merely watch the happenings at the lower levels with an air of superior indifference or patronising aloofness. Not only will the State and Central level leadership evince interest but also will use all the power and influence at its command to see that its own men are elected."¹⁴

In India, the elected bodies at the local levels are creatures of State Governments, which bestow power, responsibility and resources on them through legislation. They act as agents of the State Government in carrying out some sponsored programmes at the local level, and hence wield power and patronage. Therefore, members of the State legislatures in some States have been clamouring for permission to contest these posts at the local level.¹⁵ Indirectly, therefore, the party in power establishes political linkages with those in charge of these bodies. This is inevitable unless the local bodies have so dug in their toes that they can function on their own popularity by creating an impact on the people through political work and idealism. These bodies have hardly any resources and capacity to collect taxes and, therefore, they have to look up for funds to the State Government to implement development programmes. Initially, their role may be purely consultative to make suggestions or to complain. But this is only the thin end of the wedge. The pressures are bound to mount for increasing powers. Such political alignments have not always crystallised into a firm mould and such linkage is not based on any ideological or political commitments but mainly on considerations of political support for material benefits. Political parties also try to manipulate those who get elected to these institutions; and in this process, where patronage and favouritism afflict these bodies, bureaucratisation of the non-officials is bound to take place. There may be a certain

¹⁴ G. Ram Reddy and Seshadri, K., *op. cit.*, p. 12.

¹⁵ Haldipur, R.N. and Paramahansa, V.R.K. (ed.), *Local Government Institutions in Rural India*, Hyderabad, National Institute of Community Development, 1970, p. 8.

amount of interference in the location of development programmes though; however, the technical execution is usually left to the permanent officials.

A SYSTEM OF LINKAGES

The establishment of such linkages might, however, help a better perception of national goals and reconcile them with local needs. While resulting into a pipeline connection of power and leverage which may not effectively bring about the desired change in the countryside, such linkages may result into a better appreciation of national objectives, thus securing a proper feedback for policy formulation, implementation and coordination. These linkages would operate as useful inputs of the system once the leadership at various levels is purposive. It might function as an agent of political socialisation of the rural masses, afford constructive guidelines to the local leadership and those who operate as transmission belts to bring people into the national mainstream.

One of the merits of this system is the legitimisation of the political process. No group or community operates in a vacuum. Even if there are no elected bodies, there will certainly be different centres of political power representing the party in position at the State or the Centre. They are bound to impinge on the administration and the citizen in the decision-making process. We shall have such nodal points at various levels whether we like it or not. In an elected system, however, these leaders become accountable at least in the long run. Local people know their problems better and how and where a facility should be located. Bureaucracy, however sympathetic and imaginative it may be, can never be big enough or flexible enough to evolve a meaningful plan which can meet the diverse needs of the people.

On the contrary, not only do the political leaders at the village level build up links with their counterparts at higher levels but the officials are also likely to align themselves with the powerful vested interests at various levels, whether there are elected bodies or not; thus the advantages of development flow to the influential parties. There is a general impression that one can insulate bureaucracy and make it subserve the national goals of economic, political and social justice and bring to bear efficiency on the implementation of development programmes. In the rational bureaucratic conception, the central concern is with achieving internal efficiency through the maximum use of technical knowledge but very often we miss the point that such efficiency can not be attained without maximizing the involvement and participation of people so that they can act as a point of leverage on the bureaucracy to function in consonance with the interests of the public at large. It is impracticable for the administrator to remain in a cloistered seclusion. The unpalatable fact is that there is an accretion of official power and vested interests

even at the level of local bodies. The saying of Jesus Christ, "For whosoever hath, to him shall be given and he shall have more abundance but whosoever hath not from him shall be taken away even that he hath" (Mathew Chapter 13, Verse 12), which was said in a different context, seems to be true even in the socio-economic field. In one sense by creating elected bodies with a view to legitimise the political process, we may have the evil of greater exploitation. A sense of patronage can lend itself to greater strength by establishing linkages with higher tiers of the system. But, on the other hand, a stage is bound to come when upward pressures and articulation of public opinion are likely to compel elected bodies to be acutely sensitive to the needs of the various sections of the population. Probably election malpractices have to be initially tolerated. Till the community gets political maturity the country has to go through these processes, *i.e.*, till such time as politicisation minimises the evil effects.

Therefore, until these organisations achieve maturity, the permanent officials will have a key role to play in implementing development programmes, speedily and efficiently. In the initial formative stages when democratic bodies are yet to find their feet, the role of these permanent officials is both crucial and vital but this will certainly need a new value-orientation to the officials so that they fully identify themselves with the needs and urges of the weaker sections of the population and try to build up *such* local institutions which would be responsive to their diverse needs.

POLITICAL MATURITY—A PROCESS

"In the villages everything is a 'package deal'—political affiliation, personal friendships, party identifications, factional attachments, etc. Patronage, prestige-rating, caste alliances, feudalities, coercion and other malpractices, which are too well-known . . . to merit an elucidation, so affect the whole process of democratic election, that it is well-nigh impossible to arrive at any desideratum of people's participation."¹⁶ In spite of this, as John Dewey has remarked, "Unless local community life is restored, people cannot adequately resolve the most urgent problem—to find and identify itself. Neighbourhood face-to-face community is the house of democracy where alone are found vital, steady, deep human relationships." In developing countries this may take time because of illiteracy and poverty. But the very fact that they are enabled to elect their representatives is the only straw which we can hang on to, with the hope of bringing about change in the rural structure.

It takes time to have a truly representative system in villages,

¹⁶ G. Ram Reddy and Seshadri, K., *op. cit.*, p. 9.

particularly where we have sections having not one interest but a multiplicity of interests, till such time they can articulate their legitimate needs and find expression through the elected bodies.

A RATIONALE FOR LOCAL GOVERNMENT

While the capitalistic, free world and communist models have taken a concrete shape, a democratic-socialist model, particularly in a pluralistic society, is yet to emerge. "The moot point, therefore, is whether we should be satisfied with a system of informal pressure groups which very often have a hot line with the State or Central bosses, and who impinge on local administration without accountability to local population or whether we should legitimise the political process by establishing panchayati raj bodies which have to seek people's mandate from time to time."¹⁷ To some extent they provide the much needed anchorage to the local administration since they know what they want, where it is desirable to have; and unless there is local leadership, people's participation is not likely to be extensive.

New and progressive leadership cannot be created overnight to give a revolutionary character to the masses. Such leaders once selected shall have to have their energies canalised into developmental tasks and tempered by democratic accountability. They cannot expect the rural masses to remain for ever the same old dumb millions, as more and more politicisation takes place. The participative nature of elected bodies touching the very core of the rural life and shaking the traditional foundations at their roots has not been the less responsible for this transformation. This is necessary if modernization and acceptance of innovation whether it be in agriculture or for that matter in any other field is to take place.

Some of the empirical studies have shown that local elected bodies have accentuated the caste system and the village factions which already existed, and have now got a new dimension added on to sharpen the conflicts. Rival factions existed in the villages even before panchayati raj was introduced. But the introduction of the elected bodies has provided a new forum for their activities. On the other hand, there are many other studies to show that the elected bodies are gradually transforming the former caste factions into power factions and the new power factions frequently cut across the traditional bonds of family, caste and religion—alliances which cut across caste leadership, very often symbolising the rise of the underprivileged castes. A new realisation has dawned that inter-caste influence is necessary for electoral success and good relation with other caste influentials is a prerequisite. It is

¹⁷ Haldipur, R.N., "On Remodelling Panchayati Raj", *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, New Delhi, Vol. XVII, No. 3, (July-September), 1971, pp. 527-538.

the virtue of a democratic political system that it is able to achieve a voluntary unity in the face of diversities. The sanctity of traditional authority is disappearing and the political power structure is undergoing a change.

It is true that in the early stages, there is an increasing combination of pre-panchayati raj polities and new institutionalised politics; new factions cutting across old ones will emerge and the new leadership is likely to be more power-oriented than development-minded and that there may not be sharpness in the attitudes of the different political parties towards these institutions at the village level. One, however, has to admit that while these institutions have partly succeeded in raising the political consciousness of the people, they have not been able to have any significant impact on the stagnant rural economy though they could be a pace setter for economic and social development. This is probably "inevitable so long as provision has not been made for a basic minimum of welfare services, including public utilities, at the local level....Politicians will tend to do what is popular and that may work against investment in projects which have a longer run and more pay off."¹⁸

On the other hand, there is hopeful evidence that "the introduction of these bodies has changed the social system of the villages and people have started participating in the development programmes and there is a change in the power structure also."¹⁹ "The villages have become more vocal about their problems, more assertive in their claims and more critical of the shortcomings in the administration and of failures in the implementation of programmes."²⁰ This is bound to release new forces and create strains and tensions in the initial stages but such tensions are necessary if one has to go through the pains of change and modernization.

The nationwide NICD Survey (1967) revealed that villagers preferred panchayat leaders to traditional leaders and government officials and these leaders were responsible for popularisation of improved agricultural practices.²¹

THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE SOCIETY

Gandhi, a day before his death, reiterated that economic and social

¹⁸ Jacob, George, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

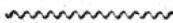
¹⁹ Sarveshwar Rao B. and Ramana, K.V. "Panchayat Samitis: A Case Study in Andhra Pradesh" in George Jacob (ed.), *Readings on Panchayati Raj*, Hyderabad, National Institute of Community Development, 1967.

²⁰ Khanna, B.S., "Some Empirical Observations in the Punjab Context", in M.V. Mathur and Iqbal Narain (ed.), *Panchayati Raj, Planning and Democracy*, Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1969, pp. 342-51.

²¹ Sen, L.K. et al., *People's Image of Community Development and Panchayati Raj*, Hyderabad, National Institute of Community Development, 1967.

independence have to be worked out in terms of the masses. He wanted a large scale democratisation of power and authority. The participation of the individual is necessary to provide support to social and economic changes and it functions as a stimulation of response of individuals to society. It is necessary because the total burden of development is very great and has to be borne by communities which have to be made strong and vigorous by developing local leadership which is perceptive and can well decide what is in their interest. Increased participation in planning will also result in removing the dichotomy between planning and implementation.

William Grahman Sumner in his aphorism said, "State ways do not change folk ways." How true is this? To provide effective service, we shall have to tailor the programme or the policy to suit local needs. Certainly the State Governments would be hesitant to part powers with the district council, but in due course such councils will have to have regulatory and planning functions so that the process of decision-making is pressed downwards to a lower level where there is competence for effective administration and micro-level planning. The middle tier will have to be given the executive functions since they are nearer to the people and can, therefore, make implementation realistic and manageable; and at the village level maintenance functions will have to be enjoined on the functionaries so that they look after whatever assets that have been created in the village. That will give the people a stake in what they are doing. In the words of Nathan Glazer, "In a complex society, people are probably the best judges of their own interest, and the role of Government must increasingly be to create an environment that permits them to seek their best interests freely."



"... Administration is meant to achieve something, and not to exist in some kind of an ivory tower, following certain rules of procedure and, Narcissus-like, looking on itself with complete satisfaction. The test after all is the human beings and their welfare."

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU
(Address at the *Inaugural Meeting, IIPA, 1954*)

WORK STUDY AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

R.L. Malhotra

Ring out the old—ring in the new:
Ring out antiquity—ring in modernity.*

Not so long ago, in 1962, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru remarked:

“Work study, almost a new idea, has come to us in order to improve our administrative methods, to streamline them and make them efficient and effective.”

And again, a decade later, in 1972, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi reiterated:

“The challenges which confront our country... make it imperative for us to aim at higher returns on our investments in agriculture, in industry, in transport, in the defence and civil administration. We must increase productivity all round.”

THESE were no chance observations. These were exhortations from the heads of Government to improve productivity in public administration.

Many of the ills of public administration today stem from rigidity of attitudes, absence of review techniques, and inadequate appreciation of the factors that motivate men. Generally, it is not realized that the nascent productivity sciences play a vital role in promoting ‘productivity’. Work study, in particular, can reduce the wastes arising from undue delay in decision-making, and in communication; from underutilization of skills; and from inadequate use of resources—time, equipment, men, money, material and space.

Today, the nation is being geared for a better allround performance, and the country is called upon to meet various challenges. With the growing emphasis on increasing productivity in public services, in nationalized banks, in public sector undertakings, and in the ‘sick’ industries committed to the care of public agencies—O & M, which is work study in office systems,

* With apologies to Lord Tennyson.

would play an increasingly vital role in the years ahead. And organisations that do not draw on modern management techniques would trail behind.

Several work study teams guided by the Management Services Wing of the Institute of Secretariat Training & Management, New Delhi, were commissioned by a major public service organisation created in 1940. This organisation controls the work of regional commissioners in the matter of internal audit, performance of field offices, disposal of appeals, etc. It also holds several departmental examinations.

The work study teams analysed space utilisation, management of records, flow of papers, collection of taxes, operation of the cash section, and reports and returns. Three of the case studies are presented here. These were completed in a period of 5 weeks during June and July, 1973.

CASE STUDY I

Office Layout: The management felt that layout of the office was faulty. Clerks were cramped, and record storage was bursting at the seams. The output of the office was small and, generally, discipline was lax. Too much paper movement; too much staff movement; and many other symptoms of an inadequate layout were noticeable.

The drawbacks highlighted by the Management Services Team were:

- (i) space allocation was not functional,
- (ii) flow of papers was criss-cross,
- (iii) work environment was poor,
- (iv) supervision was remote as all junior officers—the first level supervisors—worked in rooms away from their staff, and
- (v) out of 4,800 sq. ft. of space in the office, 950 sq. ft., i.e., nearly one-fifth, was taken up by a circuitous corridor running all along officers' rooms to an adjoining sister organisation.

The Team made the following short term recommendations:

- (a) reception be provided near the entrance to guide visitors, and to restrict entry into work areas,
- (b) seating plan be modified to avoid criss-crossing of papers, as also to provide for proper grouping of staff,
- (c) junior officers incharge of Examinations, Administration, and Audit be seated in the large office-hall adjacent to their staff, conforming to a partial 'open-plan' office,

- (d) a corner room be earmarked as Quiet Room—the junior officers' study,
- (e) a large room be set apart for the library,
- (f) active records be placed near the staff in 4 ft.-high cupboards (with sliding doors), and inactive records be stored in a back-room,
- (g) fire-fighting equipment be installed, and
- (h) noisy equipment be segregated.

Disposal of redundant furniture, obsolete typewriters, and unwanted stores opened office space. The old congestion vanished, and discipline improved.

The long term plan provided for re-routing of the corridor to release additional space for staff. (But implementation of the long term plan was not taken up as there was no current need for more space.)

CASE STUDY II

Record Management : As mentioned earlier, this organisation was set up in 1940. Over the years, thinning and weeding out of files had been neglected and there were piles and piles of worthless papers stored in costly containers. Excessive unwanted records cramped the office and made retrieval of information both difficult and time-consuming.

An analysis showed that the number of files in each branch was as under:

	Pre-1970 records	1970-72 records	1973 records
Exam Br.	2,381	321	134
Audit Br.	—	902	950
Appeal Br.	—	3,121	714
Inspection Br.	—	81	42
Admn. Br. ^a	8	234	14
	2,389	4,659	1,854

The Examination Branch and the Appeal Branch showed considerable potential for improvement. Of the 2,381 Examination Branch files over 3-year old, only about 200 pertained to policy matters. These were retained,

but considerably thinned. Weeding out and destruction of the remaining files released 450 ft. of shelf-length. Besides, answer books for departmental examinations, whose results had been announced over a year ago, were also burnt. This saved further 120 ft. All this space became available for staff, as 25 steel racks, hitherto in use for stacking those records, were transferred to a sister office.

The files in the Appeal Branch contained statistical data for abstraction into periodical reviews of performance. After the issue of the reviews, these files became redundant and their retention was without purpose. These old files, too, were destroyed.

The team also recommended that for easy retrieval of information:

- (a) an index of records be maintained,
- (b) almirahs be labelled to indicate the types of records, and the year to which they pertained,
- (c) inactive records be segregated, and
- (d) active records (suspended in manila-folders) be kept near the dealing assistants.

CASE STUDY III

Cash Section : The management felt that despite adequate staff, the working of the cash section was slow. There was delay in payments to employees and to suppliers, and an overall slackness was noticeable.

The Management Services Team recommended that:

- (a) preparation of bills, and their presentation at the Treasury be consolidated and visits to the Treasury restricted to 3 in a month,
- (b) staff salaries be tendered in pay packets, containing the exact amount due, to reduce 'queuing' time, and
- (c) the cashier be shifted from the large office hall to a private cabin, for greater concentration.

The cost of implementation of these recommendations was as under :

Office Layout	Rs. 8,500	non-recurring
Record Management	4,000	"
Cash Section	2,500	"
	Rs. 15,000	

For proper accounting, to this must also be added an estimated Rs. 10,000 for management services consultancy fees @ Rs. 250 per day. (In the instant case, the Institute of Secretariat Training & Management provided complimentary services).

As against these, the equipment discarded—racks and almirahs, tables and chairs and obsolete typewriters—was alone worth Rs. 30,000. And there were other visible and invisible gains too.

The expenditure on 'telephones, postage & telegrams' came down thus:

1972-73	Rs. 48,951
1973-74	Rs. 25,443
1974-75	Rs. 22,224

Cumulatively, these studies streamlined procedures of work, accelerated the flow of papers, improved supervision, quickened information retrieval, and brought about a better utilisation of resources. Among the many gains in the cash section, a mention must be made of the improved staff morale, greater supply satisfaction, and also discounts on prompt payment of bills. Undisturbed, the cashier worked faster, and committed fewer errors.

Public services are currently struggling against poor productivity, but ergonomics which is broadly concerned with man's environment for work has made little headway in public agencies, except in defence establishments. Poor work environment leads to low productivity; and in public offices, as elsewhere, the cost of financing low productivity is invariably high.

Many organisations labour under the impression that they have a chronic shortage of professionally qualified and trained officers at the operative levels for handling their day-to-day tasks. But they are oblivious to the need of matching jobs to skills and to a fuller utilisation of executive time. (Time is a unique resource, and its supply is inelastic.) Prolonged conferences, numerous visitors, innumerable telephone calls, and jarring call-bells—all dissipate valuable time and energy, and are counter-productive.

Then, think of the commonly spoken of scarcity of stenographers when stenographic pools are few and far between and, not uncommonly, short-hand writers are partly utilised on non-stenographic duties as receptionists or personal clerks.

Time-wastes may arise from Parkinsonian overstaffing, malorganisation, malfunctioning—any, or all of them; and O & M can find many ways

for improving the efficiency as also the effectiveness of public organisations. Further, improved practices would reduce delays in disposal of public business, and at many counters serpentine queues would vanish.

In large cities, office accommodation may cost more than staff salaries! Space planning will mean better returns on the capital invested in public buildings, and economy in the use of space would cut down rent bills and save overheads. Management information systems—without which all plans can go awry—are dear to every top-flight executive and can best be taken care of by work study analysts.

Not only that. In finding solutions of macro-level problems, work study and systems analysis could be even more rewarding. In determining priorities for socio-economic goals; in increasing effectiveness of organisational structures; in improving the urban systems; in optimising resource mobilisation; and, generally, in waging a war on waste, a systems approach¹ would circumvent many a pitfall. Else, such grotesque results may appear as were noticed in several countries of the western world which found that sympathy for the poor had misfired and that giving of doles to the needy worked against its own objectives. (A foreboding for the developing nations!) The middle classes got the jobs spawned by welfare programmes and the less well-to-do paid, at least in part, for salaries of the welfare staff with their taxes. Besides, the beneficiaries lost in self-esteem, became indolent and ever more dependent on their government.

The circle thus completed, those countries are looking anew at the multi-faceted problems of poverty and deprivation. Effort is now more directed at the root causes of poverty, and novel fiscal concepts like negative income-tax² are at the threshold.

Work study personnel often meet with resistance from quarters apprehensive of oncoming changes. Also, the analysts operations make inroads into the time of busy executives and, for this and other reasons, are resented. Hence, the need for conducting work study appreciation courses for top management, for middle level administrators and for the junior staff. These would go a long way in making the work study analyst a welcome friend.

For far too long, efficiency and economy have been the sole criteria by which to judge a public service. But following their rapid growth, even some

¹ The 'systems approach' is, simply, a way of thinking about the components of a system, and their relationship.

² The N.I.T. links welfare measures with personal taxation by providing a graded supplement—negative income-tax—to those citizens whose incomes are below the subsistence level.

efficient organisations have developed an indifference to public opinion and insensitivity to employees' needs. This suggests that something has been lacking. And that something is public relations. Public relations is an attitude of mind. It's a philosophy of management that aims *inter alia* at harmonising and dovetailing the conflicting interests within, and without, an organisation. Timely PR analysis can reduce staff dissatisfaction and make public policies more readily acceptable to citizens. Public cooperation would help streamline procedures of work, simplify enforcement of laws, eliminate waste and improve productivity all round and, thereby, lower the cost of public services. And employee empathy would hasten achievement of government's goals, improve its image, and culminate in a happy fruition of public policies.

Why do employees just sit around, or cut short their working time? Can fewer men do more work? Why don't papers move fast? And what can be done to improve the channels of communication, and to reduce the levels of decision-making in an organisation. Myriads of such questions will be asked of work study practitioners—whether permanent staff, or consultants—entrusted with the responsibility of improving the productivity of public agencies.

Let their's be a voice that would be heard.



"In all countries, Government has become the biggest employer of scientists and everywhere there is a search for systems of Government in which public servants can carry out their work with competence, consciousness and courtesy, that is, without degenerating into the popular conception of a bureaucracy. 'Bureaucrats'—and I am using the word in quotes—are those who think of their own power and privileges rather than people's good. Our aim is not to have a service of this kind but to have an efficient and impartial civil service."

SMT. INDIRA GANDHI, Prime Minister,
while inaugurating the Conference of
the Chairmen of Public Service
Commissions—November 15, 1976.

OBJECTIVES OF GOVERNMENTAL INFORMATION SYSTEMS

Virendra Gupta and G.K. Amar*

INFORMATION is now recognized as a valuable resource and has been termed as one of 'The 8 M's'—men, materials, machinery, money methods, markets, moments and messages—a term used for information.¹ Traditionally, a management information system (MIS) is defined as a process in which data are accumulated, processed, stored and transmitted to the management for the purpose of providing information on which to base management decisions. Such information systems (IS) are designed for the exclusive use of internal administration and their primary objective is to improve the decision-making in the particular organisation. This objective, no doubt important for the immediate user organisation, is rather narrow from the society's point of view. This paper attempts to present the philosophy that the social objectives of IS are more important, specially so, in the government. The object of government is the welfare of the society. People are the ultimate beneficiaries of all government activity. The governmental IS, if they have to be user oriented, must be designed to meet the basic needs of the people at large.

Computers, as the very name suggests, were invented and developed as computing, calculating, and counting machines. The professionals who used the early computers were interested in solving abstract problems and development of hardware. This subservient attitude towards the almighty machine took hold of the pioneer designers and users of computer systems, and was transmitted to their disciples. Their main energies were directed towards getting working programmes and reliable computers, rather than understanding and helping people to put information processing to work. Although it has been discovered that computers may be applied to practically any form of information and human knowledge, not much has been done to correct the imbalance. It is time we start thinking about computer as a tool for social change, and information technology as a means to solve problems.

"Let it be clearly understood that contrary to popular belief, computer

*Paper presented at the CSI-76, Hyderabad, January 1976.

¹di RoccaFerrera, G.M. Ferrers, "Managers, Deterministic Models, and Computers", *Advances in Computers*, Vol. 12, 1972, Academic Press (Book), pp. 37-72.

technology is the only hope that all people have of being treated as human beings in an increasingly dehumanizing government apparatus.”²

The U.S.A. has been one of the pioneers in the computing field, starting their activity in mid-forties. However, it took them more than two decades to issue some kind of policy directive. President Johnson, in his June 28, 1966, Press Release³ had stated:

“I, therefore, want every agency head to give thorough study to new ways in which the electronic computer might be used to

- provide better service to the public
- improve agency performance
- reduce costs.”

In spite of this directive, Sackman in 1971, while discussing the social responsibility of the professionals in the U.S., lamented, “Computer scientists, who are spawning perhaps the greatest revolution of them all, the information revolution—the reconstruction of human knowledge—have yet to respond in a socially significant manner to the imminent extension of mass information services for the general public.”

As late starters, we in India, are at an advantage to take a leaf from the experience of the developed countries. If they have not regarded public at large as the ultimate beneficiary, should we also commit the same mistake? Even the U.N. Report, ‘The Application of Computer Technology for Development’⁴ mentions about leap-frogging as a strategy to be adopted by the developing countries. It is, therefore, our thesis that governmental IS should be people oriented. This can be accomplished only if the professionals, in the field of information, make conscious, concerted effort in this direction.

GOVERNMENTAL INFORMATION SYSTEMS

For the purpose of our discussion, we shall divide the Government activity into the following four segments:

1. Urban and Local Governments,
2. State Government,
3. Central Government, and
4. Autonomous undertakings.

²Weiner, Myran E, *Service: The Objective of Municipal Information Systems*, Institute of Public Service, The University of Connecticut, 1969, p. 23.

³Awad, Elias M., *Business Data Processing*, Prentice Hall, 2nd Ed., 1968, pp. 20-21.

⁴*The Applications of Computer Technology for Development*, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, United Nations Report, Sales no. E 71. II. A.

The above classification does not have well defined boundaries. There may be some overlap. For example, an IS for health may be covered under any of the above categories. The above classification is, therefore, only from the point of view of convenience.

Urban and Local Governments

With rapid urbanisation, the municipal governments have to deal with complex problems. They have to tackle problems created by a high density society, have to deliver a wide range of services to the community, and have to allocate resources to structure the type of society we have set out to achieve. The traditional role of our municipalities is undergoing a transformation with the result that the local governments are being called upon, more and more, to exercise a key role in controlling the development of community life. It is now being realised that the municipal governments are potentially speaking the only true effective instruments of social change.⁵

Municipal IS will go a long way in enabling our local and urban governments in playing these new roles. Our progress to date in the field of developing municipal IS is almost nil; an area of vital importance is lying completely unexplored and serves as a challenge to the information scientists. Have we accepted this challenge? To quote from Prof. Stanley Gill's presidential address to the British Computer Society in 1968, "we are surely better equipped than the average citizen—dare I say than the average politician—to foresee the consequences of our technology or to judge how it should be affected... there is scope to influence the course of events. And we have a duty to influence them. How can we exert this influence? Broadly there are two ways open to us. The first is through the direction of our professional work, by choosing which projects to work on... by refusing to implement undesirable features, and if necessary, by going on strike.... The second way is by moulding public opinion through persuasion."⁶ (emphasis added). Taking a cue, the Indian Institute of Public Administration has done some spade work for developing an information system for a municipality. It is proposed to select a medium sized municipality, study it in totality—its functioning and the organisational structure, and then design an IS which would have its major focus on:

- (i) fulfilling citizen's basic needs, and
- (ii) providing information for decision-making.

⁵Weiner, *op. cit.*

⁶Sundaram, Brig. V.M., *Computerisation—The Professionals View*, unpublished internal memo.

Like any other system, an IS also has to be dynamic—it has to be regularly evaluated and improved. Keeping this aspect in view, the IIPA intends to have a long term association, say 5-7 years, with the municipality selected. This would help us in conducting longitudinal surveys.

There is no denying the fact that our present local and urban governments are not problem, programme or people focused; on the contrary, people must orient themselves to the government bureaucracy. Today's municipalities are like closed multidoor houses, where we expect the citizens (those who want any service) to enter, and find their way through the various doors that can only be opened by those who know how to operate in the present system.⁷ The present IS (if you can call them information systems at all) are closed systems from the public point of view. The future IS must be open to the extent that citizens have free access to information to fulfil their basic service needs. "How much better would it be to have the individual's needs handled by one professional in a comprehensive fashion? With the advent of integrated IS, the knowledge and ability to provide a full range of available services is now feasible through one intake professional who acts as a waitress of services. In short the primary beneficiary of municipal IS must be the public and only secondarily the bureaucrat and professional⁸. Downs says that "all final payoffs from urban data systems consist of improvements in the effectiveness of decision-making."⁹ Criticising this, Weiner rightly says, "It is my contention that this is only secondary, a by-product of such systems; the most important payoff, one in which the ultimate payoff can be measured, will be in service payoffs: To what degree will the tax payer be serviced directly by municipal information systems so that their quality of life can be improved." As an illustration, we could consider the following situation.

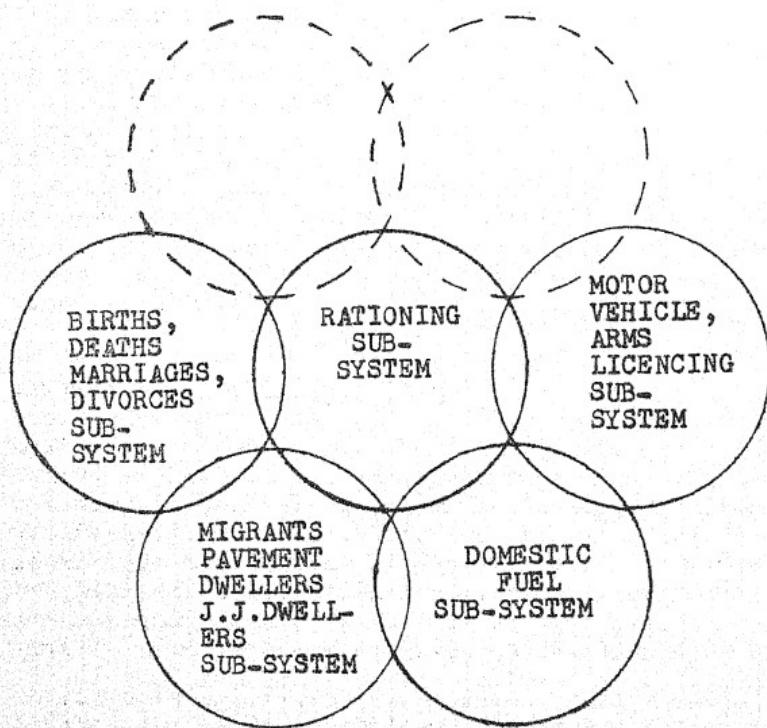
At present, if one wants to get a new member added to one's ration card because of a new arrival, one has to personally go to the rationing circle, have the nerve breaking experience of finding one's way through a number of queues and counters, filling the required forms, and completing other formalities. One would be lucky if one gets the ration card back the same day, after proper endorsement. If the new arrival was a birth in the family, when the child attains the age of eight years, once again the rationing department has to be approached for increasing the number of units. On the contrary, if we have an IS, with rationing as one of the sub-systems, the changes mentioned above could be effected automatically with the sub-system dealing with births/

⁷Rangnekar, Sharu S., "Theory and Practice of Corruption", *The Public Administrator*, February, 1973, The Institute of Public Administration, Maharashtra Regional Branch, pp. 72-73.

⁸Weiner, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

⁹*Ibid.*, p. 29.

deaths/marriages/divorces feeding the data to the rationing sub-system. The rationing sub-system could also generate appropriate data regarding migrants, pavement and jhuggi-jhompri dwellers (if any). This is likely to be important in the context of work permits which may be introduced in some of the metropolitan cities. Similarly, the domestic fuel sub-system, dealing with cooking gas, kerosene oil, firewood, coal, etc., could also interact with the rationing sub-system. The motor vehicles and arms licensing sub-system, as also the primary education sub-system, could share data with other sub-systems. The list mentioned above is only illustrative. All these sub-systems, when integrated, could go a long way in providing prompt and useful service to the public, as also would help the planners and decision makers in the local governments. An added advantage would be that the need for frequent ad hoc surveys and data collection would get obviated, once we have a comprehensive data base. The strategy for designing such large IS is beyond the scope of this paper and has been discussed elsewhere.¹⁰



¹⁰Amar, G.K. and Gupta, Virendra, "MIS Design in Practice: Some Reflections", Paper presented at the seminar on Computer Based M.I.S., SIET, Hyderabad, Sept. 1975.

State Governments

The IS mentioned in the previous section is, by and large, local, and such systems need not necessarily have any linkage with other similar systems, operating in other locale. However, at the level of the State Government, there is a need for systems which would require intra-as well as inter-State sharing of data. Examples of a few such systems are given below.

Crime Information System, dealing with crime, criminal *modus operandi* and fingerprint records. Fortunately, such systems, already being designed and/or operated in certain States, are by and large public oriented. Criminals who do not recognise any geographical boundaries are likely to find their operation increasingly difficult, once such IS start using the data and sharing it for intra- and inter-State operations for detection of crime.¹¹

Industry Promotional Information System. An entrepreneur, who wants to set up a small scale industry needs pre-investment information to decide what to manufacture, at what price, and at what location, so as to make the venture viable. He also needs to know the availability of the raw material and other inputs as also the facilities he is likely to get from financing organisations, Directorate of Industries, and other agencies responsible for promotion and development of certain sectors and geographical areas. The SIET Institute, Hyderabad, has developed an experimental pre-investment information system on these lines.¹² This should provide impetus to the State Governments, particularly the industrially backward ones to launch operational systems of this type.

Health Care Information Systems. Health care in India is a State subject. Today, there are a large number of agencies at different levels, not necessarily, all government, which are responsible for implementation of various health programmes. Not much concerted effort is possible to identify the sections of society which need these services the most. This is due to the fact that not adequate information exists at the State level. The Government of Andhra Pradesh, Health Directorate, is planning to have an IS for health administration, which would be used for planning, formulation of major policies, monitoring the performance of the various health programmes, and studying the trends in health care needs and services in the State.¹³ Although the

¹¹Krishnaswamy, N., "The Computer in the Prevention and Detection of Crime", Paper presented at the 9th Annual Convention of the CSI, March 1974, Madras.

¹²Haravu, L.J. and Seetha Rambai N., "Pre-Investment Information and Computers", Paper presented at the Seminar on Computer Based Information Systems, SIET, Hyderabad, Sept., 1975.

¹³Ravindra, K., "A Computer Based Information System for Health Administration", Paper presented at the Seminar on Computer Based Information Systems, SIET, Hyderabad, Sept., 1975.

objectives of this system list out health care as one of the aspects, the major emphasis seems to be on administrative decision-making. It is hoped that when other State Governments embark upon similar ventures, they would focus their systems towards the needs of the weaker (in terms of health care and not necessarily income) sections of the society.

It might seem to be a far fetched idea but will it not be desirable that (health) history sheets of all individuals are maintained, and at the time of his/her transfer from one place to another, the history sheet is also transferred. It seems that such systems of health care exist in some socialist countries. It is, however, debatable to what extent such a system can work in practice in India.

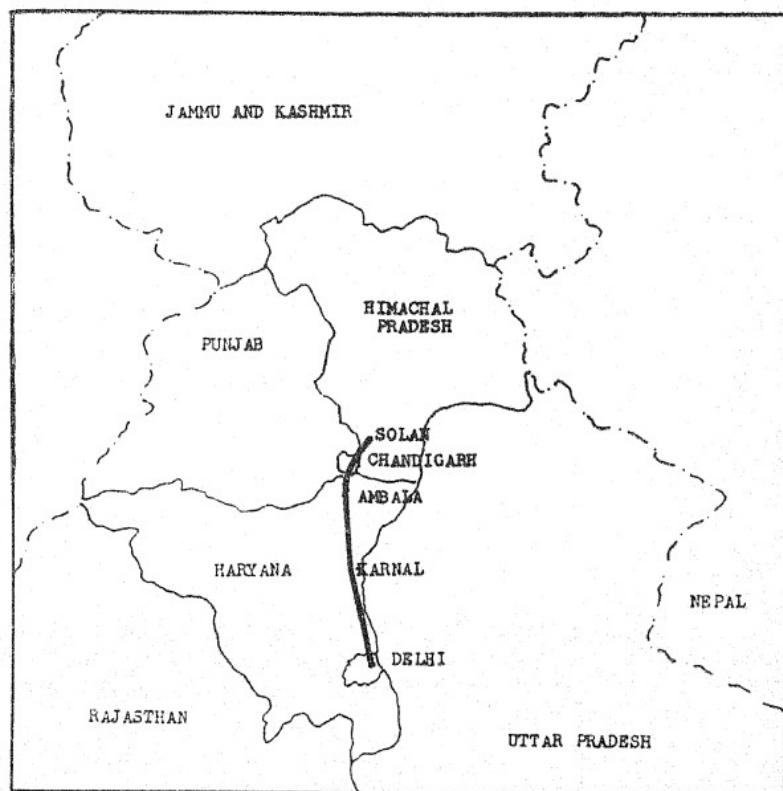
Inter-State Accounting Information Systems. In situations where a transaction concerns more than one administrative unit, e.g., a few State transport corporations, quite often the system of maintenance of accounts is built to suit the administrative convenience, disregarding difficulties faced by the public. To give an example, if one wants to travel by a direct bus from Delhi to Solan (Himachal Pradesh), one may be issued as many as five tickets of different denominations, each accounting for the distance one has to travel in the different States [Delhi, Haryana, Chandigarh (Union Territory), Punjab, Himachal Pradesh]. Besides consuming time in issuing the tickets, while the passengers are exposed to sun, rain, cold, etc., an average citizen finds himself lost after getting such a large number of tickets. If, on the other hand, a single ticket is issued, it would solve many problems, including the saving in paper and printing costs. The Indian Railways do issue a single ticket, no matter how many zonal railways one is passing through. This is because they have an inter-railway accounting system. The international airlines also have a similar arrangement.

Central Government

At the Central Government level, we have to think of national information systems which play a vital role in planning and policy formulation for the social uplift of the country. Such systems, by and large, fall into the category of macro-systems. NISSAT¹⁴ is one such system and although it is not yet operational, it appears from the proposed design that the system does have the administrator as also the representatives of the public in mind, as users. In another wing of the Government of India, namely, the Department of Social Welfare¹⁵, thinking has started to have an information and monitoring

¹⁴NISSAT Department of Science and Technology, GOI, Proposal for India-US Joint Commission Meeting, October 1974.

¹⁵Integrated Child Development Services Scheme, Department of Social Welfare Government of India, New Delhi, July, 1975.



system for their newly started project—integrated child development scheme. The project aims at the delivery of a package of services(supplementary nutrition, immunisation, health check-up, referral services, health and nutrition education and non-formal pre-school education) in an integrated manner to pre-school children. The objective of the information and monitoring system will be to feedback the necessary information from the grassroots level to ensure that the services are being delivered to the needy children in the manner planned. In fact, information and monitoring systems are required for all national programmes such as SITE, T.V., radio broadcasting services, family planning, malaria eradication, etc.

Another good example of a service oriented IS can be found in the 'central exchange' of the department of customs and excise. This system is being designed for 'ensuring uniformity in assessment matters', pertaining to the excise and customs duty that is levied on any commodity. In the present

system, the amount of duty levied depends to a great extent on the subjective judgement of the assessing officer. Once the proposed IS is operational, everybody will be charged at a uniform rate. Further the directory (resulting from the system), containing tariff rates for all commodities, would be available to the public.

It will be observed that the nationalised airlines are trying to have a system for their passenger reservations. This system, no doubt, is public oriented to the extent that it aims at providing a better service to the passengers. However, it is debatable if that should get the priority over a system, for example, for the Indian Railways. Who are the users of the airlines? Perhaps not even 2 per cent of the upper strata of the society. On the other hand, the railways cater to the needs of a much wider section. Does it not, therefore, call for deciding priorities even for a public oriented IS? A national policy in this regard (we hope we have one) would perhaps sort out such issues.

Autonomous Undertakings

It is not always found that the public sector undertakings, which have IS, have kept the focus towards public good. Generally, their systems are designed to help in administrative decision-making.

While designing an MIS for one of the public sector undertakings, dealing with the hire-purchase business of machinery, the authors have been lucky to implement some of the ideas already mentioned here. For example, the system is designed to:

- (i) give information regarding the progress of hirer's applications for the delivery of machines;
- (ii) make available information, which would help the prospective hirer in deciding what machinery to purchase, from which manufacturers, of which country, if it is to be imported;
- (iii) furnish a statement of account to the hirer of all the payments that have been made by him towards different instalments, etc. (Incidentally this is a legal requirement under the Hire Purchase Act);
- (iv) gather information, over a period of time, about the background of the hirers who have been given assistance. This would go a long way in correcting regional imbalances and also to review what sections of society are being benefited.

For another undertaking, it was suggested and later implemented, that the MIS should generate a report giving break-up of the number of cases of withheld payments (to be made to suppliers/contractors) with reasons thereof. Such a report is important, keeping in view the limited capital with which

small contractors/suppliers operate. Quite often payments are withheld, in spite of their making an offer that a discount would be given if payments are made within a period of, say, 30 days.

SAFE CUSTODY OF INFORMATION

The need for public oriented IS leads to certain problems such as, invasion of privacy, security and confidentiality, etc. Whereas a public discussion should be encouraged, and serious and careful planning must be done to avoid the pitfalls from which the developed societies like the U.S. and U.K. are already suffering¹⁶, it should be ensured that 'invasion of privacy' is not used as a bogey so as to become an obstacle to the society's right to use the vast potentialities of a powerful technology for the human uplift.¹⁷

DATA ADMINISTRATORS

Considering the importance of safe custody of information, it is suggested that for careful planning and effective utilisation of information as a resource, it will be desirable to have the institution of *Data Administrators*. In this regard, it is contended:

- (i) For exercising control over other resources, such as men, material, money, etc., we have the corresponding functional controllers/managers. It appears strange that we don't have a functional manager for the control of this resource, i.e., information.
- (ii) The data administrator would decide what information should be generated, shared, weeded out in what form, at what level, and would be the sole custodian of the data banks.
- (iii) The data administrator would ensure that the information system has not drifted from its originally envisaged objectives.
- (iv) Keeping in view his vital role, he should be placed at the highest possible level in the organisational structure, say, at the level next to the chief executive.
- (v) To develop and attract the right kind of manpower in information, it is suggested that the Government of India should start a new central service for this purpose. It may be called the Indian Information Service. Needless to emphasise, the personnel of this service, who would be drawn from different disciplines, would have to be trained not only in the techniques but also would have to be given a thorough grounding so that they always give the social goals the highest priority.

¹⁶Martin, James, and Norman, Adrian R.D., *The Computerised Society*, Prentice Hall Series in Automatic Computation, 1970.

¹⁷Sackman, Harold, *Mass Information Utilities and Social Excellence*, Aurback Publishers, 1971, p. 200.

CONCLUSION

If the information systems have to meet the real social objectives and if information is recognised as an important national resource, the endeavour must be to have an equitable distribution of this resource, among different strata of our society. We must visualise today that information, some day, shall be a public utility just as water, electricity, telephone and transport and we must start planning now, with clear social objectives in mind, so that we do not end up with a chaos as we have in the case of other public utilities. Our public information systems must be free and have open access to everyone, if we are committed to a higher standard of living for all, not merely economic but also social. Of course, careful planning would have to be done to determine what the public information systems should contain. The various issues would have to be debated. It is hoped that the dialogue would culminate in a national policy on information processing and dissemination.



“Administration is a dynamic activity and cannot be conceived in isolation as a set of static tasks. The moment anyone in administration binds himself with a static approach, he is surely creating blocks and not helping the process of development and progress for which alone administration exists.”

Inaugural address by SHRI OM MEHTA,
Minister of State, Ministry of Home
Affairs, at the Conference of State
Secretaries, Departments of Personnel
and Administrative Reforms—Decem-
ber 9, 1976.

PLANNED URBAN DEVELOPMENT PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

N. N. Vohra

INDIA has traditionally been an agricultural economy, with the vast majority of its population residing in the villages. Before the attainment of freedom there were, for obvious reasons, limited efforts by the Government of the day to encourage industrialisation. Resultantly, the total number of human settlements which could be categorised as 'urban centres' was relatively very small as compared to the situation which obtains today.

Very significant developments have taken place since India attained freedom. For one, there has been a gigantic increase in population. For another, consequent to the launching of varied development schemes by the Centre and the State Governments, agricultural practices have been mechanised to a very large extent and, side by side, there has been considerable industrialisation in most parts of the country. Business and commerce, trade and transport have accordingly grown and expanded. The net result has been the mushroom emergence and growth of a very large number of towns; the older towns have grown into large cities and the old cities have blossomed into metropolitan areas. The percentage of the urban population to the overall population of the country has risen by about 6.05 per cent during 1941-71 but in absolute terms the increase in urban population has been enormous. The number of cities with a population of more than one million has nearly doubled during 1951-71, the figure having risen to 148. The percentage growth rate of urban population during the last decade 1961-71 was as high as 38.20. Though the majority of the existing population still continues to live in the countryside, the number of those inhabiting urban areas has, differentially, increased enormously.

During the pre-independence period, life in the urban areas was regulated through a series of enactments. The context in which these laws were framed allowed local autonomy within the overall surveillance of the then provincial governments. The principal urban laws in those days were the State Municipal Acts and the State Town/City Improvement Acts (both variously called). Retrospectively viewed, these laws appear to have succeeded eminently in adequately organising and regulating the supply of essential civic services and amenities and, generally, ensuring urban development

within planned control. Considered in slightly greater depth, it would be found that such an impression is facile. The real reason of the apparent adequacy of these laws was, one, the limited population of the urban areas and, two, the more essential fact that almost every urban centre was the seat of authority and the headquarters, at one level or the other, of British Indian administration. The low densities, which then prevailed, ensured against the dinginess and the squalor which is an essential and unavoidable consequence of over-densification.

In the majority of the towns and cities of most States of the country today, life still continues to be regulated under the provisions of the Municipal and the Town Improvement Acts. Barring piecemeal amendments in these laws, occasioned in the majority of the cases merely on account of political exigencies, the fundamental objectives, approaches and provisions of these laws continue to remain as conceived 60 to 70 years ago, to serve the then obtaining political considerations and the socio-economic situation. Not only has the political context changed entirely in the post-independence era but, as already mentioned, there has been a total change in the socio-economic situation. Viewed in this context it is more than unfortunate that civic laws conceived at least over half a century ago are being expected to deal with the highly complicated problems of urban administration that obtain today.

THE PRESENT URBAN LAWS INADEQUATE

During the past two decades there has been very high and unplanned increase in population both in the towns and villages. The explosion in numbers has been almost tragic, specially as the rate of increase amongst the weaker sections and the lower income groups has been many times higher than that amongst the higher socio-economic strata. Consequently, the poverty line has engulfed millions more. The ever growing population, the break-up of the joint family system, agrarian land reforms and mechanisation of agricultural operations have further reduced the land-man ratio. This has resulted in continuous, unplanned and unforeseen influx of the surplus and under-employed rural labour to the nearest towns and cities, in search of jobs which do not exist. Such migration has resulted in exerting enormous pressure on the already inadequate civic infrastructure in the urban areas. Migration into towns which were already suffering from extremely inadequate housing, water supply, sewerage, drainage, etc., has resulted in the emergence of slums and chaotic conditions. It is significant to mention that during about the same period in which the aforesaid changes have taken place the Governments in the States have been deeply and incessantly involved with the priority problems of raising agricultural production and developing industries. Consequently, barring a handful of exceptions in the entire country, little to no attention has been paid to urban development which, consequently, has been almost entirely

unplanned and haphazard. Instead of a serious and meaningful analysis being made to identify the reasons, on account of which extant urban laws had fallen to meet the challenges of free India, there has been a tendency to enact a variety of new statutes and establish special, single purpose agencies to deal with such important problems as water supply and sewerage, housing, electric supply, city transport, etc. It is in this context that we find that whereas earlier, up to even the early sixties, life in the urban areas was sought to be regulated basically through the provisions of the Municipal and the Town Improvement Acts, in recent years almost every State Government has sought to resolve the extremely complicated problems of urbanisation by establishing housing boards, water supply, sewerage and slum clearance boards, electric supply, milk supply and transport undertakings, etc. In the larger cities, the erstwhile municipal committees have been replaced by municipal corporations. These various bodies, each in their own way, are intended to deal with various aspects of life in the urban areas and each draws its sustenance from especially evolved enactments. The net result is that in most States, today, alongwith the age-old municipalities and trusts, there is a plethora of new local government authorities, some entirely within the control of the State Governments, some partially and some only peripherally. There is no legal or administrative organisation to integrate and coordinate the functioning of the various departments of the State Governments concerned with one or the other aspect of urban administration and the veritable host of local authorities. In the obtaining situation there is considerable overlapping of functions between the various boards, corporations, committees, trusts and undertakings on the one side and the concerned departments of the State Government, on the other. Also, *inter se* the various corporate bodies and Government departments there are large areas in which coordination is very badly needed. The confusion is further confounded by the fact that the various wings of the Government concerned with the growth and regulation of urban areas and supply of essential civic services and amenities, are not under the control of a single department. Invariably, the various aspects of urban administration are the concern of different departments which operate under the guidance of different ministers of the State Government. Consequently, the prospect of a well considered, unified approach to resolving the varied and complicated problems of haphazard and totally unplanned urban development and ensuring the crucial coordination of efforts on various fronts has become a giant sized problem by itself.

The problems of coordination have become even more acute on account of yet another factor. Admittedly, urban administration today is the business, partial or complete, of nearly a dozen departments of a State Government and almost an equal number of companies, boards, corporations, etc., set up by it. More unfortunate is the fact that barring perhaps the authorities which are concerned with the distribution of developed residential or commercial

sites and built houses, in the other organisations, governmental or corporate, there is a very high turnover of functionaries and executives. This is due to the fact that in the total administrative set-up an unfortunate tendency has developed amongst the majority of the employees, specially at the middle and higher levels, to procure assignments with high potential for exercise of public patronage, preferably in the fields of industry, industrial finance, commerce, foreign trade, etc. Resultantly, few senior officers, of worth and competence, are happy to be posted in the field of urban administration. It is in this context that one finds that in most State administrations the comparatively "less wanted" functionaries find placement in the crucial fields of housing, water supply, local government, etc., and even they are transferred far too frequently.

NEED FOR A COMPREHENSIVE LOOK

The problem does not end here. The establishment and consequent maintenance of a viable urban habitat requires the coordinated and reliable supply of a horde of services and amenities. Despite the experience gained during well over two decades of planned development, the host of issues which constitute planned urban development are not being perceived and dealt with in one go. It took us many many years to view the problems of planned and scientific agricultural production in terms of a basket of inter-related inputs. Despite the chaotic and life-negating conditions which have emerged in our larger towns the planning authorities at the Centre and in the States are, in my opinion, still very far from giving the urban problem the "composite" look which it is shrieking for.

Recently, there has been a sudden awareness of the need to ensure minimum livable conditions in human settlements, rural or urban. After the recent United Nations Conference at Vancouver the word 'habitat' has, almost overnight, become fashionable and, consequently, oft repeated. A large number of adventurists have suddenly surfaced, claiming unmatchable expertise in resolving the ills of life, through their "habitat" forums and consultancy organisations! Be the facts as they may, this new found "habitat" approach has highlighted, at least to the serious student and observer, that orderly and planned urban development cannot be considered in isolation. The balance of the natural environment having been badly ruptured by our unwitting bungling in the past, aspects of rural-urban relationship have to be considered afresh, urgently and in an altogether new light. To rehabilitate the primeval balance of nature, to restore the town-country nexus and to restrict the wayward influx into towns, it has become a matter of the highest urgency and importance to focus attention in one go, on the various problems of both the rural and the urban sectors. It would no longer suffice to merely talk, separately, of integrated rural development and integrated urban-

development. It is vitally essential to consider the entire situation and evolve detailed plans for the integrated and fully coordinated development of both the rural and urban areas. Initially, such a planning view would require to be taken of the entire area falling within a State, and in due course, to study inter-State connections and then evolve regional development plans. Viable spatial plans cannot be evolved or enforced through executive orders or slogan mongering. It has, therefore, become necessary to evolve a well-considered national law on regional town planning under which it would be the statutory obligation of every State to evolve comprehensive, legally binding, spatial plans, covering its entire territory and, thereafter, refer them to a national, statutory, organisation for the integration of inter-State matters, e.g., alignment of national highways, rail routes, canal and waterways, industrial belts, forests, national parks, etc. Unless such a law is enacted in the immediate future and thereafter enforced vigorously by all the States in the country we may not have many more miles to go. Simultaneously, it may not be altogether fruitless to also consider, with some seriousness, the other problems listed in the foregoing paras.

'Our recruitment philosophy must become more and more rural oriented. This is not because of any idealism but for the hard fact that vast majority of the Indian people are still living in rural areas and will continue to do so. We do want to industrialise India, but we are quite sure that it will remain largely an agricultural community and we are happy that it should be so because our primary requirement is food and we cannot afford a situation where there is any lack of that. So the rural areas have to be developed and the people who can go and develop them must be given a better chance."

SMT. INDIRA GANDHI, Prime Minister,
while inaugurating the Conference of
the Chairmen of Public Service
Commissions—November 15, 1976.

URBANIZATION AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT*

M.L. Mehta

THE cityward migration is one of the most important contemporary social phenomena. A multiplicity of factors like rising aspirations, appalling poverty and oppressive social structure in the countryside, and, on the other side, better facilities for education and medical aid, search for 'el dorado' and the glamour image of the city fostered by the media contribute to this change of habitat. Whether it is 'push' or 'pull' or both, one cannot say with any certainty. In a study of urbanization many questions arise. Is urbanization historically inevitable? Is it a necessary concomitant of economic development? How does urbanization in turn affect economic development? How does the urbanization process in developing countries compare with the developed countries at the corresponding stages of economic growth?

An attempt has been made in the present study to explore the interacting features of urbanization and economic development. This paper deals with the conceptual framework of the relationship between urbanization and economic development. In the second part (to follow) an analysis of this relationship would be made in the specific context of developed countries like UK, France, U.S.A. and Japan and contrasted with the experience of developing countries like India and Brazil. The basic differences in the urbanization of the developing countries and the developed countries would be highlighted with a view to draw appropriate policy conclusions.

A close but complex relationship between urbanization and economic development is inherent in the causes of urban growth. Urban growth presupposes the existence of a minimum level of development in production and distribution to support a large mass of people living in cities and engaged mostly in non-agricultural activities. On the other hand, aggregation of a large number of people in cities facilitates industrial growth by providing external economic expansion. It is in the city that the major policies are framed and the necessary institutions created for further economic development.

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Emergence of contemporary urbanization has been closely associated with the industrial revolution in Western Europe and the United States. Till the emergence of Japan, urban industrialism remained an exclusive West European phenomenon. Attempts were, therefore, made to explain urban industrialism in the Western cultural context and the resulting concepts have tended to become part of a theoretical conceptualization of urbanization and agrarian-industrial transition *per se*. Rapid growth of urbanization in these nations has been accompanied by a shift from agriculturalism to non-agriculturalism, particularly industrialism. Industrial revolution was preceded by a steady growth of commerce, consolidation of political power, structural changes in agriculture and the creation of the institutional framework necessary for economic expansion. Forces released by these changes provided the main impulse for industrialisation. Use of inanimate power gave man mastery over his surroundings. It革命ised social and economic relationships and thereby influenced the settlement patterns. The whole process was gradual, one stage leading to another and, in turn, getting affected by the change generated. Different stimuli, therefore, appeared at different times both for economic expansion as well as for the growth of human settlements. Industrialisation as the main stimulus to contemporary urbanization has tended to obscure the role of trade and commerce, political consolidation and socio-religious factors in the spread of urbanization. Human settlement pattern is an expression of man's search for living in a given technical and social order. Close nexus of industrialisation and urbanization in the developed world has led many observers to think this as the ideal and the most rational type. Concepts like 'over urbanization', 'push' caused by distress in the countryside, the 'parasitic' nature of the cities have all been introduced by many a scholar in the study of urbanization in the developing countries, where urbanization has not been accompanied by a significant shift away from agriculturalism to industrialism. The fallacy is inherent in the linking of urbanization, a demographic concept, with industrialisation, an economic concept. Industrialisation is only one type of stimulus for urbanization, which, in the peculiar circumstances of the developed nations, has outclassed all other stimuli. When the industrial revolution appeared in the West, all other stimuli had already exhausted their main contribution to urbanization. Political power had been consolidated, widespread diffusion of education had occurred, economy had been monetised, linking up urban and rural sectors, and international trade firmly established. Trade and commerce helped capital formation, a high degree of education facilitated acquisition of skills and mechanisation of agriculture made labour available for employment in the industrial sector. Migration of labour from the rural areas in search of jobs mainly contributed to the excessive urban growth.

Developing countries of today are trying to telescope centuries of Western experience of modernisation into a few decades. Their cities are

simultaneously in the pre-industrial, industrial and post-industrial stage if we may use that term to denote the phase of metro-politisation and sub-urbanization due to the automobile revolution. Most of them were till recently under foreign rule. They are, therefore, in the process of consolidation of their national power. Exchange economy was confined to the cities, as these were the outposts of international trade with the colonial country. These cities were not closely integrated in the regional economy. The bulk of the economy, being subsistence economy, was not monetised. Spread of the money economy in the rural areas is helping in the growth of towns by giving a new fillip to trade. Towns which were primarily religious, military or administrative centres are now acquiring a commercial character. Establishment of industries is helping the existing towns to grow still faster. Existence of facilities like education, health and medicine, etc., primarily in the cities, is also accentuating the trend. In brief, at present industrialisation is not the dominant stimulus for urban growth in most of the developing countries. Due to the lack of technical skills and an inadequate R & D base, the developing countries are buying capital intensive technology wholesale for their industrialisation in utter disregard of the abundance of labour which is their main resource. The adoption of the technology developed in societies where labour is scarce and capital easily available, in societies where labour is abundant and capital scarce is increasing the dependency of the developing societies to the developed societies. Even for markets they have to look out as home markets are small. Such a pattern of industrialisation is not resulting in the creation of any large number of jobs in the cities. As a result, people migrating to cities are getting employment mostly in the tertiary sector which are labour intensive with a productivity lower than in the manufacturing sector but higher than in the subsistence agriculture from which such people are drawn.

URBANIZATION AS A CORRELATE OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Distribution of population on earth is shaped by man's environment and his efforts to control and regulate it. With the 'neolithic revolution' some 8,000 to 10,000 years ago, it became possible for man to give up his nomadic existence in favour of village settlements by domesticating plants. The nature of the society changed from a group of hunters to settled communities. It was an early phase of the process of rationalisation which culminated in the appearance of urban societies on a wide scale in the present century. It was not till the fourth millennium B.C. that towns appeared in the near east, specifically in the Mesopotamia river basin, later in the Nile riverine valley in Egypt followed by those in the Indus basin. Sjoberg identifies three preconditions for the emergence of cities, namely, "a favourable ecological base, an advanced technology both in the agricultural and non-agricultural spheres, and a complex social organisation—above all, a well developed power

structure".¹ It needed the development of the technology of metal working so that tools and implements could be forged to improve agricultural productivity. The resulting increase in production could then be used to feed those engaged in non-agricultural occupations. It further needed the development of social organisations so that such surpluses could be extracted from the countryside. The problem of transportation created another limitation. Size and distribution of towns in a given environment were dependent on the capacity of the authorities, controlling towns, to extract food surplus from the countryside and transport it to the towns. In view of the primitive methods of transport, towns depended on their neighbouring hinterland for their survival. Both the size and the importance of towns changed with the fortunes of the powers controlling them.

Due to the limited capacity of man to control his environment, towns were located where climatic and soil conditions supplemented existing technology. Invention of the wheel, coupled with the new techniques of iron working, revolutionised the transportation system. New cities grew in environments formerly unsuited to urban settlements. According to Childe,² urbanization in the first five centuries of iron age proceeded at a faster rate than in the fifteen centuries that preceded it. New institutions, both in the economic and social sphere, were created to cope with the emerging situation. Specialisation grew in towns. Technological advances had reached a stage of maturity when cities like Rome, Athens and Patliputra appeared. The city population, particularly in the capital cities, could be fed from the food surpluses of distant areas. The Greeks could bring it from north Africa, the eastern Mediterranean region and north of the Black Sea and the Romans from all these areas besides from western and central Europe as well. But the cost of transportation and the time lag in procurement and distribution put severe limitations on gathering such surpluses. Only prestigious cities could be fed like this. No wonder, very few large cities existed in the pre-industrial world. It has been estimated by Davis and Hertz³ that in 1800 A.D., of a total world population of 906 million persons, only 21.7 million comprising 2.4 per cent lived in urban places of 20,000 or more inhabitants.

Industrial revolution removed all constraints to the growth of urban settlements in the developed world, starting with Britain in the 18th century and in other countries of western Europe and U.S.A. in the 19th century. The developing countries of Asia and Africa are undergoing this process now. Most of the urban growth in the 19th century occurred in Europe and the United States. In the present century, countries of Asia, Africa and Latin

¹ Gideon Sjoberg, *The Pre-industrial City*, the Free Press of Illinois, 960, 27.

² Gordon Childe, *What Happened in History*, New York, Penguin Books, 1946.

³ Kingsley Davis and Hilda Hertz, *Patterns of World Urbanization* (to be published by Macmillan & Co.)

America are showing a faster rate of urbanization. During the period 1800-1900 A.D. the urban population living in cities of 100,000 inhabitants and above had increased by 888 per cent in countries of Europe and North America as against a corresponding increase of 97.1 per cent in the urban population for Asia during this period. During 1900-1950 A.D., however, urban population living in cities (100,000 inhabitants and over) in Asia increased by 444 per cent, in Africa by 625 per cent as against an increase of 124 per cent in Europe during this period.

In spite of the close nexus between urbanization and economic development, no precise relationship has been worked out so far. The process of economic development involves the raising of the standard of living through a steady increase in the efficiency in the factors of production.⁴ One method of effecting such an increase is to transfer resources from the less productive to the more productive occupations. To a great extent, this involves the movement of factors from primary activities to secondary activities and tertiary activities. This structural shift in factors of production results in a shift from the rural to urban areas. In agriculture, land is used as a commodity and one cannot therefore economise on land space beyond a certain degree. In an agrarian economy, settlements tend to be small and diffused. In non-extractive activities, land is used only as a site and a huge agglomeration of population allows economy both in space and resources. One can conceive of economic development through agriculture. However, due to low income elasticity of demand for agricultural goods, increased income in the agricultural sector generates demand for manufactured and service goods. This leads to industrialisation and then again to a demand for service goods whose income elasticity of demand is higher than that of manufactured goods. Thus, economic development, whichever way it is conceived, results in a shift from agriculturalism to non-agriculturalism and from ruralism to urbanism. According to Berry, "economic advancement is related to urbanization and increasing specialisation and continued urban growth go hand in hand."⁵

Gras⁶ considers the evolution of western civilisation in five stages of settlement:

1. the collectional economy;
2. the cultural nomadic economy;

⁴ *Process and Problems of Industrialization in Underdeveloped Countries*, United Nations, New York, 1955, p. 2.

⁵ Brian J.L. Berry, "Some Relations of Urbanization and Basic Patterns of Economic Development" in Forest R. Pilts (ed.), *Urban Systems and Economic Development*, Oregon, 1962, p. 15.

⁶ N.S.B. Gras, *An Introduction to Economic History*, New York, L. Harper, 1922.

3. the settled village economy;
4. the town economy; and
5. the metropolitan economy.

Economic activities carried out by the society influences its settlement pattern. In the metropolitan economy, the city serves as a centre for the hinterland and the two make an inter-dependent economic organisation. In this stage, economy is associated with a complex economic organisation and functional specialisation. In any country, all these stages of human settlements, can and do exist simultaneously, at a given time.

According to Lampard,⁷ there are three stages in the evolution of urban-industrial history:

1. the pre-industrial phase;
2. the industrial phase; and
3. the metropolitan phase.

The low level of urbanization in the pre-industrial phase was characterized by a low level of economic development. Society lacked institutions and technology to support a high degree of urbanization. Transportation was slow and costly. On land, animal driven vehicles ferried people, and goods between the town and rural areas. On sea, movement depended on favourable wind. The zone of influence of urban areas remained small. Towns did not develop any high degree of specialisation and produced only limited number and type of goods to trade with rural areas. These goods had only marginal advantages over those produced in the countryside. Often, towns had to extract surplus from the countryside. According to Weber, "town and country manifested a spirit of hostility toward each other rather than a desire for friendly intercourse; cities maintained their walls, levied local taxes on goods brought in, and carried out a searching examination of every peasant cart that was driven through the city's gate. The towns, with their special privileges, lived an isolated life and exerted little influence on the country population."⁸ The village economy was not fully integrated with the town economy. On the whole, the economy lacked a powerful impulse for rapid growth. Production was centered around the family and the guild. Urban areas were primarily administrative, religious or cultural centres and secondarily commercial centres.

With the industrial revolution, factory centred production replaced

⁷ Eric E. Lampard, "The History of Cities in the Economically Advanced Areas", *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, Vol. III, No. 2, January 1955, p. 83.

⁸ Adna F. Weber, *The Growth of Cities in the 19th Century—A Study in Statistics*, Cornell University Press, New York, p. 7.

guilds and pulled people away from rural areas to urban areas. Urban areas became more productive and there was a greater exchange of goods between the rural and urban areas on one side and between the various urban areas, on the other. There was a closer integration of the village economy with the town economy and of the town economy with the regional economy. In this phase, there was increase in productivity in all the sectors of the economy. A structural shift of labour away from extractive to non-extractive activities is accompanied by rapid urbanization. Existing towns grow by attracting new industries. New towns are also established. Due to advances in transportation, location of raw materials alone does not determine location of industries. By providing external economies, towns economise on the resources. Needs of economic development in terms of skills and institutional framework also favour urban areas. In spite of the favourable location of certain towns, urban areas get distributed in a hierarchical order of services they perform. In the initial stages, certain cities enjoy primacy, but as the economy develops their primacy decreases.

The metropolitan phase is characterized by greater application of science and technology to the industry, widespread use of electric power and the automobile revolution. There is a greater diversification of the economy. The automobile exerts a centrifugal effect on the settlement pattern, which is accentuated by highland values, transport problems and obsolescent zones in the inner city. Suburbs appear and people commute from these suburbs to their places of work in the inner city. The metropolis becomes the nucleus for the metropolitan area and their roles become complementary. "The metropolitan community, consisting of the metropolis, together with its hinterland, over which it exerts economic dominance, but in a matrix of inter-dependent economic relations, may be thought of as both an effect and a cause of rapid and great economic development."⁹

ECONOMIC FUNCTIONS OF URBANIZATION

There is a close interaction between the process of economic development and urbanization. So far we have considered the role of economic development in fostering urban growth. Let us now consider how cities help in economic development.

Economic development in the modern context presupposes consolidation of political power in the nation state and the existence of a financial and legal framework in which economy can operate. It is mainly through the city that the state operates and creates or helps to create the institutional framework necessary for economic growth. The city becomes the focus for all

⁹ Philip M. Hauser, *Urbanization in Asia and the Far East*, UNESCO, 1957, p. 71.

activities vital to the economic development. It is here that the vital decisions affecting the economy are taken, new skills imparted and innovations conceived. The deviant entrepreneur finds in the city a congenial atmosphere to work in. Cities offer an array of 'scale' type economies for the location of industries. The economics of urbanization rests on the same basic principles as those of the individual producing units. Easy availability of materials in the city and the speed and efficiency of transport helps to economise on the inventories. The existence of a basic infrastructure in the city reduces the social overheads for the industry. In fact, urban-industrial concentration follows as a first premise of spatial logic. Specialisation allows higher productivity over time but it also tends to concentrate productive activities over space. Concentration of industries allows competition and rapid diffusion of innovation. In the city, there is always a readily available pool of industrial labour which industries can draw upon. From the point of view of labour also, the city provides the possibility of shifting to other industrial jobs. Only in the city a "labour force can be found, that is finally committed to industry and does not tend to float back regularly to the land, and this fact makes the labour contract more impersonal, functional and specific and tends to endow it with universalistic criteria in the selection of individuals for individual jobs."¹⁰ In view of the externalities, urbanization and industrialisation have shown a high degree of association in the developed countries. There is no developed country having a low degree of urbanization. According to Davis,¹¹ the linear correlation between the percentage of total population living in cities of 100,000 inhabitants and above and the percentage of economically active males in non-extraction employment for all the countries and territories of the world over one million population (circa 1945), has an index of correlation (r) of + 0.885.

It is possible to have economic development without urbanization by locating industries scattered in the villages where cheap labour is available but in such cases, the cost of providing the infrastructure and of imparting training to the labour force would be considerable. Industries located in such places would not attract skilled personnel and managerial staff at competitive wages. Existence of a variety of skills and specialisation in cities "has the tendency of minimising bottlenecks due to shortages of certain skilled persons and of facilitating horizontal and vertical expansion of existing non-agricultural enterprises."¹² Specialisations and differentiation of economic functions

¹⁰ Bert F. Hoselitz, "The Role of Cities in the Economic Growth of Under-Developed Countries" in *The City in Newly Developing Countries* by Gerald Breeze, Prentice Hall, Inc. Englewood Cliffs, N.J. 1969, p. 232.

¹¹ Kingsley Davis, "World Regions and the Correlates of Urbanism" papers read at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society, September, 1952.

¹² Bert. F. Hoselitz, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

of the cities become "an essential link between the technical and spatial conditions of economic progress."¹³ Credit, money, price system and financial institutions appear as a consequence of such a specialisation and differentiation in the towns and influence the spatial pattern of economic activity. Size and density of agglomerations generate a highly complex form of economic organisation causing a great increase in productivity.

- Agglomeration of population in cities provides for increased employment in the tertiary sector. Cities by their consumption pattern influence the economic development of their hinterland. Due to the high income of their residents, cities provide markets for the manufacturing sector and thereby help industrialisation.

Urban areas, even in developing countries, exhibit to a great degree traits of achievement as against ascription, universalism as against particularism and functional specificity as against functional diffuseness which are so necessary for economic development. We may look to the cities as the crucial places where "adaptation to the new ways, new technologies, new production patterns and new social institutions is achieved."¹⁴

Hoselitz¹⁵ divides cities into two categories according to their economic roles. A city is 'generative' if its impact on economic growth is favourable. A 'parasitic' city, on the other hand, drains off and consumes the wealth of the country without contributing to its economic growth. Cities may be generative to the immediate hinterland and parasitic for the wide area they dominate or *vice versa*. Hoselitz's concept of a parasitic city, which might have had some validity in a colonial city, does not have much validity to the developing countries.

As Simon Kuznets¹⁶ puts it, "because the cities provide such an effective way of exploiting the technological potentialities of economies of scale, that industrialisation and urbanization go together". Economic development in the West and even in Japan has occurred through industrialisation. With the rise in power of the state, improvement in transport networks and availability of food surplus even in distant places all major constraints to the growth of cities have been removed. This has caused a rapid growth of urbanization

¹³ Lampard, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

¹⁴ Bert F. Hoselitz "Generative and Parasitic Cities" *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 3 April, 1955, p. 279.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Simon Kuznets, "Consumption, Industrialization and Urbanization" in *Industrialization and Society* by Bert F. Hoselitz and Wilbert E. Moore (eds.), UNESCO, Mouton, 1963, 102.

in developing countries. As stated earlier, the processes of pre-industrial, industrial and metropolitan phase are occurring in developing countries simultaneously. Unlike in the West, the structure of their economy does not allow industrialisation at a rate fast enough to absorb the migrant labour in industrial jobs. Urbanization is, therefore, taking place through tertiarisation. Agglomeration of persons in a small space creates demand for more services. Most of the jobs in this sector are of low productivity and are labour intensive. On the contrary, the service sector in developed countries grows as a result of the growth of the manufacturing sector. Higher incomes generated due to industrial expansion create the demand for services. In developing countries, the service sector has a different structure. It includes petty street vendors, coolies, domestic servants, etc., besides professionals and those having highly paid jobs in trade and commerce. On the whole, the marginal productivity of labour in the service sector is higher than in the subsistence agricultural sector in the developing countries. A shift of population from agriculture to the tertiary sector in the city represents an economic gain to the migrants in a relative sense. It takes away a part of the increasing pressure on land arising out of high population growth and creates a demand for agricultural goods. When we speak of 'over-urbanization' we must think of the overall context in which it is occurring. Its disadvantages or advantages are to be considered in terms of alternatives. One cannot think of 'over-urbanization' without considering 'over-ruralisation' or the existence of high population in relation to economic development. Cities allow economies in use of scarce resources. The efforts involved in overcoming spatial functions in the economy can be visualized as a sum of physical inputs which represent a charge on scarce resources. Cities help in minimising this charge on scarce resources.

However, it would not be correct to presume that all cities provide economies of scale or that migration of population *per se* is beneficial to the economy. There are certain dis-economies involved in the form of high social cost of providing basic amenities in large cities. The cost of augmenting civic amenities is higher in big cities than in cities of medium and intermediate sizes. The entire issue needs to be judged on the basis of detailed studies of the economics of location, transportation, and marketing involved. Unfortunately detailed studies of this type do not exist for most of the cities of the third world.

Even if migration from the rural areas decreases as a result of proper regional policies, considerable increase in population in the developing countries would still occur due to natural increase since the population base is already large. The infrastructure facilities will have to be augmented not only to meet the demands of additional population but also to remove the existing deficiencies. The dilemma here is, these cities do not have an economic base to provide to their population amenities of a modern city of the western type.

The historicity of western experience in this regard does not provide adequate guidelines. The socio-economic profile of their population at their identical stages of urbanization was very different from what is now existing in the cities of the third world. We shall examine this aspect in detail in the specific context of some developed countries, namely, U.S.A., U.K., France, and Japan and some developing countries, namely, India and Brazil in a subsequent paper.

"...the belief is still widely prevalent that selections depend upon strings, pulling or pushing. 'Putting in a word' is a great national pastime. Now, this is something which we must try to avoid and to create an atmosphere to assure people that this will not work, that what will work is their own capacity, their experience, but also their capacity of what they can do in the future, how much they can learn from their work and from those amongst whom they will be functioning."

SMT. INDIRA GANDHI, Prime Minister,
while inaugurating the Conference
of the Chairmen of Public Service
Commissions—November 15, 1976.

BUREAUCRATS AND SELF-ACTUALIZATION

Om Prakash Mehra

WAY back in 1969 when I was the magistrate of a district, I had settled a group of landless labourers on a piece of land with a view to rehabilitate them as farmers. Grants and loans were advanced to them for purchase of equipment and seed and also for construction of temporary residential huts. It was a one year project, at the end of which they were to raise their first crop. Things went according to the plan and then, there was the day when they were ready to harvest their first crop. I was a witness to this happening and the dominant note in my thought process that moment was of fulfilment and of having achieved, from out of my job, what I was seeking.

This illustrates what I, a bureaucrat, sought from my job. As a part of a legal-rationalistic bureaucratic model (Weber), perhaps I should have had nothing to do with this feeling—nor as a scientific manager (Fayol) because in my roles (such as those under the above named concepts of organization) I would be concerned, respectively, with executing the project according to set rules and procedures and as scientifically as I could. The prime force that would make me move towards completing the project would not be a “sense of fulfilment” but a couple of set commands passed down to me through a set hierarchy by the central authority. The discretionary measures that I took from time to time for the successful completion of the project would perhaps have been conspicuously absent and I would not have wedded my goals to the goals of the Government (rehabilitation of the landless labourers) as McGregor prescribes for a successful organisation.

The conventional management theory would not be able to explain the sense of fulfilment I had (self-actualization as described by Argyris) for the simple reason that it fails to view an individual worker as an individual; it looks at administrators as nothing more than “formal titles” or “square boxes”.

The concepts developed by Maslow, McGregor and Argyris to understand the functioning of the organization in the western business society throw a new light on this unexplained phenomenon (as to why individuals in organizations behave in a particular fashion) and they conclude that the individual in an organization is all the time seeking self-fulfilment (self-actualization as termed by Argyris). But certainly it cannot be that every

one's motivating force is only self-actualization. There must, certainly, be intermediate stages. Maslow and then McGregor have provided the answer by arranging the human needs in a particular order (which is called by them as the 'hierarchy of needs') and which an individual seeks to fulfil in an organization. The more useful listing is that of McGregor and it runs as follows:

1. Physiological needs—hunger, rest, shelter, clothing, health.
2. Safety needs—protection, when threatened, inclusive of security of tenure.
3. Social and love needs—a sense of belonging, association and acceptance. This the individual achieves through an informal group in an organization.
4. Egoistic needs—self esteem and reputation.
5. Self-fulfilment.

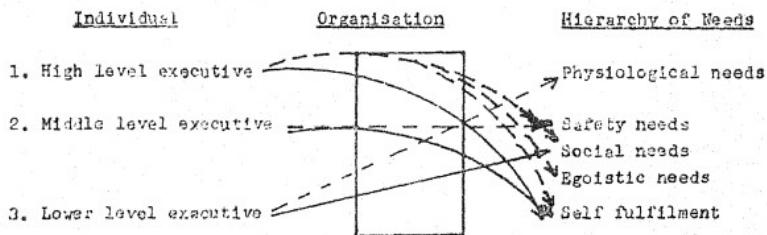
HIERARCHY OF NEEDS

We may perhaps go back a little to the scenario introduced by me in the beginning. The real question in the context of the scenario is whether such an over-simplified generalisation, based on a perception of the needs or goals by a single individual, can legitimately and logically be made and offered as a universal prescription or answer. Obviously not. As there is a hierarchy of needs, so there are hierarchies of bureaucrats, of jobs, of organizations and sub-organizations and of societies; and consequently the question what do bureaucrats seek from their jobs cannot be disposed of by a simple answer. There being so many factor determinants of the outcome (*i.e.*, the seeking) a number of sets of different variables—combinations—can be conceived of and for each of them the answer will be different. The following sets may be offered by way of illustration:

- (a) An organization in an industrial and developed society that has already taken care of all the physiological needs of all its functionaries. As the different functionaries in an organization have different physical and intellectual capacities, as also different backgrounds behind their mental make-up (which lay down some sort of an ordering of perception of needs by them), it may be that the lowest level functionary—his basic needs satisfied—will move up the ladder of the hierarchy of needs in his expectations from the job—perhaps acceptance, recognition, ego-satisfaction.
- (b) An organization in an under-developed society which has not been able to look after the physiological needs of any of its employees. In this set of circumstances even the higher and the

middle level functionary will seek only the satisfaction of the basic physiological and safety needs from his job.

Schematically the two situations that I have chosen above will be represented in the following manner :



-----> Indicates expectations in an underdeveloped country.

————> Indicates expectations in a developed country.

But perhaps this is too simple an analysis. It does not, for example, take into account many other relevant factors such as :

The social background of the individual (A worker coming from a very poor family in a rural area may settle for only the basic physiological needs at the time of his entry in the organization. May be that over a period of time and on satisfaction of his basic needs he will escalate his expectations up to satisfaction of social needs but, given the background, may be, there will be no further rising in his expectations).

The individual's own scale of material and social values (May be that the worker does not just believe in material well-being. His social values being more prominent, he may aspire for acceptance, even when subsisting at the very margin of his physiological need satisfaction).

The type of group in which the individual works and the expectations of the group from the individual.

The style of management.

The time dimension (in which over a period of time expectations from the jobs keep on changing).

It then follows that if all the variables that affect an individual's goal seeking in a job situation are taken into account we will have a multitude of combinations. A prescriptive reply to the question as to what a bureaucrat seeks from his job is, therefore, difficult. More so because what he will seek is interminably dependent on a host of other factors, e.g., the social background of the bureaucrat, his cultural moorings, his scale of values, the type of

organization in which he works, the style of management in his organization, the formal and informal groups in his job situation, of which he is a part, and above all, the time dimension.

Despite the complexities referred to above, a general conclusion that broadly takes shape after the analysis is that the bureaucrat, as an individual, does always expect something from his job and keeps a distinct order of preference as between his various expectations. His object is to fulfil these expectations during his association with a given organization and, therefore, the organization must provide an atmosphere where this pursuit (seeking of perceived needs) is fulfilled. Argyris finds this possible through 'informal organization', 'unofficial norms' and 'engrossing hobbies' and McGregor, through the concepts postulated in his 'Theory Y' where an integration of the 'individual goals' with the 'organizational goals' is shown as satisfying both.

CHANCES OF SATISFACTION

This brings us to the second part of the question, namely, an evaluation of the chances of satisfaction of these wants in a developing country. Before we do so it must be clarified that for the purpose of this essay we will restrict our discussion to only the higher level civil servants for the obvious reason that for the lower level civil servants today, perhaps it is mostly the first two needs in the hierarchy (physiological and safety) that are important. In the wake of increasing prices and simultaneous upsurge in expectations of living standards, the upward trend in the ordering of needs of these civil servants (say, from the physiological needs to the social and recognition needs) may have, for the time being, come to a halt. The model developed by McGregor and the theory appurtenant thereto designed exclusively for and in the context of highly industrialized countries, may not be competent to explain this phenomenon. It is on account of such aberrations (from the point of view of McGregor's model based on the industrial society) that the lack of total relevance of his theory for a developing country can be argued but there also it can be applied to the higher level civil servants who are no longer plagued by thoughts of dire hunger and insecurity (though temporarily their ascent up the ladder of higher needs too may be somewhat arrested).

The discussion that we have embarked upon would be of limited significance if it were to be restricted only to an isolated discussion of the need satisfaction exercise without catching the underlying idea. The theory that has been built around the hierarchy of needs shows that an organization will be more and more productive—the more it is able to satisfy the needs of its workers in a progressive fashion so that at all points of time the workers keep on moving towards self-actualization. We have shown above that perhaps

in a developing country the journey towards self-actualization is firstly limited to the higher level civil servants (which, in turn, shows that the success of the Government as an organization to that extent has got restricted) and secondly that economic factors influence this process considerably.

Here, of course, the historical, cultural and political realities of a country must also be referred to. Let us take the example of our own country. The 'theory of self-actualization' would not have been applicable fully even otherwise in India, when she attained independence on account of her historical context. She inherited a bureaucracy fashioned specifically for meeting the requirements of a colonial administration. In the process, perhaps, the perception of their own goals by the bureaucrats had become fuzzy. Their perceptions had perhaps no personality of their own; rather, they perceived what the colonial authorities wished them to perceive. Added to this, all along, was the subconscious sense of being second class citizens which culminated in a collective inferiority complex. They were good administrators though, but not fashioned for the kind of society that was to emerge after independence. Of course, the political leaders exhorted the nation, in their nation-building effort, which gradually made the bureaucracy perceive the new challenges and thus the process of their perception of the needs in the hierarchical order towards self-actualization did start; but before that perhaps the general expectation out of their jobs was restricted for them to status, recognition as 'authority' and not self-actualization.

Though the higher level civil servants do expect self-actualization (fulfilment) from their jobs, perhaps structurally the Government (the organization) is not optimally developed to ensure fructification of this expectation. An explanatory word about this latter contention may be necessary. We may have to go back to history again. During the British regime the regional and local levels of the societal framework remained politically undeveloped. After independence too, the journey from a centralized administration to a decentralized one was laborious, zig zag and sometimes frustrating. Even when large scale experiments (e.g., community development, panchayati raj, etc.) were started, though the administrative structure was decentralized, the financial structure still remained an over-centralized one. The political development (in the constructive sense) at the grassroot level thus remained very much short of its full culmination point and consequently the relationships that developed between the bureaucracy and the local institutions at the grassroot level were of distrust, and if not of enmity, at least of apathy. At the central level too the initial relationships between the executive and the politicians developed around a perception of the bureaucrats as vestiges of the colonial rule (and hence of distrust and conflict) by the political executive and a perception of the leaders by the bureaucrats as beings who wanted to cross all the barriers of administrative and bureaucratic discipline.

(rules, procedures, sanctions) in which they (bureaucrats) were so intensively trained and in which lay their final convictions. The relationships being in such a vast disarray, what else could be expected except that the public servants had restricted chances of moving towards seeking fulfilment from their jobs.

Happily this phase seems now to be coming to an end. It is no longer a climate of such disharmony. Political institutions at the local level are building up, the apathy towards decentralization is wearing off and particularly in the development departments (like agriculture, irrigation, electricity, etc.) it is no longer merely a rule obeying exercise that a civil servant has to undergo. There is more of flexibility and performance is judged by and a civil servant is talked of in terms of achievements he has been able to master. Though financial centralization does operate as a constraint in fulfilment of the civil servant's expectations from his job, instances are not wanting where the central financial authority is more in a defensive mood, than in offensive, which, in turn, indicates that 'achievement' and not sticking to merely financial rules has earned a recognition in their thought process.

In a transitional society like India it is difficult to predict as of today as to what the chances are of the fulfilment of the expectations of the bureaucrats from their job; it is only heartening to pinpoint the two factors that form the silver lining:

- (a) In comparison to their predecessors the senior level civil servants today seek more of self-fulfilment than mere power or authority.
- (b) Even in the remaining categories of the civil servants, though the current situation keeps down their expectations from rising, the necessary structure (political development, rural awakening, desire for better living standards, adoption of modern technology) is gradually building up whereby the 'external environmental needs' as reflected in the organization (the Government) will gradually reduce the possibility of the bureaucrats perceiving his job only as a means of earning wages.

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BUREAUCRATIC CORRUPTION IN THE THIRD WORLD : CAUSES AND REMEDY

Joseph G. Jabbra

CORRUPTION is one of the major problems facing public bureaucracies in developing countries. Its seriousness has prodded a number of concerned scholars and reform-minded public officials to search for its causes and to devise schemes for its elimination. Unfortunately, neither research nor reform has proved to be successful. Worse, the stress caused by reform threatens to disrupt not only the administrative structure, but also the socio-economic and political fabric of the emerging nations and thwarts their efforts to modernise.

The failure of scholars and public officials to deal adequately with bureaucratic corruption in these countries is a logical consequence of the attempt to reform administrative systems independently of their contexts. In other words, the reformers' narrow focus on public bureaucracies has led them to pay but slight attention to the relationships existing amongst the component elements of the social system of which public bureaucracy is but a part. This neglect has made the administrative reforms in emerging nations fruitless at best; quite often, these reforms have tended to reinforce the dysfunctional character of bureaucratic corruption. This was confirmed by a series of interviews conducted by the author in the summer of 1972 with Lebanese, Syrian and Iraqi public servants. All indicated that trained bureaucrats, occupying influential positions in their bureaucracies, are not succeeding in bringing about change and reducing corruption. This lack of success, they added, is due to the overwhelmingly corrupt culture which permeates all aspects of society.

The helplessness of skilled public servants in controlling bureaucratic corruption leads them to choose one of two alternatives: either to apply their non-corrupt standards and run the risk of becoming so alienated and frustrated that they decide to return to the country where they received their training¹ or to use their qualifications and skills to satisfy their clients' and

¹One of my interviewees told me frankly that he is paying a heavy price of alienation and isolation because of his integrity. Before long, he said, he will have to choose between going back to the United States where he received his training, or sacrificing his principles in order to avoid alienation and rejection. Another lost his job because he refused to receive a bribe and help the client of a traditional political leader in Lebanon.

friends' demands, and thus further promote corruption, the very malady they were supposed to cure.²

The purpose of this paper, therefore, is to suggest a new approach by advancing that a socialisation process embracing all aspects of society may prove to be a more appropriate and effective remedy for the evils of corruption in the Third World. This proposal will be supported by demonstrating that bureaucratic corruption is the result of attitudes and patterns of behaviour institutionalised not only in public bureaucracies but also in their respective social contexts.³ While any attempt to eliminate bureaucratic corruption by simply concentrating on public bureaucracies is necessary, it is not sufficient for success. Adequate reforms in developing countries may be brought about only through an all-encompassing socialisation process aiming at replacing established attitudes and patterns of behaviour favourable to corruption with others favourable to integrity, efficiency and effectiveness.

INSTITUTIONALISATION OF BUREAUCRATIC CORRUPTION IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

There exists a whole range of definitions of bureaucratic corruption.⁴ Despite their diversity, however, these definitions have emphasised a common denominator: the use of public office with its paraphernalia of prestige, influence and power, in order to make private gains, which need not be monetary, "in breach of laws and regulations nominally in force".⁵ This breach of formal laws and regulations is the result of established informal patterns of behaviour founded on, and supported by, established attitudes shared to varying degrees by all members of societies in the Third World, including public servants.⁶ These attitudes, which are learned through a long

²Lebanon, Civil Service Commission, *Report of the Chief on the Activities of the Commission during the years 1966, 1967, 1968*, Beirut.

³For a variety of definitions see the following: N.H. Leff, "Economic Development Through Bureaucratic Corruption", *The American Behavioral Scientist*, Vol. 8, Nov. 1964, p. 8; Ralph Braibanti, "Reflections on Bureaucratic Corruption", *Journal of the Royal Institute of Public Administration*, Vol. 40, 1962, pp. 357-372; O.P. Dwivedi, "Bureaucratic Corruption in Developing Countries", *Asian Survey*, April, 1967, p. 245; Colin Leys, "What is the Problem about Corruption", *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 2, 1965, pp. 215-224; Jacob Van Klaveren, "The Concept of Corruption", in A.J. Heidenheimer (ed.), *Political Corruption*, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1970, pp. 38-40; H.A. Brasz, "Some Notes on the Sociology of Corruption", *Sociologica Neerlandica*, Vol. 1, No. 2, Autumn, 1963, pp. 111-117; V.O. Key, Jr., *The Techniques of Political Graft in the United States*, Chicago, University of Chicago, 1936, pp. 386-401; Arnold A. Rogow and H.D. Lasswell, *Power, Corruption, and Rectitude*, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall, 1963, pp. 132-134.

⁴Stanislaw Andreski, *The African Predicament*, New York, Atherton Press, 1968, p. 92.

⁵For detailed studies of the relationship between attitudes and behaviour see: Milton

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and arduous process of socialisation embracing the life-span of the individual,⁶ manifest themselves in institutionalised parochialism, kinship, and tradition; patron-client relationships; and market corruption.

Parochialism, Kinship and Tradition

Research in Africa indicates that the practice of using public office for private gain is the result of a predominant belief that there is nothing wrong with such conduct. This belief is reinforced by a widely held benevolent attitude towards the abuse of public office, resulting in its acceptance as a normal pattern of administrative behaviour. An African politician or bureaucrat who does not use his position to acquire a vast fortune is praised "as some kind of ascetic".⁷ Moreover, the ready acceptance of bureaucratic corruption stems from its being to a great extent a continuation of the old established practice of gift-giving. In many emerging nations reciprocal exchange is an institution deeply rooted in a complex and ancient social framework.⁸ This accepted practice, like so many others, has left its imprint on the bureaucratic, political, and socio-economic institutions of developing countries.⁹

Bureaucratic corruption in traditional societies may also be encouraged by the established system of kinship and other parochial loyalties. In most emerging nations, obligations to kin, tribe, religious sect, or local community significantly influence the behaviour of public servants, leading them to corrupt practices in order to satisfy their clients' demands. Thus, for example, the institutionalised local and communal traditions of Lebanon have strongly

(Continued from page 674)

Rokeach, *Beliefs, Attitudes and Values : A Theory of Organization and Change*, San Francisco, Jessey-Bass, Inc., 1968; D. Crech, R. Cruchfield, and E.L. Ballachey, *Individual in Society*, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1962; Gordon Allport, "Attitudes," in E. Murchison (ed.), *Handbook of Social Psychology*, Worcester, Mass., Clark University Press, 1935, pp. 798-844; C. Sherif, M. Sherif, and R. Nebergall, *Attitude and Attitude Change*, Philadelphia, W.B. Saunders Co., 1965; C.I. Hovland and M.J. Rosenberg (eds.), *Attitude, Organization and Change*, New Haven, Conn., Yale University Press, 1960, pp. 1-14; Arthur R. Cohen, *Attitude Change and Social Influence*, New York, Basic Books, Inc., 1964.

⁶With the exception of a small minority of social scientists who suggest a hereditary basis for attitudes, the overwhelming majority of scholars are agreed that attitudes (including bureaucratic ones) are learned. See F. Elkin, *The Child and Society*, New York, Random House, 1960; J.D. Halloran, *Attitude for Motion and Change*, Leicester, Leicester University Press, 1967.

⁷Andreski, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

⁸Scott reports that this interpretation is widely emphasised in anthropological literature. See James C. Scott, *Comparative Political Corruption*, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1972, pp. 10-11.

⁹For the classical analysis of gift-giving in traditional societies, see Marcel Mauss, *The Gift : Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies*, New York, The Free Press, 1954.

hindered the development of efficient and corruption-free bureaucratic structures. It is not uncommon to notice that, when faced with the choice between helping his kin or co-religionists and respecting the law, a Lebanese public servant will without hesitation opt for the former. This behaviour is the logical result of a long process of socialisation favouring the establishment of parochially oriented, rather than law and integrity oriented, attitudes and patterns of behaviour.¹⁰ Tradition and traditional ties, argues Halpern, constitute the first and the major burden of Middle Eastern bureaucracies.¹¹ Similar pressures and processes have been noted in Africa and Sicily as well.¹²

As a result of strong kinship ties, non-corrupt standards of public bureaucratic behaviour have not been widely internalised, and administrative conduct continues to be determined by traditional, family and other parochial pressures.¹³ Wraith and Simpkins confirm this point by noting that loyalty in the emerging nations has not yet been transferred from its natural seat—the family, the clan, or the tribe—to a new one: the nation.¹⁴

As a consequence of traditional norms permeating the diverse and complex socio-economic strata of developing societies, there evolved bureaucratic systems where public officials, responding to prevalent patterns of

¹⁰For more details see the following: Michael W. Suleiman, *Political Parties in Lebanon*, Ithaca, New York, Cornell University Press, 1967, pp. 27-30; Afif I. Tannous, "Group Behavior in the Village Community of Lebanon", *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 48, No. 2, September, 1942, pp. 232-236; Afif I. Tannous, "The Village in the National Life of Lebanon", *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 3, April, 1949; Daniel Lerner, *The Passing of Traditional Society*, New York, Free Press of Glencoe, 1958; Laura Nader, "Communication between Village and City in the Modern Middle East", *Human Organization*, Vol. 24, No. 1, Spring, 1965; John Gulick, "Old Values and New Institutions in a Lebanese Arab City", *Human Organization*, Vol. 24, No. 1, Spring, 1965, pp. 49-52; Arnold Hottinger, "Zuama and Parties in the Lebanese Crisis of 1958", *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 15, Spring, 1961; Ibrahim Salama, "Ahdath al-Usbu" (The Week's Events), *Al-Moharrer* (Lebanese Arabic Daily), March 30, 1964, p. 3.

¹¹Manfred Halpern, *The Politics of Social Change in the Middle East and North Africa*, Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 1963, p. 340.

¹²Andreski, *op. cit.*, pp. 101-102. For more information on this point see the following: Ronald Wraith and Edgar Simpkins, *Corruption in Developing Countries*, London, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1963, pp. 33-51; O.P. Dwivedi, *op. cit.*, pp. 247-248; K.A. Busia, *The Position of the Chief in the Modern Political System of Ashanti*, London, Oxford University Press (for the International African Institute), 1951; Rene Dumont, "Remuneration Level and Corruption in French-Speaking Africa", in A.J. Heidenheimer (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 453-458; S. Tarrow, *Peasant Communism in Southern Italy*, New Haven, Conn. Yale University Press, 1967, esp. pp. 67-82; Sydel F. Silverman, "Agricultural Organization, Social Structure and Values in Italy", *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 70, No. 1, February, 1968, pp. 1-20; Edward C. Banfield, "The Moral Basis of a Backward Society", in A.J. Heidenheimer (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 129-137.

¹³Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

¹⁴Wraith and Simpkins, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

socialisation, considered their public jobs as their own property.¹⁵ This proprietary attitude furthered the institutionalisation of a pattern of bureaucratic behaviour characterised by goals of self-aggrandisement, usurpation of power, and the conception of public office as an avenue for wealth.¹⁶ This assertion has been sustained by the findings of scholars in a number of developing countries.¹⁷

Patron-Client Relationships

Bureaucratic corruption also results from a strong patron-client system.

¹⁵For an historical analysis of the role of the proprietary view of office in facilitating corruption see the following: Koenraad Walter Swart, *Sale of Offices in the Seventeenth Century*, The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1949, pp. 112-127; P. Roux, *Les Formes d'Impôts sous l'Ancien Régime*, Paris, 1916; Eugene N. Anderson and Pauline Anderson, *Political Institutions and Social Change in Continental Europe in the 19th Century*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1967; Bert F. Hoselitz, "Levels of Economic Performance and Bureaucratic Structures", in Joseph LaPalombara (ed.), *Bureaucracy and Political Development*, Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 1963, pp. 188-196; G. Pages, "La Venelit d'Office dans l'Ancienne France", *Revue Historique*, Vol. 169, 1932, pp. 477-482; J.H. Parry, *The Sale of Public Office in the Spanish Indies under the Hapsburgs*, Berkley, University of California Press, 1953.

¹⁶For further details and illustrations see the following: S.N. Eisenstadt, "Bureaucracy and Political Development", in Joseph LaPalombara (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 96-119; S.N. Eisenstadt, "Problems of Emerging Bureaucracies in Developing Areas and New States", (mimeographed article prepared for the *North American Conference on the Social Implications of Industrialization and Technological Change*, Chicago, 1960; S.N. Eisenstadt, "Bureaucracy and Bureaucratization: A Trend Report", *Current Sociology*, Vol. 8, 1959; S.N. Eisenstadt, "Bureaucracy, Bureaucratization and Debureaucratization", *Administrative Science Quarterly*, Vol. 4, December 1959, pp. 302-321; S.N. Eisenstadt, *Modernization: Pretext and Change*, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966, pp. 83-128; R. Braibanti and J.J. Spengler (eds.), *Traditions, Values and Socio-Economic Development*, Durham, North Carolina, Duke University Press, 1961, pp. 139-181; R. Braibanti, "The Civil Service of Pakistan: A Theoretical Analysis", *South Atlantic Quarterly*, Vol. 58, Spring, 1959, pp. 258-304. For various illustrations in Middle Eastern countries consult: Tareq Ismael, *Government and Politics of the Contemporary Middle East*, Homewood, Ill., The Dorsey Press, 1970; W.F. Abboushi, *Political Systems of the Middle East in the 20th Century*, New York, Dodd, Mead and Co., 1970; James C. Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

¹⁷Marun Y. Kisrwani, *Attitudes and Behavior of Lebanese Bureaucrats: A Study in Administrative Corruption*, Bloomington, Indiana University, Ph.D. Dissertation, 1971, pp. 71-75; W.F. Wertheim, "Sociological Aspects of Corruption in South East Asia", *Sociologica Neerlandica*, Vol. 1, No. 2, Autumn, 1963, pp. 129-152; J.S. Furnivall, *The Governance of Modern Burma*, New York, 1958; Wendell Blanchard, et al., *Thailand: Its People, Its Society, Its Culture*, New Haven, Conn., Human Relations Area Files, 1958; Gunnar Myrdal, "Corruption as a Hindrance to Modernization in South Asia", in A.J. Heidenheimer (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 229-239; Fred W. Riggs, "The Sola Model: An Ecological Approach to the Study of Comparative Administration", *Philippine Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. 6, No. 1, June, 1962, pp. 3-16; John B. Monteiro, *Corruption: Control of Maladministration*, Bombay, P.C. Manakata and Sons Private Ltd., 1966; Wraith and Simpkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-45; James C. Scott, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-86; Herbert Feith, *The Decline of Constitutional Democracy in Indonesia*, Ithaca, New York, Cornell University Press, 1962; Herbert Feith, "Dynamics of Guided Democracy", in Ruth T. McVey (ed.), *Indonesia*, New Haven, Conn., Human Relations Area Files, 1967, pp. 309-409.

In most emerging countries where identification with the national community and its laws is still weak, protection is sought outside the family through ties with powerful protectors or patrons.¹⁸ The importance of these ties as normal means for protection has been emphasised by Scott: the patron-client relationship "may be defined as a special case of dyadic (two persons) ties involving a largely instrumental friendship in which an individual of higher socio-economic status (patron) uses his own influence and resources to provide protection and/or benefits for a person of a lower status (client), who, for his part, reciprocates by offering general support and assistance including personal services to the patron".¹⁹

This system of relationships characterised by ties of reciprocity in the exchange of goods and services tends to encourage the development and institutionalisation of attitudes of disrespect for formal regulations among both public servants and their clients. Patron-client relationships, patronage and influence "go hand in hand with corruption and all (four) indicate a very poorly developed social conscience, for which personal profit and private loyalty take precedence over public duty".²⁰

An illustration of how the patron-client relationship leads to bureaucratic corruption may be found in the Lebanese civil service which is plagued by chronic absenteeism assiduously practised by public servants during work hours. This pattern of behaviour is an indication of institutionalised attitudes of bureaucratic irresponsibility protected by a strong patron-client system and encouraged by a lack of sense of public duty. Its result is delay in the processing of administrative transactions and inconvenience to Lebanese citizens who are forced to have recourse to bribery to buy what should be their right.²¹

In order to remedy such a serious problem, the Lebanese Government introduced a new measure whereby time clocks were installed in all public institutions; all civil servants were required to record their time of arrival and departure. But, protected by their system of patron-client relationships, public officials devised a trick to beat the system: they either alternated in punching each other's time cards or they asked their janitors to do it for them. For instance, the Lebanese press reported that on March 19, 1971, when the Minister of Information paid a surprise visit to the

¹⁸A.J. Heidenheimer (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 20-21.

¹⁹James C. Scott, "Patron-Client Politics and Political Change" (unpublished paper delivered at the 66th Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association), Los Angeles, California.

²⁰B. Venkatappiah, "Office, Misuse of", in *International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. 2, 1968, p. 275.

²¹Al-Nahar (Beirut), September 30, 1969.

officials of his Ministry he found all unit chiefs absent, although their time cards showed them present.²² The Lebanese Civil Service Commission has observed repeatedly that in the Lebanese civil service private interest and loyalty to a patron take precedence over public duty.²³

Another manifestation of institutionalised corruption, promoted by the patron-client system, is the processing of illegitimate transactions. Thus, in most emerging nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, the student of bureaucratic corruption is struck by the prevalence, among both public servants and citizens, of an attitude that a transaction which does not fulfil the requirements can be processed, a legal matter may be settled, or a job may be secured even when the candidate is unqualified. In Lebanon, for instance, acts of nonfeasance, malfeasance and misfeasance, favoured by powerful patron-client relationships, abound in all areas of the administrative system; goods may be introduced into the country duty-free, convicted citizens applying for jobs in the public or private sector may be issued clean transcripts of their penal record, driving licenses may be issued to unqualified persons, and so on.²⁴

The same acts of nonfeasance, malfeasance, and misfeasance institutionalised and promoted by a strong patron-client relationship system have been reported to be prevalent in other emerging nations.²⁵

²² *Al-Nahar* (Beirut), March 20, 1971.

²³ See Lebanon, *Report of the Head of the Civil Service Commission for 1966, 1967, 1968*, Beirut.

²⁴ For further details and illustrations see: *Al-Safa* (Beirut), December 23, 1954; *Al-Nahar* (Beirut), December 23, 1969, November 23, 1970, and April 8, 1971; *Al-Anba* (Beirut), August 14, 1965; Lebanon, *Annual Report of the Central Inspection Administration*, 1965, published in *Al-Nahar*, March 3, 1958; Lebanon, *Annual Report of the Civil Service Commission*, 1960.

²⁵ Ruben Reina, "Two Patterns of Friendship in a Guatemalan Community", *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 61, pp. 44-50, 1959; Wraith and Simpkins, *op. cit.*, esp. pp. 33-51; Andreski, *op. cit.*, esp. ch. 7; Jeremy Boissevain, "Maltese Village Politics and their Relation to National Politics", *Journal of Commonwealth Political Studies*, Vol. 1, 1962, pp. 211-227; Jeremy Boissevain, *Saints and Fireworks; Religion and Politics in Rural Malta*, London, Athlone Press, 1965; J.K. Campbell, *Honour, Family and Patronage*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1964; G.M. Foster, "The Dyadic Contract: A Model for the Social Structure of a Mexican Peasant Village", *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 63, pp. 1173-1192, 1961; Michael Kenny, "Patterns of Patronage in Spain", *Anthropological Quarterly*, Vol. 33, 1960, pp. 14-23; A.A. Trowborst, "La mobilite de l'individu en fonction de l'organisation politique des Barundi", *Zaire*, Vol. 13, 1959, pp. 787-800; A.A. Trowborst, "L'organisation politique en tant que systeme d'échange au Barundi", *Anthropologica*, Vol. 3, 1961, pp. 1-17; A.A. Trowborst, "L'organisation politique et l'accord de clientele au Barundi," *Anthropologica*, Vol. 4, 1962, pp. 9-43; Eric R. Wolf, "Kinship, Friendship, and Patron-Client Relations in Complex Societies", in Michael P. Banton, (ed.), *The Social Anthropology of Complex Societies* (A.S.A. Monographs 4), London, Tavistock Publications, 1966.

Market Corruption

Institutionalised value systems of tradition, parochialism, and patron-client relationships play only a partial role in bringing about and encouraging bureaucratic corruption in developing countries. In order to understand the systematic aspect of market corruption, i.e., systematic extortion or bribe, which is quite prevalent in the Third World, we must turn to the analysis of the socio-economic and political structures that encourage it.

The scarcity of employment opportunities in the private sector and the overwhelming manpower supply in most emerging nations have forced their governments into the position of chief employer, causing a keen competition for public employment. Given the absence of rigorous enforcement of laws and an adequate level of public spirit, this situation has created fertile ground for the development of systematic bribery, favouritism and nepotism.²⁶ This atmosphere, together with the increasing and varied needs of the populations in developing countries, has caused a rapid expansion in their public bureaucracies, at times unnecessary and often to accommodate unqualified but influential people. This closed bureaucratic circle works as a potent socialising agency which initiates both citizens and public servants into the acceptance and art of bureaucratic corruption.²⁷ This prevalent situation in most newly independent countries is strikingly reminiscent of 17th century England where socio-economic and political arrangements were powerful socialising agencies in promoting market corruption.²⁸

Furthermore, in most emerging countries, the confusing network of government regulations and institutions has created a state of uncertainty quite favourable to the acceptance and institutionalisation of market corruption. In this state of uncertainty, and with the government not only the chief employer but also consumer, producer, and regulator, both citizens and public servants have learned to accept the inefficiency and ineffectiveness of the law as a fact, and to seek protection through corrupt means and practices. Moreover, this state of affairs has given public servants a golden opportunity to cultivate the art of market corruption by systematically using their public offices to protect and promote their own interests.²⁹

²⁶James C. Scott, *Comparative Political Corruption*, pp. 12-13.

²⁷Herbert Feith, *The Decline of Constitutional Democracy in Indonesia*; Herbert Feith, "Dynamics of Guided Democracy", in Ruth McVey (ed.), *op. cit.*; Lucian W. Pye, *Politics, Personality and Nation-Building: Burma's Search for Identity*, New Haven, Conn., Yale University Press, 1962; Lucian W. Pye, *South East Asia's Political Systems*, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1967.

²⁸H.R. Trevor-Roper, "The Gentry—1540-1640", *Economic History Review, Supplement 1*, London, Cambridge University Press, 1962, esp. pp. 10-11.

²⁹James C. Scott, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-16.

Tilman's study of the prevalence of market corruption in developing countries is illustrative. As a result of a system of government, characterized by created privileges and arrangements in the spheres of licensing, import-export permits, franchises, public finance, public works, and customs, influential entrepreneurs and wealthy businessmen compete in devising corrupt methods to gain booty. This competition, encouraged by the tendency of public officials to use the law for the satisfaction of their greed, leads to the establishment of an informal but extremely powerful system of transactions where systematic bribery, nepotism, and patronage thrive at the expense of the common good.³⁰

Illustrations of systematic corruption in these important sections of public bureaucracies abound in most developing countries.³¹ Daily newspapers in Lebanon, for example, have revealed the existence of powerful institutionalised market corruption in the customs section of the government; on the one hand, customs officials will not process transactions if bribes are not paid and, on the other hand, importers and exporters, in order to avoid delays and difficulties, seek to satisfy the greed of customs officials.³²

Market corruption has also been encouraged in most former colonies by the predominance of their bureaucratic structures. This was due originally to the concern of the colonial powers with establishing efficient and effective administration. The predominance of bureaucracies, which continued after independence has, according to Riggs, hindered the development of countervailing competitive groups, e.g., trade unions, political parties, and other interest groups.³³ As a result, public bureaucracies developed into uncontrolled bodies wielding overwhelming power and always seeking their own interests through the systematic extortion of bribes.³⁴ Overpowered by this bureaucratic phenomenon, citizens have learned to view it as a mysterious divinity in the face of which they feel helpless and bewildered.³⁵ As a result, they have accepted market corruption as a *modus vivendi*.

³⁰Robert O. Tilman, "Emergence of Black-Market Bureaucracy: Administration, Development and Corruption in the New States", *Political Administration Review*, Vol. 28, No. 5, September-October, 1968, pp. 437-444.

³¹James C. Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

³²For a number of specific illustrations see the following Lebanese dailies: *Al-Safa* (Beirut), December 23, 1954; *Al-Nahar* (Beirut), December 23, 1969, and November 23, 1970; *Al-Anba* (Beirut), August 14, 1965.

³³Fred W. Riggs, "Bureaucrats and Political Development: A Paradoxical View", in Joseph LaPalombara (eds.), *op. cit.*, pp. 120-167.

³⁴John Dorsey, Jr., "Administrators: Bureaucrats and Policy-Makers", in Alex N. Dragnich and John C. Wahlke, (eds.), *Government and Politics*, New York, Random House, 1966, pp. 336-337.

³⁵Nicos P. Mouzelis, *Organization and Bureaucracy*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967, p. 10.

Bureaucratic predominance in developing countries also finds a fertile ground for market corruption in the educational gap between the trained or experienced bureaucrat and the illiterate citizen. Most uneducated citizens are unaware of the public services due to them as a matter of right. Thus, they believe they are requesting personal favours when they approach public officials for any of these services. Citizens' ignorance has been systematically exploited and encouraged by the officials, who believe that living up to their responsibilities is not a matter of public duty but rather a matter of personal favour for which they ought to be paid.³⁶

SOCIALISATION AGENCIES

This analysis so far has sustained the premise that bureaucratic corruption in developing countries is the result of institutionalised attitudes and patterns of behaviour deeply ingrained in bureaucrats and their clients through socialisation. In order to remove it, a new socialisation process is needed to resocialise both citizens and public servants into new attitudes and patterns of behaviour favourable to public integrity. Thus, in order to be successful, bureaucratic reforms must be the result of a congruent change in all the component elements of the social system.³⁷ This, we believe, can be accomplished through a new process of socialisation implemented by the following agencies: the family, the peer group, the school, secondary groups, and the communications media.

The Family

The family may be called upon to help children develop new attitudes and patterns of behaviour.³⁸ This role as socialisation agency is strengthened

³⁶Jose V. Abueva, "Conditions of Administrative Development: Exploring Administrative Culture and Behavior in the Philippines", Bloomington, Indiana, Indiana University, *Comparative Administrative Group*, unpublished paper, 1966, p. 25.

³⁷Our emphasis on the importance of congruent patterns of administrative culture for stable, non-corrupt, and dynamic administrative systems in emerging nations is based on Eckstein's idea of congruence. He considers congruence in the patterns of authority as a *sine qua non* for a relatively stable and dynamic democracy. Harry Eckstein, *A Theory of Stable Democracy*, Princeton, Princeton University Center of International Studies, 1961. Congruity is also an essential concept to Parsonian systems analysis. Parsons refers to it as collectivity-orientation; that is, actors in the system make action choices with the purpose of maintaining the integrity of the system. Talcott Parsons, *The Social System*, New York, The Free Press, 1964, pp. 96-98. Braibanti and Caiden have also made the same point; Ralph Braibanti, (ed.), *Political and Administrative Development*, Durham, North Carolina, Duke University Press, 1969, esp. p. 3; G.E. Caiden, *Administrative Reform*, Chicago, Aldine Publishing Co., 1969.

³⁸F. Elkin, *op. cit.*, James C. Davies, "The Family's Role in Political Socialization", *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 361, September, 1965, pp. 10-19; Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, *The Civic Culture*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1963, pp. 266-306; Richard E. Dawson and Kenneth Prewitt, *Political Socialization*, Boston, Little, Brown and Company, 1969, pp. 65-73; Robert Winch, *Identification and Its Familial Determinants*, Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill, 1962.

by two factors: first, the family enjoys a nearly exclusive access to the child during the period of his critical formative years; second, the relationships, ties and attitudes the child develops in the family during these years are emotionally significant and will most likely influence his adult behaviour. It is these two factors that lead us to believe that the family can be an important factor in reducing bureaucratic corruption in emerging nations.³⁹

Our belief is founded on the English precedent. The eradication of corruption between 1660 and 1860 in England reflects to a great extent the socialising function of the family. During the Industrial Revolution a new business community emerged in England, characterised by new attitudes and patterns of behaviour, and concerned with greater efficacy in the Government and greater integrity in society. This new community was quite successful in transmitting its attitudes, expectations and patterns of behaviour to its children, some of whom played an important role in reforming the English civil service. Men of the second generation of prosperous industrialists, such as Gladstone, Peel, Cobden, and Bright began to appear in the House of Commons and to display non-corrupt patterns of behaviour in harmony with the attitudes passed on to them by their parents.⁴⁰ It was Gladstone, for example, who appointed a committee in 1869 to examine the methods of conducting parliamentary and municipal elections with the aim of reducing intimidation and bribery and limiting expenses.⁴¹ It was he, also, who introduced the Redistribution Act of 1885 which wiped out most of the small borough electorates where bribery had been most rampant.⁴² Also, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, he appointed Sir Charles Trevelyan and Sir Stafford Northcote to investigate the civil service at home. Their endeavour culminated in the famous Northcote-Trevelyan Report.⁴³

This important role of the family as a potent socialisation agency was fully understood and used by the early 19th century Methodist churches. Because the thriving corruption of the 18th and 19th centuries had become intolerable to these churches,⁴⁴ they turned their attention to working class

³⁹F. Elkin, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

⁴⁰Wraith and Simpkins, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

⁴¹A.B. Keith, *The Constitution of England from Queen Victoria to George VI*, London, Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1946.

⁴²W.B. Gwyn, *Democracy and the Cost of Politics in Britain*, London, Athlone Press, 1962.

⁴³Peter G. Richards, *Patronage in British Government*, London, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1963, pp. 37-61.

⁴⁴Arthur Young, *An Enquiry into the State of the Public Mind Amongst the Lower Classes*, London, W.J. E.J. Richardson, 1798; Arthur T. Hart, *The Country Priest in English History*, London, Phoenix House, 1959; Arthur T. Hart, *Clergy and Society, 1600-1800*, London, S.P.C.K., 1968; Arthur T. Hart and Edward Frederick Carpenter, *The Nineteenth*

families and did much to teach them how to exercise power without corruption, hoping that they, in turn, would transmit the new standards to their children and thus reduce the effects of corruption.⁴⁵ Moreover, in rural areas the Methodists were often firmly against the established order and by training men in self-government they helped to sweep away ecclesiastical and aristocratic corruption in its strongest citadel.⁴⁶ Congregationalists, Baptists, Unitarians and many other groups followed this pattern, and all played a part in destroying corruption.

Thus, the English precedent is a clear indication that the family can be promoted as an effective agency of socialisation. It may be called upon in developing countries to transmit to younger generations, who will be public servants or clients, public-spirited bureaucratic attitudes in order to reduce corruption.

Peer Groups

The promotion of the family by influential English social groups as an effective agency of socialisation contributed indirectly as well to the elimination of corrupt bureaucratic attitudes and behaviour; English children imparted with a new sense of integrity spread their new values among the members of their peer groups reinforcing similar ones and weakening those antagonistic to public integrity. Thus we believe that peer groups may also be promoted as instruments of administrative socialisation in developing countries. Our belief is strengthened by the fact that the family is not the only primary institution intimately linked to the child, especially during the crucial years of adolescence. The family as an agency of socialisation may be reinforced by peer groups whose members share relatively equal status and intimate ties. The significance of peer groups as potent socialising agencies has been emphasised by a number of scholars who find that peer groups are supplanting parents and other authority figures as the most significant agencies of socialisation in its administrative, political and social dimensions.⁴⁷

(Continued from page 683)

Century Country Parson, Circa 1832-1900, Shrewsbury, Wilding and Son, 1954; Spencer C. Carpenter, *Eighteenth Century Church and People*, London, John Murray, 1959; Norman Sykes, *The Church of England and Non-Episcopal Churches in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, London, S.P.C. K., 1948.

⁴⁵Wraith and Simpkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 134-135.

⁴⁶W.D. Morris, *The Christian Origins of Social Revolt*, London, Allen and Unwin, 1949.

⁴⁷This point has been emphasized by a number of scholars, e.g., David Riesman, R. Denney, and Nathan Glazer, *The Lonely Crowd*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1950; S.N. Eisenstadt, *From Generation to Generation*, New York, The Free Press, 1956, p. 54; Talcott Parsons, "The School Class as a Social System: Some of its Functions in American Society", *Harvard Education Review*, Vol. 29, 1959, pp. 297-318; James Coleman, *The Adolescent Society*, New York, The Free Press, 1961; Dawson and Prewitt, *op. cit.*, pp. 129-131.

In conclusion, our belief that peer groups can be promoted, in developing countries, as adequate agencies of socialisation is founded on two fundamental facts: first, peer groups enjoy an extensive and intimate access to their attentive members, and access and attentiveness are two essential prerequisites for socialisation. The individual member is in close interaction with other members of his peer group; he discusses and exchanges ideas with them. This face-to-face interaction facilitates to a great extent the reciprocal transmission of administrative orientations and helps shape the individual administrative culture. Second, peer groups are generally characterised by highly personal and emotional ties and thus play a critical role in determining the individual's socialisation patterns.⁴⁸

Emerging nations may utilise most effectively this potential enjoyed by peer groups to initiate their members into a new culture favourable to public integrity. Through adequate curricula in the educational system, relevant content in the mass media and apposite programmes in primary and secondary groups, public officials and concerned citizens can introduce members of peer groups to the drawbacks of bureaucratic corruption and the advantages of a responsible public service in the difficult task of nation-building. As a consequence of this initiation, and because of their emotional ties and access to each other, members of peer groups will be quite influential in reinforcing among themselves the new attitudes and beliefs, and in initiating newcomers into them.⁴⁹

The School

Another effective agency of socialisation may be found in the school. No one contests the school's socialising role because, like the family, it is in a privileged position to influence the child's social attitudes during his decisive formative years.⁵⁰ Knowledge about the importance of this role emerged

⁴⁸Elihu Katz and Paul F. Lazarsfeld, *Personal Influence*, New York, The Free Press, 1955, p. 44; Dorwin Cartwright and Alvin Zander, "Group Pressures and Group Standards: Introduction", in Cartwright and Zander (eds.), *Group Dynamics: Research and Theory*, New York, Harper and Row, 1960, p. 169.

⁴⁹An illustration of the effectiveness of such an approach was found by the author while travelling in Lebanon in the summer of 1972. In a number of villages and cities, clubs and societies have been organised by local schools and concerned citizens with the objective of promoting an awareness of the responsibilities of both government and citizens in the difficult task of nation-building. This endeavour is being carried out through a number of channels; availability to the membership of an adequate selection of civics books, and special seminars, workshops and conferences with speakers emphasising the drawbacks of corruption and the advantages of public integrity. These ideas were carried by those attending to their peers; discussed and screened, they reinforced a growing awareness of the duties and rights of those who govern and those who are governed.

⁵⁰Talcott Parsons, "The School Class as a Social System."

early in history.⁵¹ Moreover, it has been established that in both developed and developing countries, the school, through formal channels (curriculum, ritual, and teaching staff), and informal ones (social composition of the school, extra-curricular activities, and student social groups), affects the individual's social self and outlooks.⁵² Thus, a society which sets for itself the goal of achieving a rapid change in its culture and patterns of behaviour in order to reduce corruption would find the school among the most effective means.⁵³ Dahl confirms this assertion : "This is the one place where all children in a community or a district, regardless of nationality, religion, politics or social status, meet and work together in a cooperative and a harmonious spirit."⁵⁴

Our belief that the school can be used effectively to curb corruption in the emerging nations is based also on the history of the reform of the English civil service. In English history, education was an important factor in the elimination of corruption not only from the civil service but also from all dimensions of society. It "was the spread of elementary education and the surge forward in mass literacy given by the Education Act of 1870"⁵⁵ that helped curb corruption in Britain. As a consequence of the Northcote-Trevelyan Act, which recognised the importance of the school as an important agency of socialisation, public servants were sent to be trained in colleges and universities where attitudes of integrity and morality were passed on to them. The resultant combination of intellectual, athletic, and moral excellence was so impressive that rich leaders in the colonies became anxious to send their sons to British public schools to acquire the same prestigious qualities.⁵⁶

The belief of British leaders in the effectiveness of the school in eradicating corruption led them to remove the corrupt teachers characteristic of the 18th and 19th centuries and to replace them by others whose integrity and devotion were beyond question. Thus, a clean system of elementary education provided the English society with officials whose main objective was service rather than exploitation.⁵⁷

⁵¹See J.J. Rousseau, *Emile*, Francois Pierre Richard, ed., Paris, Garnier, 1957, p. 10; David Thomson, *Democracy in France*, 3rd ed., London Oxford University Press, 1958, p. 143; Edgar Litt, "Education and Political Enlightenment in America", *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 361, September, 1965, p. 35.

⁵²For a fuller discussion of the formal and informal educational channels see Dawson and Prewitt, *op. cit.*, esp. pp. 141-175.

⁵³S.M. Lipset, *Political Man*, Garden City, Doubleday Anchor, 1960, esp. p. 187; V.O. Key, Jr., *Public Opinion and American Democracy*, New York, Knopf, 1961, pp. 323-331.

⁵⁴Robert Dahl, *Who Governs?*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1961, pp. 316-317.

⁵⁵Wraith and Simpkins, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, p. 96.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, p. 145.

The success of the British school as an agency of socialisation indicates that through similar endeavours—expansion of literacy, curricula offering knowledge of government, and an emphasis on moral excellence and public integrity—educational institutions in the countries of the Third World can also play an influential role in curbing bureaucratic corruption.

Secondary Groups

Secondary groups can also be used to reduce corrupt attitudes and patterns of behaviour in the developing countries. As agencies of socialisation, they exert a strong influence in moulding values, attitudes and patterns of behaviour, particularly among adults. They develop in their members an awareness of the social system, a disposition to participate in it, and a keen sense of efficacy.⁵⁸ De Tocqueville thought them to be potent agents of socialisation and stabilisation in the American democracy.⁵⁹ Their role in socialisation is reinforced by the fact that members tend to identify emotionally with their norms and to assess administrative, political, or social events by reference to group standards.⁶⁰ The members of secondary groups "become sensitive to the group's political norms and make political evaluations according to what is best for the group and what it stands for... secondary groups are influential, particularly during youth and adulthood, as the influence of the family and school wanes. For that reason they are most influential for the types of learning that occur after childhood."⁶¹

Finally, our belief in the ability of secondary groups to help curb bureaucratic corruption in developing countries is strengthened by the English precedent. In England, corruption as an accepted system received the *coup de grace* through the emergence of a fully developed party system. According to Ostrogorski,⁶² the growth of responsible political parties in England

⁵⁸David Truman, *The Governmental Process*, New York, Knopf, 1951, ch. 3; Dawson and Prewitt, *op. cit.*, pp. 186-191; S.M. Lipset, *op. cit.*, pp. 90-92; Almond and Verba, *op. cit.*, p. 309; R. Lane, *Political Life: Why People Get Involved in Politics*, New York, The Free Press, 1959, pp. 187-203; S. Verba, "Organizational Membership and Democratic Consensus", *Journal of Politics*, Vol. 28, 1965, pp. 467-497.

⁵⁹Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, New York, Vintage Books, 1945, esp. pp. 114-118; S.M. Lipset, Martin Trow and James Coleman, *Union Democracy: What Makes Democracy Work in Labor Organizations?*, New York, The Free Press, 1956; William Kornhauser, *The Politics of Mass Society*, New York, The Free Press, 1959.

⁶⁰For a detailed study of group impact on the formation of political attitudes and behavior see R.E. Dawson, *The Local Union and Political Behavior: Some Aspects of Group Influence on Individual Attitudes and Behavior*, Evanston, Ill., Northwestern University, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, 1963, esp. Ch. 2; Angus Campbell, Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller and D.E. Stokes, *The American Voter*, New York, Wiley, 1960, Ch. 12.

⁶¹Dawson and Prewitt, *op. cit.*, pp. 189-191.

⁶²S. Ostrogorski, *Democracy and the Organization of Political Parties*, New York, Haskell House Publishers, 1970.

manifested itself not only in the emergence of more comprehensive and positive governmental programmes, but also in the transmitting to society a sense of integrity which had a great impact on the attitudes and behaviour of the individual : "The more the parties were able to communicate a serious sense of purpose, and a programme that affected both the nation and the individual in important ways, the less the ordinary person was disposed to treat an election as an amoral orgy; putting it somewhat lower, the great national parties had, in the moral climate of Victorian England, to appear virtuous at all costs, and this may have helped them to support as they did, the great Corrupt and Illegal Practices Bill of 1883."⁶³

Another illustration of the effectiveness of secondary groups in reducing corruption in England can be found in the role of religious and other pressure groups. The Methodists and Quakers, for example, played an important role in the early 19th century in shaping the attitudes and behaviour of the working classes into a mould of integrity.⁶⁴ The Anti-Corn Law League, through publication of injustices and educational campaigns, proved to be invaluable in destroying corrupt practices in the political and administrative system.⁶⁵

These examples indicate that secondary groups, along with other socialisation agencies, can be quite effective in reducing corruption in the emerging countries of the Third World. Political parties, social clubs and associations may, through their intellectual and social activities, spread among their members a sense of integrity which is essential in shaping new attitudes and patterns of behaviour quite unfavourable to bureaucratic corruption.

The Mass Media

As a result of modern technological development, the mass media have emerged as an important agency of socialisation and an influential shaper of learning.⁶⁶ This role has been cogently emphasised by Hyman as follows: They are "efficient and their sweep is vast enough to cover the huge populations requiring modernization... Their modernization... is suited to producing widespread national uniformities in patterns of behavior."⁶⁷

⁶³Wraith and Simpkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 75 and 86.

⁶⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 134-135.

⁶⁵Norman Hunt, *Two Early Political Associations : The Quakers and the Dissenting Deputies in the Age of Sir Robert Walpole*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1961.

⁶⁶Reinhard Bendix, *Max Weber: An Intellectual Portrait*, New York, Doubleday, 1960, Chs. 12 and 13.

⁶⁷H.H. Hyman, "Mass Communication and Political Socialization: The Role of Patterns of Communications", in Lucian Pye (ed.), *Communications and Political Development*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1963, p. 143.

Hyman's statement leads us to deduce that the mass media may be used in developing countries to support other agencies in promoting among citizens new attitudes characterised by integrity in bureaucratic transactions. Our argument is upheld by a number of discoveries. First, research has demonstrated that the mass media play a crucial, though indirect, role in shaping the attitudes of people. Thus, the messages transmitted through the mass media reach an elite of opinion leaders who follow the news closely and pass it on to those with whom they have direct contact.⁶⁸ Second, the mass media transmit messages originating outside their scope. Administrative, political and socio-economic statements are picked up from various parts of the society, organised, and divulged to the public. Hence, if used correctly as moulders of non-corrupt attitudes, they would help reinforce correct patterns of behaviour and reduce bureaucratic corruption. Third, in developing countries the mass media can be most effective in transmitting a new culture and reinforcing other agencies of socialisation because their messages are received and interpreted in a social setting. "It is obvious that mass communication is a social process—a social person interacts with others, participates in cooperative social activities."⁶⁹ This point has been confirmed by Dawson and Prewitt in their study of the mass media as a means of socialisation : "The media affect the development of attitudes and opinions primarily in conjunction with other agents of socialisation.... Media act to reinforce the lessons passed on, probably, more effectively by the family, schools, peers, and other agents of political learning."⁷⁰

Finally, the mass media, and especially radio and television, may be virtually the only means of reaching the large number of illiterate or semi-literate adults which characterises most emerging nations. Even villages without electricity in the Middle East, for example, have at least one radio or television set powered by battery or generator in the village coffee house. More recently, battery-powered transistor radios from Japan have become very cheap and common. In one village in central Lebanon, familiar to the author, nearly every household has one. People follow the news very keenly and show an avid interest in information programmes. Film may also be an effective medium, particularly where television is not highly developed.⁷¹

⁶⁸For an analysis of this phenomenon and a full description of the role of the opinion leader in the two-step flow operation see Elihu Katz, "The Two-Step Flow of Communication: An Up-to-Date Report on an Hypothesis", *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. 21, 1957, pp. 61-78, and esp. p. 77; Elihu Katz and Paul Lazarsfeld, *op. cit.*

⁶⁹Eliot Friedson, "The Relation of the Social Situation of Contact to the Media in Mass-Communications", *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. 17, 1953, pp. 230-238. For an illustration from rural Greece, see Irwin T. Sanders, *Rainbow in the Rock*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1962.

⁷⁰Dawson and Prewitt, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

⁷¹Robert Crawford, "Cultural Change and Communications in Morocco", *Human Organization*, Vol. 24, No. 1, 1965, pp. 73-77.

Once more English precedent supplies a number of illustrations. The leading voices of English literature in the 19th century turned against the *laissez-faire* policy which, they thought, was responsible for corruption in elections.⁷² They also bitterly and most effectively criticised bureaucratic corruption. In the words of Wraith and Simpkins: "Dickens, Ruskin and Mathew Arnold detested the *laissez-faire* school of thought; Charles Kingsley, Charles Reade and Mrs. Gaskell were exposing the conditions of the towns; and George Eliot, Anthony Trollope, and, above all, George Meredith (*Beauchamp's Career*, 1875) showed what was happening at elections."⁷³

The influence of literature was interlocked with that of the press, which underwent a great expansion during this period. The press came down heavily on corruption by exposing its evils to the British people. The latter, increasingly more literate, had become capable of reading about the evils of corruption, and of expressing their shock, comparable in scope to that aroused by the televised investigations of the Watergate scandals in the United States in 1973. Moreover, along with such heroic figures as Charles and William Booth, who revealed the dire conditions of poverty in the country, the press moved with vigour against these conditions which were reinforced if not created by corruption, and created in British society an anti-corruption momentum which caused the growth of national platforms and programmes for reform.⁷⁴ The muckrakers played a similar role in the United States.⁷⁵

Thus, if the mass media played an important role in reducing corruption in English society, there seems to be no reason why they cannot play the same role in emerging nations. They may be used as a potent weapon to combat the ignorance and dishonest activities which contribute to bureaucratic corruption. Radio, television, and the press may promote knowledge of government by providing citizens with detailed information on procedures, customs duties, taxes, and on the time, money, and places involved in securing permits or other services. Through serious and responsible action by scholars, elites and the press, corrupt activities may be confounded and the corrupt condemned. In the words of Jeremy Bentham, "publicity is the very soul of justice. It is the keenest spur to exertion and the surest of all guards against improbabilities."⁷⁶

⁷²Hubert G. Nicholas, *To the Hustings: Election Scenes from English Fiction*, London, Cassell, 1956.

⁷³Wraith and Simpkins, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

⁷⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 65-76.

⁷⁵Arthur M. Weinberg, (ed.), *The Muckrakers*, New York, Simon and Schuster, 1961; Herbert Shapiro, *The Muckrakers and American Society*, Boston, D.C. Heath, 1968; Cornelius C. Regier, *The Era of the Muckrakers*, Gloucester, Mass., Peter Smith, 1957.

⁷⁶Quoted in R. Braibanti, "Reflections on Bureaucratic Corruption", p. 369.

CONCLUSION

In this paper we attempted to call the attention of both scholars and public officials disturbed by the nefarious effects of bureaucratic corruption in developing countries to the pitfalls inherent in their endeavours to reform public bureaucracies independently of their respective social systems. The dangers of such an approach, as we indicated, stem from the fact that bureaucratic corruption is created by attitudes and patterns of behaviour interwoven not only throughout the bureaucratic structures of emerging nations, but also throughout the whole of their social fabric. In other words, bureaucratic corruption is shaped and conditioned by defective cultural attitudes and patterns of behaviour deeply rooted and profoundly institutionalised in the hearts and minds of both public servants and their clients. Therefore, attempts to reform public bureaucracies as independent systems are necessary but not sufficient. These actions would be dealing with the symptoms rather than with the causes of the disease. Such an approach resembles the experience of Hercules with the seven-headed monster Hydra. When he cut off one head, two sprang up in its place; he only slew the creature after he was able to cauterise the stumps, thus completely destroying its life.

Likewise, in order to eliminate the bureaucratic corruption which threatens to engulf public honesty and integrity in developing countries, a simple suppression of its symptoms is fraught with the dangers of giving it more strength. Successful bureaucratic reform can be accomplished only through the extirpation of the roots of corruption which penetrate the entire social body in the form of corrupt but profoundly institutionalised cultural attitudes and patterns of behaviour. A process of resocialisation, embracing the whole society, and implemented through primary and secondary agencies of socialisation, appears to be the best remedy for the ravages of bureaucratic corruption in developing countries.



PROFESSIONAL POLICY-MAKING : THE CASE OF INDIAN POPULATION POLICY*

Uday C. Desai

THIS is a paper about policy-making in India, not about population. As the title of the paper indicates, it deals with population policy-making in India. Thus, we are primarily concerned with the *process* of population policy-making, and not with either the desirability of a particular set of policies or the problems of management in population programme. Questions such as the following are addressed in this paper:

1. How is the population problem defined and by whom?
2. How and why has the definition of the 'problem' changed over the years?
3. Who participates and in what ways in defining and changing the definition of the programme or policy responses to the 'problem'?
4. What are their underlying assumptions and self-interests?
5. How are these policy-making groups (definers, formulators) tied to the implementation machinery? or are they interested or involved in implementation?
6. How do the policy administrators participate in policy-making? What are the consequences?

In general, we are concerned with the question of: *Who* makes the policy, in response to what and to *whose* needs and perceptions? *Who* implements these policies and programmes, in response to *whose* needs and perceptions?

The paper attempts to identify the major actors, both individuals and institutions, in making, influencing and implementing population policy for India. Their self-interests, their perceptions of the public interest, and

* This paper was presented at the Mid-Atlantic Region Asian Studies Conference in November, 1975, with the title "Population Policy-Making in India".

their ideology are identified and their impact on population policy is explored.

In all the voluminous literature produced on the population problems and policies of India, and it certainly is voluminous, we have been unable to find a single source that systematically deals with the process of *making* population (family planning) policy. Ours is an account of this policy-making process.

THE CONGRESS AND POPULATION POLICY

It is commonly agreed that the Indian Government was one of the first in the world to recognise its population problem and to have a stated national position on it. However, concern with India's population problem had existed long before her independence. National leaders were drawing public attention to the problem. It is clear, for example, that the Congress Party leaders were concerned about the increasing population of India long before independence. In 1936, at the Haripura session of the Indian National Congress, Subhas Chandra Bose, in his presidential address, remarked: "With regard to the long period programme for a free India, the first problem to be tackled is that of our increasing population. I... want to point out that where poverty, starvation and disease are stalking the land, we cannot afford to have our population mounting up by thirty million during a single decade.... It will, therefore, be desirable to restrict our population until we are able to feed, clothe and educate those who already exist. It is not necessary at this stage to prescribe the method that should be adopted to prevent a further increase in population, but I would urge that public attention be drawn to this question."¹

Apparently the need for restricting population was clearly perceived and not too politically controversial. The appropriate method, on the other hand, was either not clearly perceived or was a politically sensitive issue at the time. The National Planning Committee, chaired by Nehru, in 1938, resolved that "It is desirable to lay stress on self-restraint as well as to spread knowledge of cheap and safe methods of birth control."² Gandhi, however, was quite unambiguous in his views on both the need for population control and the proper methods. "There can be no two opinions about the necessity of birth control. But the only method handed down from ages past is self-control or *Brahmacharya*. It is an infallible sovereign remedy, doing good to those who practise it. The union is meant not for pleasure but for bringing forth progeny."³

¹Census of India for 1951, Vol. I, Pt. I, quoted in C.B. Mamoria, *Population and Family Planning in India*, Allahabad, Kitab Mahal, 1959, pp.76-77.

²Ibid.

³Ibid., p. 82.

Other leaders, particularly civic and professionals in health, medicine and demography also publicly raised the 'population' problem. As early as 1931, the Census Commissioner for India had remarked: "The increase of population is from most points of view a cause of alarm rather than satisfaction."⁴ The All-India Women's Conference in 1933 passed a resolution that "birth control be included in all municipal public health services."⁵ In the year preceding India's independence, the Health Survey and Development Committee (The Bhore Committee)⁶ published its 1200-page report. It unanimously recommended birth control and outlined measures that the Government should take. These governmental measures were to provide free contraceptives to women who need birth control for health reasons, to regulate the sale and manufacture of contraceptives, to support financially research on effective methods of birth control, and to educate the masses on the desirability and methods of family planning.⁷

The National Planning Committee in its 1948 report on population called for vigorous propaganda via municipalities, district boards and panchayats advocating families of four children or less, spaced from two to four years apart.⁸

However, there seems to have been little awareness of the difficulties inherent in preventing births. The stress was on self-restraint; only a cautious mention was made of spreading knowledge of cheap and effective artificial methods of birth control. No national or Congress Party policy on the matter existed then. The problem was perceived. It was perceived, defined and debated by national leaders in the Congress Party and by experts in the closely related fields. There was little sense of urgency about it. The urgent task was to gain political independence.

After independence, the primary task was seen as the removal of mass poverty and backwardness through economic growth and social transformation. A new body, the Planning Commission, was set up to prepare national development plans and to make recommendations for their implementation. From the beginning, the Planning Commission has articulated overall governmental population control policies. This Commission, under Nehru's chairmanship, accepted population growth as a problem, a hindrance, but not a major hindrance, to raising the standard of living of India's masses.

⁴Census of India for 1951, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 77.

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 78. It was made up of "top-ranking" medical men in the country.

⁷GOI Health Survey and Development Committee, *Report*, Vol. II, Government Publications, quoted in Mamoria, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-78.

⁸National Planning Committee, *Report on Population*, 1948, p. 67, quoted in Mamoria, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-78.

The draft outline of the First Five Year Plan noted that "increasing pressure of population on natural resources retards economic progress and limits seriously the rates of extension of social services so essential to civilized existence", and pointed out that "frequent and ill-spaced child-births undermine the health of the mother. A high birth rate under conditions of poverty and malnutrition is inevitably connected with a high rate of infant mortality."⁹ The Commission thus defined the population problem as follows: 'too many babies are born every year. This dilutes economic progress and social services for the masses'. It was also defined as a cause of poor maternal health and high infant mortality. Thus the Commission followed in the same line of thinking as earlier by the National Congress Party leaders. It did not go any further.

The family planning programmes were included in the health section of the Plan. The family planning programmes to be effected during the First Plan period (1951-56) included providing medical advice on family planning in hospitals, maternity and child welfare clinics, to married women who needed it for the sake of their health, *collecting data* on people's reproductive patterns, attitudes, and motivations, developing methods of educating the people on family planning, *conducting laboratory research* on the physiology of human fertility, and *studying* the inter-relationships between economic, social and population changes.¹⁰

The Planning Commission provided Rs. 65 lakhs for family planning programmes in the First Plan. However, only about Rs. 15 lakhs were spent. The emphasis, in the First Plan, was on gathering basic information (demographic and attitudinal) and conducting research. There was little, if any, 'action', on making contraceptives available to the masses or on increasing 'awareness' of the masses. Rhythm and abstinence as birth control techniques were emphasized.¹¹

FAMILY PLANNING IN THE PLANS

The treatment of the population problem in the First Plan reveals certain basic assumptions of the planners. It was assumed that the solution to the population problem is to increase family planning by married couples in reproductive years, and that family planning is rightly a part of maternal and child health care and welfare. Thus the solution was implicitly assumed to be found through health care. The Plan then emphasised programmes

⁹Draft Outline of the Five Year Plan, 1951, p. 16, quoted in Mamoria, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

¹⁰C. Chandrasekaran, "Population Policy in India", in S.N. Agarwala (ed.), *India's Population: Some Problems in Perspective Planning*, Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1960, pp. 144-145.

¹¹B. Chatterjee and Navrekha Singh, *A Guide to Voluntary Action in Family Planning*, New Delhi, Population Council of India, 1972, p. 11.

for collecting a wide range of pertinent demographic data and for research in human reproductive behaviour.

The population problem had thus been transformed into a family planning problem and that in turn into a health problem. Advice on birth control and contraceptives, it logically followed, was to be dispensed at hospitals and health clinics, especially maternity and child welfare clinics, by medical officers. The dominance of traditionalists and Gandhians on birth control policy was evident in two important policy choices made in the First Plan. One was the proviso that contraceptive advice be offered only to mothers and only for health reasons. And second, rhythm was advocated as the method. The then Health Minister, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, was strongly opposed to any mechanical or chemical methods of contraception, both on religious and philosophical grounds. Her view prevailed, and rhythm became the method dispensed by the Government health clinics. The Health Ministry established a bureaucratic jurisdiction on the family planning policy and programme at this early stage.

One other significant event should be mentioned. The Government of India requested and received help, in the form of a visit by an expert, from an international organisation, WHO. This is significant, because by it, India gained an international reputation as a leader in the family planning field, and also because it established a pattern of reliance on international experts and advice that has continued since then.

To sum up, population was perceived and defined as a problem at a macro level, for its impact on economic growth. The national planners and some Congress Party leaders were responding to the perceived consequences of population growth on their aims of rapid aggregated economic progress. Theirs was an abstract, largely quantitative concern with aggregates. The problem was perceived quite differently by the health bureaucracy and professionals. They were responding to the need for enhancing maternal and child health and welfare through the provision of family planning and contraception services to mothers. The first group was dominated by economists and demographers; the second by medical doctors, public health experts and social work professionals.¹²

There was little, if any, public debate on the issue. The political leadership, particularly in the Health Ministry, with their traditional and Gandhian biases, kept the policy responses in line with the traditional and moralistic thinking. The masses did not see a national problem in having too many

¹²For a good brief history of the women's movements in India and their involvement in family planning work, see Kamla Manekkar, *Voluntary Efforts in Family Planning : A Brief History*, New Delhi, Abhinav Publications, 1974.

children. They did not expect or hope the Government to make it possible for them to have fewer children. It was a problem perceived and defined by the national elites, especially professional elites, with some support from 'Western' minded political leadership.

Both the professional elites and the traditional political elites could agree to set up a large programme of data collection and research. For professionals this was both an essential prerequisite to the formulation of a rational policy and programme and also a source of future political strength (since knowledge is, after all, the basic source of professional power). For traditional political leadership, it postponed the need for any clear policy regarding the population problem.

During the 1950's the concept that the population problem is essentially a family planning problem became deeply embedded in the thinking of the national elites concerned with the problem. The Ministry of Health at the Centre and the health bureaucracy in the States and the field were strengthened administratively with regard to their family planning capabilities. A substantial network of urban and rural family planning clinics was set up under the health bureaucracy. The Second Five Year Plan (1956-61) envisioned the setting up of about 500 urban clinics and 2,000 rural clinics (to be opened in association with primary health units). The establishment of institutes for training family planning personnel and of centres for contraceptive testing and evaluation, and bio-medical and demographic research was also envisioned. The Plan allocated nearly Rs. 5 crores for family planning programmes. However, at the end of the Plan period, less than half of the monies allocated to family planning was spent. The emphasis in the Second Plan was on clinic-based provision of birth control services to the people.¹³ The Plan also made provision for extended research in demography, physiology of human reproduction and means of communications. In the last year of the Plan male and female sterilization as a contraceptive method was officially sanctioned.¹⁴ Research on reproductive biology and demography was emphasised. The medical and health professionals established themselves as the group solely responsible for the administrative machinery through which policy was implemented. The demographers established their place in this policy process as experts in collecting, refining and interpreting the basic information on population necessary for any rational policy formulation. A number of demographic and medical research and training centres were set up to provide an institutional base for these professionals and to train new members. The power of the traditional, moralistic, political elite over the family planning policies disappeared in the latter part of the decade. A clear break came when

¹³Chandrasekaran, *op. cit.* pp., 146-47.

¹⁴Chatterjee and Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

male and female sterilization was officially sanctioned and Central assistance for sterilization was made available in 1960-61. Rajkumari Amrit Kaur and the traditionalists she represented had lost their influence in this policy area by the end of the decade.

INTERNATIONAL AGENCIES' SUPPORT

International agencies, particularly private American foundations, became more active in family planning policy and programmes, primarily through their monetary support for research and for inviting western experts to advise Indian agencies. The Ford Foundation and the Population Council were most active. The U.N. also provided some support for research and training.

By the beginning of the 1960's, the policy process had become institutionalised. The major participants were: the Health Ministry, especially the family planning bureaucracy, at the Centre; the Planning Commission, especially the officials in charge of health; professional elites in the fields of health, medicine and demography, including academic and private practitioners as well as governmental and research and training centre personnel; the international donor agencies, and the international consultants (mostly Americans).

The (economic) planners and demographers provided continuous articulation of the population problem, with arguments based on more thorough and accurate demographic data.

The Health Ministry at the Centre consolidated and expanded its jurisdiction on the family planning programmes. The family planning programme had become synonymous with the population policy, the response to the population problem. It stressed close integration of family planning services with the basic health service network. The medical profession had established its jurisdiction on the research and approval of methods of contraception. For example, it cleared the IUD's for mass use in 1965. Thus the health professionals and bureaucracy had established their primacy over implementation of family planning/population policy.

No other Ministry was substantially involved. This was true at the Centre, State and the periphery levels. The political executives and the legislature at the State level were almost totally ignored and were, in turn, indifferent to the whole thing.¹⁵ The political parties and leadership generally showed similar indifference to the whole issue. The populace, of course, was

¹⁵Exceptions existed, of course; Madras State was one. For detailed treatment of this point, see J.D. Sethi, "Political Aspects of Family Planning," in V. Jagannadham, ed., *Family Planning in India: Policy and Administration*, New Delhi, IIPA, pp. 241-246.

still in no way involved in the policy processes. The masses were still unaware of the existence of the problem, let alone a response to the problem. Outside the relevant professional circles, little or no public or political debate took place. It became a bureaucratic, 'professional' policy, to be discussed and agreed upon by 'experts' in and outside the Government. Issues related to implementation mechanisms (administrative and organisational arrangements and re-arrangements) came to claim the most energy and concern, since the professional experts readily agreed upon or respected the basic assumptions, needs and self-interests of their fellow professionals, even outside their own professions.

By the mid-1960's, there was one important addition to this policy process which had become institutionalised, the increasing influence of western, particularly American, donors and advisors. In 1964, some eminent Indian gynaecologists and family planning experts were invited to New York to take part in an international conference on the IUD. The IUD was introduced in India with wildly exaggerated claims and fanfare soon afterwards.

In 1965, the then Secretary-General of the International Planned Parenthood Federation, Sir Colville Deverell, led a UN Evaluation Mission to India. It commended the Indian Government for its family planning services and made recommendations to strengthen the administrative and organisational machinery of family planning.

The international agencies and experts conferred increased status to the policy formulated and implemented by the professionals and also provided personal opportunities for travel and research. Whether the international experts and consultants contributed anything useful is not readily agreed upon.¹⁶

In the second half of the 1960's, the pattern of policy-making established earlier continued with some shifts in emphasis. Concern with the administrative mechanism, natural to bureaucrats, continued, and various administrative and organisational changes were made. A department of family planning was established in 1966 within the Ministry of Health, renamed as the Ministry of Health and Family Planning. This was to give 'fillip' to the family planning programme—a typical bureaucratic response to the shortcomings of the programme. At the political level, a new Cabinet level committee of five Union Ministers, headed initially by the Prime Minister and later by the Finance Minister, was set up to provide policy guidance. The other

¹⁶For a critical view of international experts in the population policy and programmes of poor countries and of India respectively see : Aaron Segal, "The Rich, the Poor and Population," in *Demography: India*, II, 1, (June 1973), pp. 5-17. D. Banerji, *Family Planning in India : A Critique and a Perspective*, New Delhi, People's Publishing House, 1971.

four members of this committee were the Ministers of Health and Family Planning and Works, Housing, and Urban Development and the Ministers of State for Finance, Social Welfare and Health and Family Planning. Also created was a Central Family Planning Council. Advisory in nature, it includes all the State Ministers for Health and Family Planning, representatives of voluntary organisations, institutions and some distinguished individuals. The Union Minister for Health and Family Planning serves as chairman, the Minister of State for Health and Family Planning as vice-chairman.

In 1967, Dr. S. Chandrasekhar, a well known demographer and crusader for birth control, was appointed Minister of State for Health and Family Planning. The influence of foreign experts and consultants then reached its peak. Dr. Chandrasekhar publicly (proudly) acknowledged the role of foreign experts when he commented that his "predecessor was opposed to including the pill in the official family planning programme, but *after discussions with experts in the World Health Organisation and the USAID, I have approved its use.*"¹⁷ He further claimed that there was no need to worry about expenditure of hard currency to buy the pill, because he had received a promise of generous American dollar aid for this, from President Johnson and AID officials, during his visit to Washington, D.C.¹⁸

A more detailed and lucid example of the great influence of foreign experts in population policy-making is supplied by Marcus Franda in his short journalistic description of the Nirodh programme in India.¹⁹ The idea of marketing condoms on a mass scale was first discussed in 1963 by a small group at the Indian Institute of Management in Calcutta (IIMC). Peter S. King from MIT, who provided the leadership for the group, and Dr. Donald Bogue of the University of Chicago formulated many of the original ideas. The group also included two family planning consultants from the Ford Foundation. The original idea, as Mr. King put it, was simply "*to secure the co-operation of Government and private business to adopt what might be termed a 'brute force' promotional strategy.*"²⁰ The IIMC group decided, apparently without much difficulty, that condoms were the thing to be marketed.

This group apparently made a major policy decision, almost entirely

¹⁷S. Chandrasekhar, "How India is Tackling her Population Problem", *Population Review*, 13, No. 1 and 2, January-December 1969, 31. Emphasis added.

¹⁸Ibid., for details on USAID assistance for Indian family planning programmes see AID Bureau for Technical Assistance, Office of Population, *Population Programme Assistance*, October 1970.

¹⁹Marcus Franda, *Marketing Condoms in India : The Nirodh Programme* (Field Staff Report) Vol. XVI, No. 8, *American Universities Field Staff*, August 1972.

²⁰Ibid., p. 2, Emphasis added.

without public debate or participation by elected or appointed public servants. The decision of this small group, dominated by American experts, it appears, became the policy of the Government of India, i.e., of the family planning bureaucracy. More American and western experts and consultants were called in.²¹ One American consulting firm honestly admitted total ignorance in this area. It wrote in its report to the Ministry of Health and Family Planning that "it must be said that this project is being launched into largely uncharted seas . . . and that there is no historical precedent anywhere in the world's history for this."²² The experts did not need to worry about most of the programme. Most of the initial cost of the advertising was paid by USAID, through a grant to the family planning bureaucracy. USAID also provided hundreds of millions of condoms.

A major policy decision was made by a few foreigners and high level (usually western educated and rich or upper middle class) Indians, in and out of Government, to launch a nationwide promotional campaign and marketing scheme without any necessary basic knowledge at their disposal. The wholesale distributors and local retailers were the key to the success of the programme, but played no role in formulating it. It should, therefore, come as no surprise that their continued participation in the Nirodh programme depended on Central Government support and not on a perception of self-interest by the retailers or wholesalers, since the profit margin was negligible. It should also not be surprising that the condom promoters were greatly immersed in the discussion of issues such as whether the Nirodh condom was too large for Indian males, since its size is based on the physique of the western male, or whether the latex presently used to make the condoms is a nonconductor of heat. Such technical problems are always preferred by experts (is it not why they are called experts?) over the broader question of whether the whole approach may be irrelevant under present Indian conditions.

What has been achieved, so far, by the massive expenditure in money and manpower on family planning programmes? Absolute numbers on achievement measures are impressive. By the end of March 1971, about seven million sterilizations were performed, three million IUDs were inserted, and by 1968-69 over 325 million condoms distributed.²³ In terms of health infrastructure also, numbers are impressive. In 1970 there were 3,687 urban family planning clinics, 41,151 centres and 862 mobile units.²⁴

²¹Marcus Franda, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

²²Arthur D. Little Associates, quoted in Franda, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

²³See: GOI Planning Commission, *Fourth Plan: Mid-Term Appraisal*, Vol. II, December 1971, p. 222 and S.L. Ogale, *The Tragedy of Too Many*, New Delhi, Academy Books Limited, 1969, p. 24.

²⁴S. Chandrasekhar, *Abortion in a Crowded World*, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1971, p. 77.

However, compared to the magnitude of the task, the achievements fall far short of expectations and needs. At the end of 1971, a full 21 years after the Government officially embraced population control as a national goal, the Ministry of Health and Family Planning estimated that 13.33 million couples were protected by various methods, representing only 13.3 per cent of all Indian couples in the reproducing years.²⁵ This 13.3 per cent is a far cry from the target of more than 90 per cent users.²⁶ What has been the effect of this massive effort to 'protect' couples, in the reproductive years, on the rate of population growth in India? None, a glance at the population growth rate figures would suggest. "The population increase of 24.7 per cent between 1961 and 1971 was the highest ever, the earlier increase by census decades were 11.00 per cent in 1931, 14.23 per cent in 1941, 13.31 per cent in 1951, 21.6 per cent in 1961."²⁷ Thus the rate of population growth has gone up over the years, not down. Everything considered, we may conclude with Ogale²⁸ that some progress has been made, but the problem is far from under control and farther still from being solved.

The population policy-making process has not, as far as we can determine, greatly altered in the first half of the 1970's. However, a number of critical voices, mostly from among the ranks of professionals and experts, have been raised.²⁹ A little more attention is given to it by the Indian press and a few more political leaders and parties are showing signs of a little less than total indifference to the population problem. Not all of them or even most of them agree either with the basic assumptions of the policy elites or with their definition of the problem. However, it may be the beginning of genuine public debate and of the involvement of political leadership of all parties and at all levels of the Government and society.³⁰ The general coolness of the relationship between the U.S. and India and the departure of Dr. S. Chandrasekhar from the Government must certainly mean a decrease in the influence of American experts in the policy-making. There are rumblings that the population problem is too important to be left to the health and family planning bureaucracies and experts. It is being increasingly pointed out, in professional and academic circles at least, that population policy is not synonymous with family planning. Educational and social security policies may have more to do with solutions to the population problem than family planning programmes. Government may not be capable, by bureaucratic

²⁵David G. Mandelbaum, *Human Fertility in India*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1974, p. 8.

²⁶*Ibid.*

²⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

²⁸Ogale, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

²⁹For example see various essays in V. Jagannadham, *op. cit.* Also see D. Banerji, *op. cit.*, and Aaron Segal, *op. cit.*

³⁰J.D. Sethi, *op. cit.*

apparatus alone, of making any impact on the problem, but instead all institutions in the society—voluntary, business, industry, labour and social institutions such as tribal and caste organisations—must be made active participants if the problem is to be linked at all. However, these are only rumblings. The policy process is still dominated by professional experts and bureaucrats, most in health and demography. The top level political leadership agrees that there is a population problem, but still has no clearer idea than in the early 1950's as to what policy responses are called for to solve it. Consequently, it has left the specific policy and programme responses to the professional experts and bureaucrats as in earlier periods.*

SUMMING UP : NEED FOR EMPIRICAL STUDIES

The family planning policy process in India for the period covered in this paper may well be summarised as follows :

The Ministry of Health and Family Planning provides guidelines to the Secretary (or Commissioner) of Family Planning who produces a plan. This plan is reviewed by the Planning Commission's family planning section, which may request outside evaluation. The key actors in the process are bureaucrats and technicians (experts). There is little interest and virtually no participation on the part of the public or local institutions. Policy is created in a vacuum of public and political apathy, overlaid with internal bureaucratic competition and meddling by foreign experts. There are no public demands for family planning services. The fertility reduction targets that have been established and missed so regularly are largely the creation of imaginative

* In the last six months or so, there has been a great increase in public debate and involvement of political leadership in the 'population' area. A recent conference on population of political leaders from the States and the Centre, and the Centre's 'population policy' resolution, are some concrete indications of increased interest and participation by the Central and State political leadership. Many State Governments and politicians have taken a very aggressive position on population control, and have suggested or even introduced legislation at the State level calling for compulsory sterilization after two or three children. Newspapers and weekly magazines have been full of feature stories, editorials, and letters to editors, on this issue. In all, there has been widespread public debate on the issue of population control and politicians have been in the forefront of it. This is indeed in stark contrast to the period covered by this paper. It is quite likely, if this political leadership persists and broad based public discussions continue, that a more successful population control programme will be formulated and *implemented*. There are already indications that a much broader conception of 'population policy' is emerging, instead of the narrow, health-oriented approach of the past decades. Labour unions, industries, Government agencies, educational institutions and many other social and economic institutions are being brought into the ambit of implementing 'population' programmes. In short, a much more comprehensive, grassroot approach seems to be evolving. It is indeed too early to say whether this trend will continue and become institutionalised or whether the new policies and programmes will be more effective in reducing population growth than the old policies and programmes.

bureaucratic minds responding to donor agency pressures.³¹

We have attempted in this paper to outline the population policy-making process in India over the last 25 years. We believe that a better understanding of past failures, present difficulties, and future responses may be gained by understanding the process of policy-making. There are inherent biases and limitations in any process depending upon who is making and implementing the policy, in response to what pressures, and in response to whose needs. In this paper we have shown not only these elements of the population policy process in India, but also their links to the outcome of the process itself.

There is a need for more detailed and extensive empirical studies of the policy-making process in India in general and the population policy process in particular.



³¹National Academy of Sciences, *In Search of Population Policy*, Washington, D.C. 1974, pp. 19-20.

SOME ASPECTS OF MORALE IN THE RANK AND FILE OF INDIAN BUREAUCRACY

G. Haragopal and K. Murali Manohar

MORALE is the sustaining force of any group effort. It keeps the group alive and alert and stimulates each member of the group to rise to his optimum level of performance. Morale is a complex phenomenon with several implications and diverse view points. It is viewed as the mood or state of mind of a body of men working in a collective set-up¹, and has the capacity of making that group of men to pull together persistently and consistently in pursuit of a common purpose.² For, "it is a pervasive attitude of voluntary, enthusiastic and effective mobilisation of a group's efforts for the accomplishment of some purpose."³ Another view point holds that morale is a condition of physical and emotional well-being in the individual that makes it possible for him to perform his tasks with energy, enthusiasm and self-discipline.⁴ It is the spirit, the interest, the zeal which the employee feels when he is performing what to him is significant work.⁵ In other words, it is a self-stimulating incentive created in the minds and hearts of individuals.⁶ It also implies "the conditions of a group where there are clear and fixed goals (purposes) that are felt to be important and integrated with individual goals."⁷ Thus, morale has individual as well as group or institutional aspects.⁸ Therefore, it is considered as a "dynamic relation of equilibrium between the individuals and the organisation they serve."⁹

From the management point of view, high morale is often thought of as a cause of increased production—a sort of enthusiasm injected into

¹Report of the ARC study team on *Promotion Policies, Conduct Rules, Discipline and Morale*, Vols. I & II, Government of India Press, Delhi, 1968, p. 185.

²L.D. White, *Introduction to the Study of Public Administration*, MacMillan Company, New York, 1958.

³Ordway Tead, *The Art of Leadership*, New York, MacGraw Hill Company, 1936, p. 14.

⁴Morris S. Viteles, *Motivation and Morale in Industry*, Allied Pacific Private Limited, 1962, p. 283.

⁵Gus W. Dyer, "Morale is Dynamic, Personnel Administration," *Journal of Society for Personnel Administration*, N.W., Washington, Jan.-Feb. 1971, p. 51.

⁶L.D. White, *op. cit.*

⁷Gus W. Dyer, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

⁸This point is very clearly explained in the Fritz Morstein Marx (ed.), *Elements of Public Administration*, New Delhi, Prentice Hall of India Private Limited, 1963, p. 436.

⁹This is how Rothlisberger viewed the concept of morale. For details see Bertram M. Gross, *The Managing of Organization*, Collier MacMillan, London, 1964, p. 168.

employees by their chiefs.¹⁰ From the view point of rank and file, high morale is not a cause; it is a result—the result of opportunity to work which provides sufficient uplift and brightness to make life seem worth while.¹¹

These divergent view points and implications indicate at once the complex nature and the immense importance of morale. "The general existence of good morale in all levels of an organisation is a primary essential to good and effective performance."¹² It is universally recognised as "one of the important factors conducive to efficiency in administration."¹³ In fact, some consider it as "the very essence of successful administration".¹⁴

Keeping the morale of any organisation very high is a constant problem.¹⁵ Viewed over a period of years, "morale has a wealth of moments and stages, some of which are related to the immediate demands of production and others not."¹⁶ Through the ages "employees' morale swung uneasily back and forth, from zestful vitality expressed in loyalty and industry through frustration and skepticism to adventurous creativity and exploration of new corners for the expression of spirit."¹⁷ For the purpose of sustaining high morale consistently among all ranks of public personnel over a period of time, it must be constantly renewed by the vitality of day-to-day relationships and operations.¹⁸

The problem of maintaining high morale in modern times is more challenging than ever before. This is a corollary of the increasing involvement of the state in conducting human affairs. "The state has become the supreme hope of liberation from individual feebleness."¹⁹ There is hardly any human activity where the state does not lay its hands on. The state is endeavouring to accomplish its unending tasks through a vast and complex administrative machinery. With the result, "the question of general efficiency of public

¹⁰Gus W. Dyer, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 52.

¹²Paul H. Appleby, "Morale at Subordinate Levels", *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, April-June, 1957, p. 97.

¹³Avasthi and Maheshwari, *Public Administration*, Agra, Lakshmi Narayan Agrawal, 1966, p. 276. It is mentioned in this book that Napoleon is said to have considered morale responsible for 75 per cent of the value contributed by four elements in battle efficiency, viz., numbers, arms, training and morale.

¹⁴Fritz Morstein Marx and Wallace S. Sayre, "Morale and Discipline," in *Elements of Public Administration* (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 435.

¹⁵ARC Study Team, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

¹⁶Gus W. Dyer, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

¹⁷*Ibid.*

¹⁸Fritz Morstein Marx, "Morale and Discipline", *op. cit.*, p. 437.

¹⁹Herman Finer, *The Theory and Practice of Modern Governments*, London, Methuen & Company Limited, p. 58.

administration is something in which everybody has a personal stake".²⁰ Motivating the vast "administrative population", in order to maintain high levels of efficiency, has reached staggering dimensions all over the world in general and in developing countries in particular.

The problem of motivation in the developing world is more acute because of low salaries and unattractive service conditions.²¹ Particularly in a country like India where the bureaucracy has become the largest mechanism in the developing world,²² the challenge is more severe and sharp. It assumes added seriousness because of the fact that the ambitious programmes of India for development cannot make much headway unless there is a full measure of involvement on the part of the government employees who have to implement them.²³ In fact, "no government can function efficiently without the unflinching loyalty and dedication to work on the part of its employees from the highest to the lowest."²⁴

The functioning of the Indian administrative set-up has come to be described as an "administrative jungle"²⁵ or "crumbling administration".²⁶ "The deepening economic crisis"²⁷ which is heading towards "bankrupt economism"²⁸ leaves a grim picture about the future. Added to this "the insensitive and heady bureaucracy is extending its tentacles giving rise to endemic corruption."²⁹ The popular image of public administration is poor and the common man has come to look upon the governmental machinery with suspicion.³⁰ And he complains that it is not as good as the bureaucracy of the good old days.³¹

²⁰Fritz Morstein Marx, *Administrative State*, Illinois, The University of Chicago Press, USA, 1961, p. 30.

²¹See A. Krishnaswami's paper on "Morale in Public Services", *Report of a Conference*, New Delhi, IIPA, 1959, p. 7-8.

²²Rasheeduddin Khan, "The Total State" (India 1973), *Seminar*, Vol. 173, Jan. 1974, p. 42.

²³*Report of the Third Central Pay Commission*, Vol. I, New Delhi, Ministry of Finance, Government of India, 1973, p. 25.

²⁴*Ibid.*

²⁵The title of, Seminar, August 1968, Vol. No. 85, Malhotra Buildings, Janpath, New Delhi.

²⁶K.K. Das, "Crumbling Administration" (India 1973), *Seminar*, op. cit.

²⁷Charat Ram, "What Needs to be Done" (Indian Economy), *Seminar*, New Delhi.

²⁸(India 1973) *Seminar*, op. cit.

²⁹Rajani Kothari, "Political Economy of Garibi Hatao", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. VII (Special Number), 1972, Bombay, p. 1545.

³⁰In one of the surveys conducted by the same authors, it was revealed that majority of the respondents were unhappy with the performance of the Government employees, see "Public Perception of Strike", *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Oct.-Dec. 1972, pp. 578-579.

³¹ARC Study Team, *op. cit.*, p. 226.

The pathetic state of Indian administration compels one to ponder seriously over the causes responsible for this pathological state. Of course, there are multiple factors which are cumulatively responsible for this chaos. One of the disturbing factors has been the low morale of the civil services. In fact it is observed that "there has been a progressive deterioration since independence."³² This is evident from "the individual will which is shattered even in the face of threatening disaster and dissolution".³³ Particularly the will is more shattered at the lower levels where the morale is awfully low.³⁴

There seems to be a feeling among policy formulators that the sub-ordinate levels are not crucial to administration. This is evident from the little attention these levels receive at the hands of the Government, its committees and commissions.³⁵ This lop sided approach has been one of the major shortcomings in Indian administration.

The lower levels occupy a strategic position in the administrative set-up in view of their numerical strength,³⁶ and the role they play in gathering information for policy formulation and in rendering great assistance in implementing the policies and programmes in the field. Although these levels deal with routine administration "it is this routine which sets the tone of the public administration".³⁷ Moreover, these levels provide contacting points between the Government and the citizen. In fact, on the ability of the Government employees to understand the pressures, priorities, problems and hopes of the people they deal with, the image of the Government depends. No programme of the Government can be successfully implemented, nor the fruits of development can reach the common man without the cooperation of these levels. "Today the basic managerial problem is securing the workers' participation."³⁸

Since independence, in spite of the fact that the morale of the

³²Badr-ud-din Tyabji, "Political and Administrative Problems", *Public Administration*, Kanpur, Vol. 12, April 1974, p. 3.

³³ARC Study Team, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

³⁴Paul Appleby, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

³⁵For instance the ARC did not examine in detail the problems of lower levels in any of its reports including the report on personnel administration, see ARC report on *Personnel Administration*, Government of India Publication, New Delhi, 1969.

³⁶The present strength of the Central Government according to the Third Pay Commission is about 30 lakhs, *The Statesman*, 10th September 1973. The strength of the State Government employees is about 40 lakhs. Of these employees 98 per cent constitute class III and Class IV employees according to ARC report on *Personnel Administration*, p. 77.

³⁷S.R. Maheshwari, *The Administrative Reforms Comission*, Agra, Lakshminarayan Agrawal, 1972, p. 156.

³⁸Vishnu Sahay, "What does it mean", *Seminar*, Vol. 168 (Committed Civil Service) August, 1973.

Government employees is very vital for administration, it has not received as much attention at the hands of the Government and public authorities as has been necessary.³⁹ Even the Administrative Reforms Commission did not pay adequate attention to this problem.⁴⁰ Paul Appleby seems to be the first man to devote some attention to this complex problem and to point out certain factors responsible for the low morale at the subordinate levels.⁴¹

In the industrial sector, there is growing awareness on the part of the executives that "the ordinary channels of communication fail to provide a clear or accurate picture of what is on the worker's mind".⁴² They have turned to the employee attitude surveys to supplement and complement other channels of communication for "tapping employees thinking".⁴³ It is found that "such a survey can provide a systematic and comprehensive picture of workers' feelings and reveal many specific relations which do not come to light through ordinary channels".⁴⁴ In the case of governmental organisations, there are practically no scientific tools, nor attempts to develop them, to assess morale. Morale studies are essential because "they are like a thorough physical examination of the individual as contrasted with fragmentary information picked up casually concerning the state of his health".⁴⁵

In view of the present state of the Indian administration, the need for a thorough examination of all the aspects of morale at all levels is highly warranted. It is more imperative in the case of the rank and file where the problems of morale are more intense.⁴⁶

II

The present study proposes to enquire into the problems of morale in

³⁹B.S. Khanna, "Morale in Public Services in India" in *Conference on Morale*, op. cit., p. 21.

⁴⁰The ARC on which many hopes were pinned did not probe adequately into the complex problem of morale at all the levels. The lower levels did not find even a mention in the report. Even for the higher levels they seem to have thought that panacea to all the problems of morale lies in the improvement of relationships between the politician and the civil servants. See the *Report on Personnel Administration*, op. cit., p. 77.

⁴¹According to Appleby the factors responsible for low morale are: remote and cool relationship between the superior and subordinates, lack of encouragement and praise, slow promotions, too low salaries, political interference, lack of training, undue emphasis on literal performance instead of on zeal, imagination and ingenuity, lack of warmth in communication, etc., op. cit., pp. 97-98.

⁴²Morris S. Viteles, op. cit., p. 221.

⁴³Ibid.

⁴⁴Ibid.

⁴⁵Ibid.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 440.

the rank and file of the Indian administration. It mainly deals with the indoor staff (ministerial or clerical staff) working at the lower levels at the district headquarters. This staff plays a vital role indirectly in policy formulation and directly in the process of implementation. The study, in order to be accurate, focuses its attention on some important aspects of morale of one of the vital wings of the line agency in the broad sense of the term.

Although there are a number of factors to be examined, only a few are touched upon owing to limitations of time, space and resources. The following aspects of morale which are considered to be very important are examined.

- (i) The rank and file of Indian bureaucracy do not have sufficient interest in their work.⁴⁷
- (ii) They have a poor image of their work.
- (iii) Their awareness of the goals of their organisation and their role perception is poor.⁴⁸
- (iv) The training facilities and promotional opportunities are inadequate.⁴⁹
- (v) They have a feeling that they belong to an inefficient group.⁵⁰
- (vi) The strength of the desire among the rank and file to remain with the organisation is too weak.⁵¹

For this study a purposive sample has been drawn on the basis of random sampling method. A moderately developed district situated in the Telengana region of Andhra Pradesh is selected for this purpose. The data are collected with the help of a questionnaire. The universe of the study includes the employees of the Central, State and local Governments and public sector undertakings both of the State and Central Governments. Every care has been taken to see that all the departments located at the district headquarters get a fair representation in the sample.

⁴⁷The ARC Study Team, *op. cit.*, p. 187, pointed out that how best one can make the employees have a feeling that their work is stimulating, interesting and worthwhile. Studies by Social Scientists revealed that morale and productivity are at their optimum when the work itself is perceived by employees to be stimulating, interesting and worthwhile.

⁴⁸Paul H. Appleby, *op. cit.*, pp. 97-98.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*

⁵⁰*Ibid.*

⁵¹The ARC Study Team, *op. cit.*, defined morale as the strength of the desire to remain in the organisation, p. 185.

TABLE 1
The Nature of the Sample : Sample Distribution

S.No.	Government	No. of Respondents	Percentage
1.	Central Government	50	21.60
2.	State Governments		
	(a) Development Department	30	13.05
	(b) Welfare Department	30	13.05
	(c) Regulatory Department	30	13.05
	(d) Others	20	8.65
3.	Local Government	35	15.30
4.	Public Enterprises	35	15.30
	Total	230	100.00

TABLE 1a
Service Background of the Respondents

S.No.	Service in No. of years	No. of Respondents	Percentage
1.	1—5	80	34.8
2.	6—10	72	31.3
3.	11—15	45	19.6
4.	16—20	19	8.2
5.	21 above	14	6.1
	Total	230	100.00

TABLE 1b
Age and Educational Background of Respondents

S. No.	Age	Matriculates		Intermediates		Graduates		Total	
		Actual	Per cent	Actual	Per cent	Actual	Per cent	Actual	Per cent
1.	20—35	54	23.48	36	15.67	95	41.22	185	80.45
2.	36—45	17	7.35	9	3.90	7	3.05	33	14.35
3.	46—55	6	2.65	4	1.78	2	0.85	12	5.20
Total		77	33.48	49	21.35	104	45.17	230	100.00

Tables 1, 1a and 1b, describe the nature of the sample. Table 1 indicates that 21.6 per cent of the respondents are drawn from the Central Government departments which includes railways, posts and telegraphs, Central excise and income tax. About 48 per cent of the sample is drawn from the State-Government employees; this includes development departments such as agriculture, animal husbandry, cooperatives, public works department, industries, welfare departments, like education, health, social welfare, and regulatory departments—like revenue, police, excise, treasury, etc. The other departments like tourism, information and public relation, forests, etc., are not ignored. The respondents from local government belong to zilla parishad, panchayat samithi and municipality. The sample for public undertakings is drawn from two Central undertakings, viz., the Life Insurance Corporation of India and the Food Corporation of India and the two State undertakings, viz., the Andhra Pradesh State Road Transport Corporation and the Andhra Pradesh State Electricity Board.

Table 1(a) shows the service background of the respondents; 34 per cent belong to 1-5 years' service group, 31.3 per cent to 6-10 years' service group; 19.6 per cent to 11-15 years' service group, 8.2 per cent to 16-20 years' service group and 6.1 per cent to 21 years' and above service group.

About the age, 80.4 per cent belong to the younger age group of 20-35 years, about 14.3 per cent to middle age and 5.2 per cent to 46-55 years age group.

About the educational qualifications 33.48 per cent are matriculates, 21.35 per cent possess intermediate qualifications (Intermediate for the purposes of convenience is used for courses which include the PUC, the old intermediate and those who have completed one or two years of their graduation) and the sample also includes 45.17 per cent of graduates.

Thus the sample covers most of the Government departments, at all levels of Governments, all age and service groups and the respondents who possess different academic qualifications. Therefore, it can be assumed that the study reflects all shades of opinion.

TABLE 2
Previous Employment

S.No.	Worked Earlier	No. of Respondents	Per cent
1.	Yes	85	36.95
2.	No	145	63.05
	Total	230	100.00

TABLE 2a
Reasons for Leaving the Earlier Job

S. No.	Reasons	No. of Respondents	Per cent
1.	Retrenchment	50	58.83
2.	Lack of Prospects	16	18.80
3.	Non-Government Service	5	5.89
4.	Allotted to this Job by PSC	6	7.06
5.	Far from Native Place	4	4.71
6.	Any Other	4	4.71
	Total	85	100.00

TABLE 2b
Preference for the Present Job

S. No.	<i>Preference to this job</i>	No. of Respondents	Per cent
1.	First preference	110	47.6
2.	Not first preference	120	52.2

TABLE 2c
Reasons for Joining the Present Job

Sl. No.	<i>Reasons</i>	No. of Respondents	Per cent
1.	No other alternative	50	21.8
2.	For the sake of livelihood	80	34.8
3.	Interested in this job	15	6.4
4.	This job offers better prospects	45	19.7
5.	Allotted to this job by PSC	20	8.7
6.	Nearer to my native place	5	2.2
7.	Any other	15	6.4
Total		230	100.00

In tables 2, 2a, 2b, and 2c, it is attempted to assess the morale by examining the interest of the employees in their work. For this purpose the respondents were asked whether they worked anywhere earlier to joining the present job; only 36.9 per cent of the respondents were in some other jobs while 63.1 per cent joined the present job directly. Those who were in some other jobs earlier were asked the reasons for leaving them. In the case of more than half of the respondents, they were retrenched as they were in temporary jobs, 18 per cent left the jobs as they did not find any prospects, 5.8 per cent were in non-Governmental service and so decided to leave it, 7 per cent were

allotted to the present jobs by the public service commission, 4.7 per cent found the previous place of work far from their native villages. No employee left his earlier job because of lack of interest in that job or interest in the present job.

All the 230 respondents were asked whether the present job was their top preference. More than half of the respondents (52.2 per cent) said it was not their first preference.

The respondents were further asked to give the reasons for joining the present job. The reasons they gave were: for 21.3 per cent there was no other alternative, 34.8 per cent took over the job for the sake of livelihood, 19.7 per cent found that this job offered better prospects, 8.7 per cent were allotted to this job by the public service commission, etc. And only a negligible 6 per cent expressed that they joined the present job because they liked the nature of the work. It indicates that there is lack of interest in the nature of work among the rank and file in Indian administration.

TABLE 3
Image of his Work

S. No.	Importance of work	No. of Respondents	Per cent
1.	It is important	175	96.1
2.	It is not important	45	19.6
3.	No answer	10	4.3
Total		230	100.00

TABLE 4
Image of his Department*

Government	Department is Important		Department is not Important		Total	
	Actual	Per cent	Actual	Per cent		
Local	24(60)	10.54	11(40)	4.8	35	(100)
State	85(77.3)	27.00	25(22.7)	10.9	110	(100)
Central	48(96)	20.87	2(4)	0.3	50	(100)
Public under-takings	32(91.4)	13.91	3(8.6)	1.3	35	(100)
Total	189	89.3	41	17.7	230	100

*In brackets is percentage for the respective category of the respondent.

Tables 3 and 4 deal with the image of the employees of their respective organisations. For this purpose it is attempted to know the employees' opinion about their work and their departments.

To the question whether their work was important, 76 per cent expressed that it was important while about 20 per cent said it was not important and 4 per cent preferred not to answer this question. About their departments an overwhelming majority (82 per cent) thought that they were doing important work while about 18 per cent thought they were not important. Further analysis revealed that a negligible 4 per cent from the Central Government employees and 8 per cent from Public undertakings and 23 per cent from the State Government employees and 40 per cent from the local government employees thought that their departments were not important.

TABLE 5
The Respondents' Awareness of the Departmental Goals

S. No.	Response	No. of Respondents	
		Actual	Per cent
1.	Aware of the goals	95	41.40
2.	Partially aware of the goals	110	47.8
3.	Not aware of the goals	25	10.8
	Total	230	100.00

TABLE 6
The Role Perception of the Respondents

S. No.	Response	No. of Respondents	
		Actual	Per cent
1.	Complete perception	22	9.57
2.	Partial perception	85	36.96
3.	No perception	80	34.78
4.	No answer	43	18.69
	Total	230	100.00

Tables 5 and 6 deal with the employees' perception of the departmental goals and their role in relation to the ultimate goals of the department.

For this purpose the respondents were asked whether they were aware of the departmental goals. More than half of the respondents did not know the goals of their departments while 41 per cent were aware of them.

About perception of their role in relation to the ultimate goals of their departments, only about 10 per cent of the employees were aware of their role while an overwhelming number of respondents (about 90 per cent) were not. There were some respondents who said that their work was not related to the ultimate goals of the department.

For the purpose of this information an open ended question was administered and the responses were analysed and classified into various categories. This method does introduce an element of arbitrariness but we employed it for the want of a better one.

TABLE 7
The Existing Training Facilities

S. No.	Government	Trained		Not Trained		Total	
		Actual	Per cent	Actual	Per cent	Actual	Per cent
1.	Local	6	17.0	29	83.0	35	100
2.	State	30	27.3	80	72.7	110	100
3.	Central	27	54.0	23	46.0	50	100
4.	Public under- takeings	10	28.5	25	71.5	35	100
		Total	73	31.74	157	68.3	230
							100

Table 7 deals with the existing training facilities provided to Government employees. It indicates that only less than one-third of the respondents were trained. Except in the case of the Central Government where more than half of the employees (54 per cent) were trained, in all the other cases—State, local and public undertaking more than 70 per cent did not undergo any training.

TABLE 8
Promotional Opportunities

S. No.	Service in years	LDC		UDC		Supds.	
		Actual	Per cent	Actual	Per cent	Actual	Per cent
1.	1-5	Local	5	100	Nil	—	Nil
		State	33	100	Nil	—	Nil
		Central	20	95	1	5	Nil
		Public under- takings	21	95	1	5	Nil
2.	6-10	Local	12	93	1	7	Nil
		State	26	75	9	25	Nil
		Central	7	47	8	53	Nil
		Public under- takings	4	50	4	50	Nil
3.	11-15	Local	5	38	5	38	3
		State	9	45	10	50	1
		Central	Nil	—	4	67	2
		Public under- takings	Nil	—	4	50	4
4.	16 & above	Local	2	50	1	25	1
		State	6	27	9	41	7
		Central	Nil	—	4	50	4
		Public under- takings	Nil	—	Nil	—	100

Table 8 indicates the promotional opportunities. For this purpose, the length of the service of the employee is related to the position he is holding which broadly indicates the promotional opportunities. Generally at the lower levels only lower division clerks are directly recruited. But in some departments of the Central Government, upper divisional clerks are also recruited directly. However, this is not in wide practice.

In the 1-5 years service group, almost all the employees were LDCs irrespective of their qualifications with the exception of one employee in the Central Government and another in public undertakings, who were UDCs.

In the 6-10 years service group, 53 per cent out of 15 Central Government employees, 50 per cent out of 8 employees of public undertakings were UDCs whereas in the case of State and local government 25 per cent out of 35 and 7 per cent out of 13 were UDCs.

In the 11-15 years service group, 5 out of 6 per cent Central Government employees were UDCs and 1 was superintendent, 2 out of 3 employees of public undertaking were UDCs and one was superintendent, whereas in the case of the State Government 9 out of 20 respondents were LDCs, 10 were UDCs and 1 was superintendent and in the case of local government 5 out of 13 employees were LDCs, 5 were UDCs, and 3 were superintendents.

In the 16 years and above service group, there were two respondents from public undertakings and both were superintendents and none was struck up at LDC or UDC levels. In the case of the Central Government, 4 out of 8 respondents were UDCs and 4 were superintendents, whereas in the case of the State Government 6 out of 21 respondents were LDCs, 9 were UDCs and 6 were superintendents, and in the case of local government 2 out of 3 respondents were LDCs and 1 was superintendent.

This analysis clearly indicates that the promotional opportunities in Central Government and public sector undertakings are far higher than in the State and local governments.

TABLE 9
Opinion About Working of the Government Departments

S. No.	Government	Efficient		Inefficient		Total	
		Actual	Per cent	Actual	Per cent	Actual	Per cent
1.	Local	15(42.9)	6.52	20(57.1)	8.70	35	100
2.	State	45(40.9)	19.56	65(59.1)	28.26	110	100
3.	Central	25(50.0)	10.87	25(50.0)	10.87	50	100
4.	Public under- takeings	11(31.4)	4.79	24(68.6)	10.43	35	100
	Total	96	41.7	134	58.3	230	100

TABLE 9a
Opinion About Working of Government Offices
(In Relation to Age)

S. No.	Age	Efficient		Inefficient		Total	
		Actual	Per cent	Actual	Per cent	Actual	Per cent
1.	20—35	76(41.0)	33.05	109(59.0)	47.39	185	100
2.	36—45	15(45.5)	6.52	18(54.5)	7.83	33	100
3.	45—46	5(41.7)	2.17	7(58.3)	3.04	12	100
Total		96	41.7	134	58.3	230	100

TABLE 9b
Opinion About Working of Government Offices
(In Relation to Education)

S. No.	Qualification	Efficient		Inefficient		Total	
		Actual	Per cent	Actual	Per cent	Actual	Per cent
1.	Matric	41	53.2	36	46.8	77	100
2.	Intermediate	20	40.0	29	60.0	49	100
3.	Graduation	35	25.5	69	74.5	104	100
Total		96	41.7	134	58.3	230	100

TABLE 9c
Opinion about Working of Government Offices
(In Relation to Service)

S. No.	Service in years	Response					
		Efficient		Inefficient		Total	
		Actual	Per cent	Actual	Per cent	Actual	Per cent
1.	1—5	29	36.2	51	63.8	80	100
2.	6—10	33	46.0	39	54.0	72	100
3.	11—15	20	44.4	25	55.6	45	100
4.	16—20	8	42.1	11	57.9	19	100
5.	21 and above	6	42.8	8	57.2	14	100
Total		96	41.7	134	58.3	230	100

Tables 9, 9a, 9b and 9c indicate the opinion of the respondents about the efficiency of the Government offices. This is one of the factors which affects the morale of the employees.

More than 58 per cent out of the total of 230 respondents held the opinion that Government offices were not working efficiently while about 41 per cent expressed that they were efficient.

Further analysis reveals that the opinion of the Central Government employees was equally divided about the efficiency of the Government offices, 57 per cent from the local government employees, 59 per cent from the State Government employees and 68 per cent employees from public undertakings held that the Government offices were working inefficiently.

The opinion about the efficiency in relation to the age revealed that in almost all the age groups more than half of the respondents held that the offices were inefficient. However, the feeling was more widespread among the younger and older age groups while it was slightly less among the middle aged employees.

In relation to their service background, more than half of the respondents in all the service groups expressed that the offices were not working efficiently. The feeling was higher in the 1-5 years service group but slightly less in the 6-10 years service group; it was high among those who had put

in more than 11 years of service. Thus no significant association is found between the service and opinion about the efficiency of Government offices.

In relation to the educational background it is very striking that the higher the education the more the feeling that Government offices were working inefficiently.

TABLE 9d
Structural Weaknesses

S. No.	Weaknesses	Local	State	Central	Public Under- takeings
1.	Improper work distribution	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
2.	Inadequate promotional opportunities	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
3.	Procedural defects leading to delays	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
4.	Lack of proper supervision	Yes	—	Yes	Yes
5.	Inadequate training	Yes	Yes	Yes	—
6.	Inefficiency at the higher levels	Yes	Yes	Yes	—
7.	Low salaries	—	Yes	Yes	Yes
8.	Lack of proper reward and punishment system	—	Yes	—	Yes
9.	Insufficient attention to the welfare of the staff	—	—	Yes	Yes
10.	Lack of definite policies	Yes	—	—	—
11.	Lack of coordination	Yes	—	—	—
12.	No proper norms for efficiency	Yes	—	—	—
13.	Improper maintenance of records	—	Yes	—	—
14.	Too much emphasis on formalism	—	Yes	—	—
15.	Centralised decision making	—	Yes	—	—
16.	Poor quality of staff	—	Yes	—	—
17.	Lack of periodical transfers	—	Yes	—	—
18.	Outdated and colonial spirit in administration	—	—	Yes	—
19.	Improper utilisation of resources	—	—	Yes	—
20.	Indifference to the opinion of the field staff	—	—	Yes	—
21.	Lack of scientific approach to office management	—	—	Yes	—

TABLE 9e
Behavioural Constraints

S. No.	Constraints	Local	State	Central	Public Under- takings
1.	Bad behaviour of higher officers	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
2.	Corruption	Yes	Yes	Yes	—
3.	Political interference	Yes	Yes	—	Yes
4.	Insincerity	Yes	Yes	—	—
5.	Indiscipline	—	Yes	Yes	—
6.	Irresponsibility among the employees	—	Yes	Yes	—
7.	Selfishness	Yes	—	—	—
8.	Favouritism and recommendation	Yes	—	—	—
9.	Caste feeling	Yes	—	—	—
10.	Lack of cooperation from the public	—	Yes	—	—
11.	Lack of identification with the nation	—	—	Yes	—
12.	Lack of coordination among the staff	—	—	Yes	—
13.	Domination of old people	—	—	Yes	—
14.	Lack of commitment	—	—	—	Yes
15.	Excessive care for the interests of the richer section	—	—	—	Yes
16.	Lack of profit motive	—	—	—	Yes

Those 134 respondents who held the opinion that the administration was inefficient were asked the causes for the inefficiency. They showed considerable interest in this question and came out with a wide range of causes. Here an attempt is made to present the causes under a broad classification, viz., the structural weaknesses and the behavioural constraints. Tables 9d and 9e deal with this aspect of the problem.

Table 9d deals with structural weaknesses. Causes like improper work distribution, inadequate promotional opportunities, procedural defects leading to delays, lack of proper supervision, inadequate training, inefficiency at the higher levels and low salaries seem to be, by and large, responsible for

the inefficiency. Lack of a proper reward and punishment system and insufficient attention to the welfare of the staff were also considered as causes for inefficiency. In addition to these widely shared opinions, lack of definite policies, lack of coordination, lack of proper norms for efficiency were also pointed out by the respondents from local government. Causes like improper maintenance of records, too much emphasis on formalism, centralised decision making, poor quality of staff, lack of periodical transfers, etc., were pointed out by the respondents from the State Government. Respondents from the Central Government pointed out causes like outdated and colonial spirit in administration, improper utilisation of resources, indifference to the opinion of the field staff and lack of scientific approach to the office management.

Table 9e deals with behavioural constraints. Bad behaviour of higher level officials was considered a widespread disease in Government offices. The respondents expressed this feeling very strongly and felt that the deterioration in standards of efficiency was mainly due to the bad temperament and negative attitude of officers occupying higher levels. Corruption, insincerity, political interference, indiscipline and irresponsibility were also considered as causes for inefficiency. In addition to these causes, selfishness, favouritism, caste feelings were also pointed out exclusively by the respondents from local government; lack of cooperation from the public was pointed out by the respondents from the State Government. The respondents from the Central Government pointed out causes like lack of identification with the nation, lack of coordination among the staff and domination of old people. And lack of commitment, excessive care for the interests of the richer sections and lack of profit motive were pointed out by the respondents from public undertakings.

This reveals that the employees at the lower levels feel that administration suffers from a number of defects both structural and behavioural. Both these factors affect the morale of the employees very adversely. The policy formulator need to keep them in view while formulating personnel policies for the organisations.

TABLE 10
Desire to Leave the Department

S. No.	Opinion	No. of Respondents	Per cent
1.	Desire to leave the Department	147	63.9
2.	No desire to leave the Department	83	36.1
	Total	230	100.0

TABLE 10a
Desire to Leave the Department
(In Relation to Departmental Background)

S. No.	Government	Desire to leave Department		No desire to leave the Department		Total	
		Actual	Per cent	Actual	Per cent	Actual	Per cent
1.	Local Govt.	25(71.4)	10.87	10(28.6)	4.25	35	100
2.	State Govt.	75(68.2)	32.60	35(31.8)	15.22	110	100
3.	Central Govt.	30(60.0)	13.05	20(40.0)	8.69	50	100
4.	Public under- takeings	17(48.6)	7.40	18(51.4)	7.83	35	100
Total		147	63.92	83	36.1	230	100

TABLE 10b
Desire to Leave the Department
(In Relation to Age Background)

S. No.	Age	Desire to leave the Department		No desire to leave the Department		Total	
		Actual	Per cent	Actual	Per cent	Actual	Per cent
1.	20—35	126(68.1)	54.8	59(31.5)	25.6	185	100
2.	36—45	16(48.5)	6.9	17(51.5)	7.4	33	100
3.	46—55	5(41.5)	2.2	7(58.3)	3.0	12	100
Total		147	63.9	83	36.1	230	100

TABLE 10(c)
Desire to Leave the Department
(In Relation to Educational Background)

S. No.	Education	Desire to leave the Department		No desire to leave the Department		Total	
		Actual	Per cent	Actual	Per cent	Actual	Per cent
1.	Matric	40	51.9	37	48.1	77	100
2.	Inter	29	59.8	20	41.0	49	100
3.	Graduation	78	74.0	26	10.5	105	100
	Total	147	63.9	83	36.1	230	100

Percentages are worked out for 147.

TABLE 10d
Reasons for Leaving the Department
(Multiple Response)

S. No.	Reasons	Actuals	Per cent
1.	No incentives	84	57.2
2.	No scope for promotions	80	54.5
3.	Less pay and emoluments	76	51.8
4.	There is too much of bossism	33	22.5
5.	Too much of political interference	32	21.8
6.	There is heavy work	28	19.1
7.	No provision for over-time allowance	26	17.7
8.	There is favouritism	24	16.4
9.	Lack of encouragement and recognition	18	12.3
10.	Lack of cooperation in the organisation	16	10.9
11.	Improper distribution of work	16	10.9
12.	Lack of faith in the present job	16	10.9
13.	The practice of making others scapegoats	16	10.9
14.	Corruption	6	4.1
15.	Other reasons	9	6.2

Tables 10, 10a, 10b, 10c and 10d deal with the strength of the desire of the employees to remain with the organisation.

To the question whether they were prepared to leave the organisation if they were given an opportunity, 64 per cent said they would like to quit the present organisation while 36 per cent said they would remain with it. This was

further examined in relation to the department, age and educational background. In relation to the department, except the employees of public undertakings where more than half (52 per cent) were prepared to remain with the organisation, 60 per cent from the Central Government, 68 per cent from the State Government and 71 per cent from the local government were prepared to leave the department.

In relation to age, it is found that the desire to quit the organisation was more in the younger age groups and less in the middle age and old age groups.

In relation to education, the desire to remain with the organisation was more in the case of matriculates. It was low in the case of intermediates and very low (about 25 per cent) among the graduates.

Thus, it appears that the desire to leave the organisation was high in the case of local government and State Government employees, younger age groups and graduates.

Those respondents who were not prepared to remain with the organisation were asked the reasons. Most of the respondents complained about lack of incentives, lack of promotional opportunities and inadequate emoluments. About 20 per cent of the respondents said there was bossism, political interference and heavy work. The respondents also cited reasons such as favouritism, lack of encouragement and recognition, lack of cooperation, improper distribution of work, lack of faith in the present job (because of the practice of making scapegoats of others) corruption, etc., for their desire to leave the organisation in which they were working.

TABLE II
Desire to Leave the Organisation
(In Relation to Other Factors)

S. No.	Factors	Desire to quit		No desire to quit	
		Actual	Per cent	Actual	Per cent
1.	Interested in the work	3	20	12	80
2.	Trained	45	58.4	32	41.6
3.	Promoted	32	41	46	59
4.	Doing important work	110	62.9	65	37.1
5.	Department is important	123	65	66	35
6.	Government is efficient	50	52	46	48
7.	Aware of the goals	60	63.2	35	36.8
8.	Complete role perception	7	31.8	15	68.2

We tried to find out the association of the eight factors covered by the survey with the desire of the employees to quit the organisation. It is revealed that there is a significant association of the desire to stay with interest in the nature of the work, role perception and promotional opportunities. There also seem to be some association of the image the employee has of the Government, training facilities and the desire to stay. However, the analysis revealed that self image and goal awareness are not significantly associated with the desire to quit the organisation. Thus interest in the work, role perception and promotional opportunities emerge as critical factors in determining the employees' desire to stay or quit the organisation.

III

The foregoing analysis shows that, by and large, the morale in the rank and file of the Indian bureaucracy is low. However, there is a significant variation in the degree of morale between one level of the Government and the other. While it seems to be very low in the case of the local and the State Governments, it is relatively higher in the case of the Central Government employees and of those in the public undertakings.

In the first place the study provides support to the assumption that the rank and file in Indian administration do not have interest in the nature of their work. This is because an overwhelming majority of the employees have joined the job for various personal compulsions, with the exception of a negligible number (6.4 per cent) who expressed that they were interested in the nature of the work.

About the image of their work the study reveals that a very large number of employees, except 40 per cent of the local government employees, think that their work and the department in which they are working are important. Therefore, the assumption that they have a poor image of their work is incorrect.

About the goal awareness and role perception a majority of the employees expressed their ignorance. This is more reflected in the case of some responses where the respondents expressed that the work is not related to the goals of the department.

About the training facilities and promotional opportunities, the study provides factual evidence to the assumption that they are inadequate. In the case of training facilities more than two-thirds of the employees are not exposed to any formal training programmes. And in respect of promotional opportunities the study reveals that the opportunities are neither fairly distributed nor are governed by any rational consideration. In the first ten years of

service most of the employees (more than 75 per cent) remained as lower division clerks without any promotion. There is a significant number of employees in the 16 years and above service group who remained at the same stage where they started from in the case of State and local governments.

Regarding the image of the Government offices, about 60 per cent feel that they are working inefficiently. The employees came out with a wide range of causes responsible for inefficiency. There seems to be a widespread negative disposition about the higher officials. The respondents have pointed out a number of structural and behavioural defects in the administrative machinery. This indicates that they carry a poor image about the Government offices of which they are a part and parcel. This feeling does damage the morale of the employees.

The last factor analysed is the strength of the desire to remain with the organisation which is considered to be an indication of the level of morale. The study reveals that about two-thirds of the employees desire to quit the organisation. The desire to remain with the organisation is very low in the case of State and local government employees and not so low in the case of Central Government employees. However, the morale seems to be relatively higher in the case of employees of public sector undertakings.



"I don't think we can have Government servants who are neutral in regard to the basic objectives of the country, whether it is socialism, secularism or democracy, and officials who do not place national interest above all others—that is, above communal, linguistic or parochial interests. The persons selected should not only have the requisite qualifications but also commitment to the people's urges and aspirations. We want people with wide horizons, but not so cosmopolitan that they admire and love other countries more than their own."

SMT. INDIRA GANDHI, Prime Minister,
while inaugurating the Conference
of the Chairmen of Public Service
Commissions—November 15, 1976.

PERSONNEL MANAGEMENT IN THE ARMED FORCES*

Vir Narain

PERSONNEL management is undoubtedly the single most important function in any organisation, howsoever simple or elementary. Personnel management deals with people, with highly complex, diverse and (a point that is rightly assuming increasing importance) valuable individuals. It is these individuals who, working together, make an organisation. Without them the organisation would be a mere machine.

In the armed forces, with their enormous technological and organisational complexity and, in the final analysis, their heavy dependence upon such human qualities as courage, loyalty, dedication, discipline and endurance, personnel management assumes a crucial and unique significance. Modern technology has put unprecedented destructive power in the hands of small groups of fighting men, and even individuals, making it imperative that their behaviour and motivation are correctly understood. The findings of individual and group psychology are therefore of great importance for the proper formulation of organisational and personnel policies in the armed forces. In addition, the growth of the democratic ideal, with its stress upon the intrinsic worth of the individual, has led to increasing emphasis on the development and self-actualisation of the individual within the organisation.

From the purely economic point of view, the fact that, in any defence budget, personnel costs constitute the single largest item of expenditure (UK and USA, about 50 per cent; USSR, 30 per cent; India, 25 per cent) dictates that the optimum returns are obtained from these large investments. Therefore, from the operational, economic as well as the ethical and human point of view, the careful formulation and implementation of personnel policies in the armed forces is a matter of considerable national importance. In the words of Sir Arthur Bryant, "In the last resort it is not weapons, it is men, who decide wars."¹

BACKGROUND

Personnel management in the armed forces is concerned with the recruitment, training, placement, utilisation and development as well as retirement

*This article has been cleared for publication by the Ministry of Defence and the views expressed here are exclusively of the author and need not necessarily represent the official point.

¹Sir Arthur Bryant (1947) quoted in *R.U.S.I. Journal*, Sept. 73, p. 63.

and rehabilitation of all personnel employed in the armed forces, including civilians. In the course of this study, however, attention will be focused on the officer corps of the three services.

Personnel management has been defined as the "planning, supervision, direction and coordination of those activities of an organisation which contribute to realising its defined purposes with a minimum of human effort and friction, with an animating spirit of cooperation and with proper regard for the genuine well-being of all members of the organisation."² Personnel management is, thus, concerned as much with the nature and purpose of the organisation as with the individuals comprising the organisation. In fact, the success of any personnel policy can be judged by the extent to which it succeeds in harmonising the organisational goals with the abilities and aspirations of the members of the organisation. The tendency (not uncommon in the armed forces) to see the two as essentially conflicting requirements (McGregor's Theory X) is increasingly being discredited in modern theories of personnel management.

"The capacity, development and state of mind of employees as individuals must be the focal point of all policy and practice relative to personnel... I suppose that the primary purpose in the minds of those who develop personnel policies and who manage business and organisations is generally not to develop individuals but to facilitate the working together of groups of people towards definite ends. In my view this purpose is secondary in point of order but equally important is that of developing the individual, and the two together constitute the entire legitimate purpose of management as far as personnel is concerned."³

THE ORGANISATION

The organisation constitutes the basic environment within which personnel management operates. The nature and role of the organisation therefore provides the framework for the formulation of all personnel policies. In recent years increasing attention has been focused on the character and relevance of the military organisation in contemporary society. While, structurally, the military organisation has been almost impervious to social change, over the years, its role, composition and internal ethos have undergone a profound metamorphosis with changes in the social environment. Broadly, the old aristocratic-feudal model has evolved into either the democratic model or the totalitarian model of contemporary military establishment. This, along with the growing rapidity and importance of technological change

²Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences, Macmillan, p. 88.

³Chester I. Barnard, *Organisation and Management*, pp. 6-8.

in the armed forces, has led to a change in the perceived role and self-image of the military officer. According to Janowitz, "The military profession which has centred on the self-conception of the warrior types or the 'heroic leader' requires the incorporation of new roles, namely, the 'military manager' and the 'military technologist'. For the military establishment to accomplish its multiple goals it must develop and maintain a balance between these different military types."⁴ He has identified the following factors in the adaptation of the military organisation to the changing societal context as well as the advancing technology of war:

- (a) Changing organisational authority. The shift from authoritarian domination and discipline in the armed forces to "greater reliance on manipulation, persuasion, and group consensus".
- (b) Narrowing skill-differential between military and civil elites.
- (c) Shift in officer recruitment.
- (d) Trends in political indoctrination.

A detailed study of the application of modern organisational theory to the military establishment is not within the purview of this paper. However, some of the broad aspects mentioned above have a strong relevance to personnel management and need to be examined further.

CHANGING ORGANISATIONAL AUTHORITY

The decline in authoritarianism in contemporary society has inevitably been reflected in the armed forces. With the introduction of sophisticated technology in warfare, and the concomitant growth in the importance of professionalism and initiative, this change is seen as contributing, not only to the development of the individual, but also to the overall effectiveness of the system.

Etzioni has classified all organisations in terms of the type of authority exercised in them and the type of involvement of the members with the organisation. In this typology, as tabulated on next page,⁵ peace time military organisations are classified as utilitarian, and combat units as normative-coercive.

⁴Janowitz, "Military Organisation", in Roger W. Little (ed.), *Handbook of Military Institutions*, California, Sage Publications, 1971, p. 22.

⁵Edgar H. Schein, *Organisational Psychology*, New Delhi, Prentice Hall, 1969, p. 45.

(a) *Predominantly Coercive Authority*

Examples are concentration camps, prisons and correctional institutions, prisoner-of-war camps, custodial mental hospitals, coercive unions.

(b) *Predominantly Utilitarian Authority*

Rational-legal authority, use of economic rewards. Examples: business and industry, business unions, peace time military organisations.

(c) *Predominantly Normative Authority*

Use of membership, status, intrinsic value rewards. Examples: religious organisations, ideologically based political organisations or parties, hospitals, colleges and universities, professional associations.

(d) *Mixed Structures*

Examples: normative-coercive, combat units; utilitarian-normative, most labour unions; utilitarian-coercive, some early industries, some farms, company towns, ships.

Corresponding to the three main types of organisations, there are three basic types of the involvement of the individual with the organisation, namely, alienative, calculative and moral. An understanding of these three basic attitudes is important for evaluating the impact of various personnel policies on morale and motivation within the organisation. Following Etzioni, Schein⁶ has described the three types of involvement as "(a) alienative, which means that the person is not psychologically involved but is compelled to remain as a member; (b) calculative, which means that the person is involved to the extent of doing a "fair day's work for a fair day's pay" and (c) moral, which means that the person intrinsically values the mission of the organisation and his job within it, and performs it primarily because he values it." In the armed forces, and especially in combat, the normative-moral model represents the ideal though, of course, it cannot be realised fully in practice. It must, however, be the aim of personnel management to minimise the coercive-alienative and maximise the normative-moral element in military organisations.

NARROWING SKILL DIFFERENTIAL BETWEEN MILITARY AND CIVIL ELITES

The convergence between the military and civil establishments has been widely noted by sociologists⁷. The chief reason for this is the vastly increased

⁶Edgar H. Schein, *op. cit.*

⁷Roger W. Little, "Convergence of the Civilian and Military Occupational Structure", N.A.B. Wilson (ed.), *Manpower Research*, English Uni. Press, p. 442.

technological basis of modern warfare, resulting in the great numerical preponderance of the technical and managerial over the combat posts. As noted in a British survey "there has been a continuing trend away from combat type jobs to technical and support functions similar to those found in many areas of civilian life. Definitions are difficult in this area, but even in the army, only a little more than half of the total force can clearly be identified as belonging to the combat arms. In the RAF, which has gone farthest in this direction, our survey found that only 22 per cent of officers were actually in operational flying posts, supported by the remainder of the officers and nearly all the other ranks."⁸

This narrowing gap between the civil and military elites has some far-reaching implications for personnel management in the armed forces, permitting greater civil-military organisational coordination, individual mobility between civil and military establishments, and an integrated civil-military career-development plan.⁹

Reflecting the social transformation that has taken place during the last fifty to seventy years, the military elite has shifted from its old aristocratic, feudal background to a mainly middle-class recruitment base. This has necessarily meant a shift in the basis of leadership in the armed forces from feudal-ascriptive to legal-rational with consequential changes in the basis of morale and discipline also.

The career patterns developed in the services have to allow, not only for the rise of a 'professional elite' with a high degree of competence in technical and routinised matters but also for an 'elite nucleus' of officers with unconventional, innovative abilities and perspectives, and a political understanding of the role of force in the contemporary setting.

In the evolution of the aristocratic-feudal model into the democratic or the totalitarian model, the nature of the political involvement of the armed forces has shown marked polarisation. On the one hand, in the democratic model, the armed forces are apolitical and the supremacy of civil power is accepted. "Professional ethics as well as democratic parliamentary institutions guarantee civilian political supremacy. The officer fights because of his career commitments."¹⁰ In the totalitarian model, on the other hand, the professional military is under the absolute control of the ruling oligarchy, and is also highly politicised through infiltration by the party.

⁸HMSO, *Second Report of Standing Reference on the Pay of the Armed Forces*.

⁹Bernard Beck, "The Military as a Welfare Institution", Charles C. (ed.), *Public Opinion and the Military Establishment*, Moskos, p. 141.

¹⁰Janowitz, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

The Informal Organisation

Recent work in organisational psychology—based on the classic Hawthorne experiment and Tavistock studies—has established the importance of the concept of the informal organisation; and also of the concept of a 'psychological contract' between the individual and the organisation. These studies found that large formal organisations invariably gave rise to informal organisations within them; and that the inter-personal relationships within the informal organisation affected the manner in which workers and managers performed their roles. According to Schein "The notion of a 'psychological contract' implies that an individual has a variety of expectations of the organisation and that the organisation has a variety of expectations of him."¹¹ In the armed forces, where motivation and morale are of great significance, the informal organisation and the psychological contract are of very considerable importance. Many problems of organisational psychology can be traced back to defects in these two areas.

The military organisation is essentially bureaucratic in nature, being characteristically authoritarian and hierarchical in structure and function. Starting with the pioneering work of Weber, bureaucratic organisations have recently been studied in great depth by sociologists and organisational psychologists. The military officer is a *homo hierarchicus par excellence*. Therefore an understanding of the limitations of the bureaucratic model is essential for developing a correct perspective on personnel policies.¹² Argyris has made a number of incisive criticisms of bureaucratic, hierarchical organisation structures, with a focus on the precept or 'principles' of management that over the years have been associated with these patterns. He has argued that hierarchical structures, chains of command, ladder-climbing complexes and pressures from bosses are inconsistent with the needs and demands of healthy personalities. In organisations set up on this basis, Argyris finds substantial evidence that companies force their employees (executive as well as rank and file workers) to conform, obey, produce and be loyal, thus creating a dependency on management that is not psychologically mature. Since organisation members are prevented by this style of management from being creative, intelligent, self-fulfilling people, frustrations, tensions, mental illness, disobedience, low morale and other debilitating results occur... Hierarchical structure monopolises and controls channels of success and reward creating anxiety and tension relieved by pathological behaviour."¹³

A recent study by the US Army War College finds that "the bureaucratic pressures built into the management of a large peace time force structure

¹¹Edgar H. Schein, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

¹²McFarland, *Personnel Management*, London, Macmillan, 1968, p. 30.

tend to warp the professional values and standards of the officers who must compete for coveted command and staff positions."¹³ Their comprehensive survey of the US officer corps yielded a picture which could be true of armed forces in other countries also. "A scenario that was repeatedly described in seminar sessions and narrative responses includes an ambitious, transitory commander—marginally skilled in the complexities of his duties—engulfed in producing statistical results, fearful of personal failure, too busy to talk with or listen to his subordinates, and determined to submit acceptably optimistic reports which reflect faultless completion of a variety of tasks at the expense of the sweat and frustration of his subordinates."¹⁴ The findings of Argyris, quoted in a civilian context earlier, are borne out by the US Army War College report which warns of the consequences of the climate thus: "... It is conducive to self-deception because it fosters the production of inaccurate information; ... it lowers the credibility of our top military leaders because it often shields them from essential bad news; it stifles initiative, innovation, and humility because it demands perfection or the pose of perfection at every turn; it downgrades technical competence by rewarding instead trivial, measurable, quota-filling accomplishments; and it eventually squeezes much of the inner satisfaction and personal enjoyment out of being an officer."¹⁵

Conceptual Framework

The foregoing brief survey has been attempted with the intention of providing the organisational and conceptual background for the formulation of personnel policies for the armed forces. In the three decades which have passed since the end of World War II there have been far-reaching and rapidly accelerating changes in society, government, technology, weaponry, strategy and warfare. Social changes, notably among the youth—a prime resource for the armed forces—and the redefinition of the role of the armed forces in the context of deterrence (the 'constabulary concept')¹⁶ have necessitated a continuing reappraisal of the organisational and personnel policies of the armed forces. Against the background of these changes, and the findings of recent researches in sociology, organisational psychology and personnel management, an attempt has been made in this paper to examine the problems of personnel management in the Indian armed forces and to recommend remedial measures.

¹³Report by U.S. Army War College, *Study on Military Professionalism* quoted by Edwin A. Deagle Jr., *Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, March 73, p. 166.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 166.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 168.

¹⁶Janowitz, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

CAREER MANAGEMENT

Career management represents the central and most important function of personnel management. It covers the entire service life-cycle of the individual from recruitment to retirement. Given the large size of modern standing armed forces, and the great complexity and diversity of military functions and specialisations, the task of efficient career management becomes as critical as it is complex. The orchestration of a large number of individual aptitudes, expectations, abilities, functions and specialities into a harmonious and effective fighting force is a formidable undertaking. Without the use of modern techniques of management, decision-making and data processing, it would be impossible to achieve any degree of success in this task.

An integrated systems approach is indispensable for optimising the career management function. This process of optimisation has to extend from the basic sub-system—the individual in a small group—to the overall system which is represented by the armed forces as a whole. In fact, many analysts have argued that it should proceed beyond the military into the public services in general; treating the military career as "but one phase of a two-phase career which is primarily a life-time career in public service."¹⁷

It is especially true of the armed forces in India that no integrated, inter-service approach has been made to the problems of career management. Such attempts as have been made to evolve career management policies have been exclusively within the individual services, and have generally addressed themselves to short-term problems. There are therefore a number of anomalies between the career structures of the three services.

The objects of career management may be stated as follows:

- (a) To devise an overall career structure which would best serve the operational requirements of the service while ensuring equitable and worthwhile career prospects to individuals belonging to different specialities.
- (b) To develop personnel policies—especially in respect of appraisal, placement and promotion—calculated to induct, retain, motivate and employ officers with appropriate skills in the various service tasks.
- (c) To plan and conduct the progression of individual officers through various assignments, duties and courses of instruction in such a manner as to develop and exploit the officer's personal and professional potential to the fullest extent within the framework of the existing personnel policies and career structure.

¹⁷ Gwynn Harrie-Jenkins, *From Conscription to Volunteer Armies*, ISS, Adelphi Paper No. 103, p. 14.

"Career development is a continuous and complex task. It involves the progressive advancement of a serviceman from the time he enters military service until the day he finally hangs up his uniform. It combines schooling—from the most basic or elementary training programmes up through the highest echelons of the senior military colleges—and a proper blending of experience, assignments, and promotion."¹⁸

The Military Career

In a country, such as India, where there is no conscription, the ability of the armed forces to attract and retain the required number and quality of officers depends largely on the appeal of the military career to the young entrant as well as the serving officer. Whereas the numerical requirements can be easily determined, the qualitative requirements involve certain considerations peculiar to the armed forces. The two factors responsible for this are: the pyramidal structure of the services, and the very marked shift of emphasis in the qualities required at various stages of the military career. The first may be called the career attrition factor and the second the career evolution factor. I feel that many wrong practices and misconceptions within and outside the armed forces can be attributed to an insufficient understanding of the implications of these two factors.

The career attrition factor is much higher in the armed forces than in any other service. This means that, with each process of selection for the next rank, there is an improvement in the average quality of officers in that rank. With no more than about five per cent officers progressing beyond the rank of Lt.-Col., it is evident that there is a very marked improvement in the average quality and calibre of officers at each successive level. Thus a service officer who has attained senior ranks represents a high-calibre professional who has come up through a highly competitive career. In the civil services, on the other hand, after the initial entry through a highly competitive examination, there is hardly any further filtration, and the average quality and calibre of officers remains basically unchanged at successive levels (improvements due to increasing experience and maturity not being relevant in this connection).

There are several implications of this. First, the selection process must be such as to ensure that a certain proportion of the successful candidates possesses, in addition to the qualities required of them in the short term as combatants, the potential to assume high responsibility in a variety of assignments concerned with national security. The officer population at intake, diluted as it were

¹⁸Defence Military Manpower, Industrial College of the Armed Forces, Washington, 1969.

by numbers and the qualities required for short-term duties, must contain a proportion of officers with the highest calibre and potential for development. Secondly, the career attrition factor implies that, after a certain stage in this process of progressive selection, the senior service officer is at least fully equal in calibre and quality to civil officers with comparable seniority. This factor is at present being generally overlooked while considering the question of civil-military equivalence in the higher ranks. Thirdly, the career-attrition factor invalidates the assumptions involved in the application of the 'forced distribution' concept to the assessment of senior officers. The normal distribution curve postulated for the 'base population' of officers in the junior ranks is progressively modified as a result of the selective process. "A selective process which eliminates a greater proportion of individuals from one end of the distribution curve than the other gives rise to a skewed distribution."¹⁹

The career evolution factor results from the fact that the qualities relevant and important during the earlier stages of a military career are very different from the qualities which assume importance during the later part. In all other professions, as also in the civil services, there is a process of growth; the same qualities are developed further as the professional career progresses. In the course of the military career, on the other hand, a process of evolution is required—different qualities assume importance at different stages of the career. The military career, therefore, involves not only a process of growth, but also of evolution and transformation. A combat pilot, for example, needs vastly different qualities in his earlier years from those required of him when he occupies senior positions concerned with national security. The findings of two American psychiatrists, who made a special study of combat flying in World War II, are interesting in this connection: "Some men are able to surrender their social selves rather readily in minor things—in the use of coarse language, in excessive drinking, in lowered moral conduct. Not all men, however, possess the same degree of this ability to transfer their prohibitions, and it is possible that one possesses it completely. This is especially true when such tabooed acts as killing are involved . . . In line with this trend of thought, one would expect to find many outstanding combat heroes, men with character defects who derive too readily enjoyment from instinctual expression and who have a poorly developed sense of social responsibility. This expectation is borne out by our observations."²⁰ Clearly, the very qualities which tend to make an outstanding combat pilot would, if not outgrown or selected out, make an outstandingly poor senior officer.

The implications of the career evolution factor for career management are clear. First, the criterion measures developed for selection must be

¹⁹Norman R.F. Maier, *Psychology in Industry*, New Delhi, Oxford & I.B.H., 1969, p. 222.

²⁰Douglas Bond, *The Love and Fear of Flying*, New York, International Press, 1962.

based on the optimum mix of the various qualities required in the officer during the different stages of his career. Secondly, the appraisal system should be designed in such a manner as to give the proper relative weightage to the qualities most relevant to the particular phase of the officer's career. The use of a single format for the appraisal of all officers, regardless of seniority, is manifestly unscientific. Thirdly, since all officers cannot be outstanding in the full range of qualities required over the whole career, the career planning system should be designed to identify and develop the most suitable individuals for each phase of the military career.

Against the background of these factors, it is the task of personnel management policies to design military careers that would attract and retain the right quality of officers in sufficient numbers. Career attrition, especially when associated with early retirement ages, is a disincentive. Poor civil-military equivalence is also a disincentive to the potential officer recruit of quality, who is confident of getting into the civil services. The roughly four per cent of military officers who do succeed in securing promotion to senior ranks can expect, after 20 years of service, a little over half of the basic salary drawn by ninety-eight per cent of the civil officers of comparable length of service. And this, again, the military officer can expect to draw for about half as long. No wonder that, in spite of the natural attraction of the young towards the military profession, we have to scrape the bottom of the barrel.

There is clearly a need for restructuring the military career. The new Officer Personnel Management System in the USA, the German Commission on the new personnel structure in the Bundeswehr, and the Defence White Paper of 1960 represent the growing awareness of this need.

The 1960 Defence White Paper was largely devoted to the 'human factor' in national security. Provisions were made for raising pay to levels more nearly comparable to that of equivalent, civilian positions; officers' career patterns were modified to provide for retirement by the late thirties or retention until age 55; and measures were taken to promote the 'second career' of military retirees in commerce and industry.²¹

The report of the German Commission on the new personnel structure of the Bundeswehr represents new directions in current thinking on military career management. Some recommendations of the Commission are given on the next page.²²

²¹Lt. Col. William L. Hauser, "The British Army at the End of the Empire", *Military Review*, Sep. 72, p. 3.

²²Earl F. Zienke, "A New Personnel Structure in the Bundeswehr", *Military Review*, Sep. 72, p. 31.

- (a) Discard traditional relationship between rank and pay and give up using rank as the standard for evaluating individual contribution to the service.
- (b) Organise individual assignments into a system of employment tracks and areas of responsibility.
- (c) Retain ranks and grades only as "external symbols of authority".
- (d) Base pay on the level of individual assignment.
- (e) Make advancement in pay and responsibility independent of promotion in rank.

In West Germany, as also in France, transition to a civilian governmental position after a certain period of voluntary military service has been instituted.²³

According to a British analyst, ". . . the military career must be seen as another form of the public service career. A strengthened civil service basis to the military career must recognise that for the majority of recruits their military experience will be one part of an occupational life-cycle and that it is an interlude in an essentially civilian existence. Even for those officers and men whose service covers periods in excess of twenty years, it must be recognised that their military career is but one phase of a two-phase career which is primarily a life-time career in public service. Hence transfer to the civil service must be made the mandatory right of retiring military personnel. At the same time a flexible system of lateral movement between the civil and military sides of the public service establishment will not only make it possible to draw on a larger and already trained pool of manpower, but also to broaden the basis of recruitment in both spheres. Such a solution will inevitably meet with opposition from vested interests both in the military and the civil service."²⁴

Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor, for example, says, "Army life, in my view, should not be an extension of the civilian life which lies just over the fence of the military reservation, but something quite different which reflects the unique requirements of military life."²⁵

It needs to be emphasised that, although these solutions are based on long experience and a considerable amount of research, their applicability to Indian conditions can, at best, be only partial. The social and political

²³Maj. Gen. Robert G. Gard, Jr., *The Future of the Military Profession*, I.S.S., Adelphi Paper No. 103, p. 7.

²⁴Gwynn Harrie-Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

²⁵Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor, "Is an Army Career Still Worthwhile?", *Army*, February 73, p. 12.

milieu in India, the roles and traditions of the armed forces, the state of the economy and the absence of a social security system, the structure and pattern of family obligations have all to be taken into consideration. Research into these aspects, and many more that are relevant, would require the combined expertise of the sociologist, the organisational psychologist, the systems analyst and the professional soldier.

Career Structure

The career structure of a service or 'Arm' constitutes the basic framework within which the various manpower and career policies and terms and conditions of service are embodied, and related with each other. The career structure thus forms an organic unity combining the different elements of personnel policy such as manpower-planning, rank structure, promotion prospects, induction and retirement rates, etc.

The first important step in scientific career management is to construct a model career structure. This would serve the purpose of achieving a coherent relationship between the various aspects of personnel policy as well as providing a blueprint and datum for determining the optimality of the present position. In the absence of such a model there is a possibility of mutually inconsistent policies being formulated, and also of an incorrect appreciation of the basic career parameters obtaining in a service. The various parameters of the career structure, e.g., total cadre, time in each rank, ages of entry/retirement, promotion probability, etc., are all organically related to each other. None of these can be altered without affecting the other parameters. Once such a steady-state model has been constructed (and such an exercise does not appear to have been done in the services so far) suitable long-term manpower and personnel planning policies can be formulated for achieving (or approximating to) the desired career structure. All too often, in the absence of a coherent steady-state model, these policies are directed towards redressing immediate, short-term, imbalances at the cost of long-term optimality.

Such imbalances occur in almost all armed forces after periods of tension or actual hostilities. Thus, in the USA and UK, there was the 'World War I hump' and the 'World War II hump'.²⁶

A similar imbalance is currently being experienced by the USA in the post-Vietnam period. In India the post-1962 hump has caused a severe imbalance in the age/rank structure of the services. An important point that requires special emphasis in this connection is that the rate of intake for permanent commissions in the armed forces must not be allowed to deviate

²⁶ *Air Secretary's Bulletin*, RAF, No. 5, HMSO, Spring 73, p. 19.

substantially from the optimum intake figures yielded by the steady-state model. In fact, the current imbalance in the services can be attributed directly to non-adherence to this principle.

The chief feature of the career structure is the rank structure. The number of officer ranks in the service, from the lowest to the highest, and the number of officers in each rank constitute the skeleton of the career structure. The various ranks in the services—from 2nd Lieut to General date back nearly 300 years. With the greatly increased span of control made possible by modern systems of communications and transportation, a reduction in the number of officer ranks appears feasible. A more important point is the anomaly in the rank structure of the three services. In the army (in the combat arms) an officer progresses direct from Lt.-Col. to Brigadier, whereas in the navy, a Captain is promoted direct to Rear Admiral. In both cases the officer so promoted has one less hurdle to cross than an air force officer, who must secure clearance in each rank, from Wing Commander to Air Vice Marshal, to be promoted. In fact the air force officer has two more hurdles to cross, as he must secure clearance twice in each rank, first for the acting and then for the substantive rank. This is clearly an anomaly that has to be removed.

The career structure basically represents the progress of each individual officer through time. Thus the time-span from commissioning to retirement forms one axis of the career progression graph. Obviously the age of retirement/superannuation is a major element in the career structure. The question of retirement policies is currently the subject of considerable debate in armed forces throughout the world, and will be dealt with in detail later.

Assessment/Appraisal System

At the heart of any career management system lies the personnel assessment or appraisal system. In the armed forces where the pyramidal career structure involves the decimation of officers at virtually every rank, the appraisal system acquires a crucial significance. Concerned as it is with the comparative evaluation of highly complex and diverse individuals in a variety of roles and functions, and depending as it has to on subjective and fallible human judgement, the task of personnel appraisal is as difficult as it is crucial. Some critics have, in fact, even suggested that performance appraisal should be given up as a hopeless task.²⁷ This, of course, is an extreme view, but it does highlight the need for great care in the designing and use of personnel appraisal systems.

²⁷Albert W. Schrader, "Let's Abolish Annual Performance Review", *Management Personnel Quarterly*, Fall 1960, p. 293.

According to McGregor: "Formal performance appraisal plans are designed to meet three needs, one for the organisation and two for the individual:

1. They provide systematic judgements to back up salary increases, promotions, transfers, and sometimes demotions or terminations.
2. They are a means of telling a subordinate how he is doing, and suggesting needed changes in his behaviour, attitudes, skills, or job knowledge; they let him know "where he stands" with the boss.
3. They also are being increasingly used as a basis for the coaching and counselling of the individual by the superior.²⁸

To fulfil these requirements, the appraisal system must be based on valid and objectively assessable criteria; and must also incorporate a process of feedback to the assessed officer. Additionally, and this point is important, the system should be such as to promote a healthy and productive relationship between the superior and the subordinate officer. According to Likert, "The fundamental flaw in current review procedures is that they compel the superior to behave in a threatening, rejecting, ego-deflating manner with a sizable proportion of his staff. This pattern of relationship between the superior and his subordinate not only affects the subordinate but also seriously impairs the capacity of the *superior* to function effectively."²⁹

McGregor's trenchant criticism of conventional appraisal systems which treat the rated person as a passive object has found widespread support among sociologists and organisational psychologists. "The conventional approach, unless handled with consummate skill and delicacy, constitutes something dangerously close to a violation of the integrity of the personality. Of course, managers cannot escape making judgements about subordinates. But are subordinates like products on an assembly line, to be accepted or rejected as a result of an inspection process? The inspection process may be made more objective or more accurate through research on the appraisal instrument, through training of the 'inspectors', or through introducing group appraisal; the subordinate may be 'reworked' by coaching or counselling before the final decision to accept or reject him; but as far as the assumptions of the conventional appraisal process are concerned, we still have what is practically identical with a programme for product inspection."³⁰ The

²⁸Douglas McGregor, "An Uneasy Look at Performance Appraisal", *Harvard Business Review*, Sep-Oct. 72, p. 133.

²⁹Renis Likert, "Motivational Approach to Business Management", *Harvard Business Review*, Jul.-Aug. 59 quoted by Marion S. Kellogg in "What to do about Performance Appraisal?", New York, American Management Association, 1965, p. 13.

³⁰Douglas McGregor, *op. cit.*, and also see Anthony J. Daniels, "Evaluation Systems", *Military Review*, Jan. 72, p. 3.

point of this criticism is that the subordinate should be enabled to participate in the evaluation process rather than be treated as a physical object. This helps him to be more 'inner directed', an important attribute of a mature personality.³¹

There is great diversity between the three services in India in the matter of personnel appraisal policies and practices, although none of these satisfies adequately the requirements mentioned above. The army and navy partially convey the contents of the ACR to the officer, the air force does not. The air force and the navy have a single format for the ACR for all officers—from the lowest to the highest rank. In the army, on the other hand, there are four different forms: one for officers with less than ten years' service; one for officers with ten years or more service up to the rank of Colonel; one for Brigadiers and Major Generals; and another for Lt.-Generals and above. The army's and air force's ACR systems have been computerised, the navy's has not. The air force ACR lists about 25 qualities to be assessed, the navy has about five, while the army has ten to fifteen. Only a small part of this disparity can be attributed to the differing requirements of the three services. The air force and the army (upto Colonel) use the graphic rating scale along-with a short essay. The navy uses a forced choice type of format. The army also uses graphic rating for five questions under the heading 'demonstrated performance', which is given greater importance than personal qualities. This is in line with the modern view that performance is a more reliable index in personal evaluation than personality traits. No numerical weightage is assigned to any quality in any of the three services—although a minimum is stipulated in some cases in respect of certain 'mandatory' qualities. There is no attempt at the standardisation or training of reporting officers in any of the three services.³² The air force has recently tried to introduce the 'forced distribution' system at the unit level in order to counter the problem of the 'inflation' of ratings. When applied to small groups of people, engaged in a variety of widely disparate jobs, this system becomes statistically fallacious. As Flippo has observed, "forced distribution is rather meaningless when applied to small groups."³³ A recent survey of the evaluation systems of seven countries reveals that inflation in ratings is a tendency common to most services,³⁴ especially where the stress is upon numerical assessments. A US officer has described the position thus: "The present DA Form 67-7, as did

³¹Alan H. Schoonmaker, *Anxiety and the Executive*, New York, American Management Association, 1969, p. 106.

³²Institute of Defence Management, *Special Study on Appraisal System in the Armed Forces*, p. 39.

³³Edwin B. Flippo, *Principles of Personnel Management*, Tokyo, McGraw-Hill Kogakusha, 1971, p. 248.

³⁴Maj. Robert L. Dilworth, "Officer Evaluation: Seven Systems", *Military Review*, May 73, p. 15.

its predecessor, concentrates so much on numbers that a fear has developed among the officer corps lest we ruin a man with less than an acceptable score. In essence, when an average score is established, it tends to become the floor. As the average increases, the floor moves up. Ultimately, the space between floor and ceiling decreases, and we will again be in the position of promoting the most outstanding and passing over the least outstanding."³⁵

It is evident from the above that the appraisal system in the three services, particularly the air force and the navy, needs to be redesigned in accordance with modern concepts of personnel management. The basic defect in the services' approach to the question of personnel appraisal seems to be their exclusive reliance on trait-based systems. According to McFarland, "trait-oriented methods, including rating scales, have declined in use and popularity. The main reasons include: (1) disillusionment about solving technical and semantic difficulties, (2) the failure to improve the way raters used the systems, (3) pressures to adopt new methods, and (4) low statistical validities."³⁶

The more important appraisal techniques currently in use are:

- (a) Rank Order Rating
- (b) Employee Comparison Rating
- (c) Graphic Rating Scales
- (d) Forced Distribution Rating
- (e) Forced Choice Description
- (f) Critical Incidents
- (g) Field Review
- (h) Free-form Essay
- (i) Group Appraisal
- (j) Self-appraisal
- (k) Peer Group Rating

Each of these systems has strengths and weaknesses, and an exclusive reliance on any one system is not likely to yield optimum results. A sound appraisal system should, therefore, combine two or more of these techniques in such a manner as to match the requirements arising during different phases of an officer's career. The appraisal system proposed in the succeeding paragraphs has been designed with this object.

³⁵Maj. Thomas H. Fletcher, "Officer Evaluation", *Military Review*, July 73.

³⁶McFarland, *op. cit.*, p. 336.

As discussed earlier, the career evolution factor requires emphasis on, and development of, different qualities at different stages of an officer's career. The appraisal system must be designed to take this factor into account, as the army system does to some extent. In addition, the appraisal system should be designed to take advantage of the opportunities offered for certain special types of appraisal during certain courses of instruction attended by the officers. Thus the appraisal system would be broadly divided into three categories: (a) reports on officers of the rank of Major and below; (b) reports on Lt.-Cols. and Cols.; and (c) reports on Brigadiers and above.

Major and Below : In basic principle and format, the existing army form for officers with less than ten years' service is suitable for officers up to the rank of Major or equivalent and should, with certain modifications, be adopted by the navy and air force also. Two basic changes, however, are recommended:

- (a) Each personal quality listed in the assessment form should be assigned a weightage to be applied centrally while processing the report.
- (b) As practised by the Australian army,³⁷ a statistical control should be applied centrally to the ratings. The annual distribution of ratings for all officers of the same rank should be normalised by calculating the standard deviation and converting to McCall's T scale. The officer's T score for a given year should be determined by the formula Present T score $\times 2 +$ last year's T score divided by three.

Lt. Colonels and Colonels: During this stage of an officer's career, in addition to the current graphic rating and essay form, the introduction of an element of self-appraisal is considered desirable. This would not only enable the officer to participate in the evaluation process but would also encourage mature introspection and self-development. In its recommendations for the appraisal system for the ONGC, the Committee for the Review of the Oil and Natural Gases Commission has made a similar recommendation.³⁸ The ARC also has made this recommendation (No. 41). The appraisal system for Lt.-Cols. and Cols. should, therefore, consist of:

- (a) A graphic rating assessment form as at present in use for army officers with ten years or more service, suitably adapted for use by the other two services also.
- (b) A system of relative weightages, to be centrally applied to the personal qualities as well as demonstrated performance.

³⁷Maj. Robert L. Dilworth, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

³⁸*Report of the Committee for Review of the Oil and Natural Gases Commission*, para 17(b)(ii).

- (c) An account, written on half a page on the body of the report, by the officer being assessed, on his performance and achievements during the period of report. This is to be entirely performance oriented and not trait-oriented; the officer writes about what he has *done* not on what he *is*. The reporting officer then writes his comments on this, using the other half of the page. This need not be shown to the officer.

Brigadiers and Above: The appraisal system for Brigadier and above should be based on a combination of three techniques: the forced-choice description, the self-appraisal as proposed above, and the free essay form. The forced-choice technique was developed by the US Army in World War II, and has subsequently been the subject of much research and refinement. This system consists basically of a number of statements, divided into sets of four, called tetrads. From each tetrad the rating officer has to choose the statement most nearly applicable to the officer being reported upon. The form generally consists of about 15 to 50 such tetrads. Recent research has shown that this system has been most successful in eliminating rater bias. "In effect, the forced-choice system represents an attempt to devise an objective method of arriving at the same answers that the committee reached after their long discussions and hard work. At the same time, it is an attempt to eliminate rater bias, since the correct answers are not apparent. Reports of reliability coefficients as high as 0.70 to 0.90 have been indicated in various studies. This compares with the usual reliability of from 0.60 to 0.80 for most merit ratings."³⁹ "The forced-choice method has proved its value over standard rating methods in that it produces more objective evaluations, yields and more nearly normal distribution, can be machine-scored, and the ratings are related to valid indices of good and bad performance."⁴⁰ In the example of a forced-choice rating format given below,⁴¹ the items have been taken from a form used to rate army officers. The rater has to indicate in each set of four items (tetrads): (a) the item most characteristic of the subordinate, and (b) the one least characteristic of him. In each set of four items, one is related to success and the other to failure, but the rater does not know the diagnostic items and so cannot easily bias his evaluation.

Job Proficiency	Most	Least
A. A go-getter, always does a good job	—	—
B. Cool under all circumstances	—	—
C. Doesn't listen to suggestions	—	—
D. Drives instead of leads	—	—

³⁹Edwin B. Flippo, *op. cit.*, p. 252.

⁴⁰Norman R.F. Maier, *op. cit.*, p. 251.

⁴¹*Ibid.*

<i>Job Proficiency</i>	<i>Most</i>	<i>Least</i>
A. Always criticises, never praises	—	—
B. Carries out orders by passing the buck	—	—
C. Knows his job and performs it well	—	—
D. Plays no favourites	—	—
A. Cannot assume responsibility	—	—
B. Knows how and what to delegate	—	—
C. Offers suggestions	—	—
D. Too easily changes his ideas	—	—

Setting up a forced-choice system involves a considerable amount of work and technical expertise. The main requirements are:

- (a) A separate set of items for each type of job.
- (b) Trained technicians to develop a rating scale.
- (c) General agreement on criteria of success and failure.
- (d) Acceptance by raters. According to Maier, the forced-choice form was one of the two forms best liked by the raters.

The forced-choice system, with its high validity and freedom from rater bias, is particularly suitable for the appraisal of the small numbers of top officers in the three services. In addition to this, the use of self-appraisal and a brief pen-picture would provide extremely effective results.

Peer Group Rating: Reference has been made earlier to certain special techniques of appraisal to be used during certain courses of instruction. It has been found that in a sizable group of officers of the same seniority and experience, a socio-metric analysis, using each member of the group to rate the other individuals, yields very useful results. Leadership qualities, in particular, can be clearly brought out in such a system.⁴² The simplest application of this method would be a ranking of the rest of the group by each member in respect of a selected trait or quality, but a scoring system can also be used. The results, representing as they do the perceptions of a number of intimately connected individuals, have a high degree of objectivity and can be put in precise quantitative terms. Such appraisals, carried out during certain important courses in an officer's career, e.g., Junior Commanders' Course, Staff College Course, and National Defence College Course, could provide an invaluable independent assessment of the officer. The results of these peer group ratings can also provide 'bench marks' against which the reliability of the other routine assessments can be checked. The sociometric technique, incidentally, has also been used for the selection of flying partners⁴³ and could

⁴²Norman R.F. Maier, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

⁴³*Ibid.*

usefully be employed for the allocation of pupils to instructors in the academies.

Training of Raters: The development of accurate and valid appraisal systems will not, by themselves, yield the desired results unless there is a degree of standardisation among the rating officers. According to Hubbard, "There is something that is more scarce, something finer far, something rarer than ability. It is the ability to recognise ability."⁴⁴ An organised programme for the training and standardisation of rating officers is essential for all the three services. As observed earlier, there is no such programme at present. An essential pre-requisite for such a programme is a careful statistical analysis of all reports towards biased or inconsistent reporting.

Use of EDP Systems: It is universally recognised that any formal appraisal system involving large numbers of personnel has to rely on a sophisticated data processing system. The computerisation of the personnel information and appraisal system of the navy is an urgent and inescapable necessity.

Promotion Policies

The most important purpose of the appraisal system is to assist in promotion and job-assignment decisions. The high career attrition factor in the services makes it inevitable that some officers are passed over for promotion at every level. The career structure in the services is such that frequently even high-average and fully competent officers are superseded. In career systems where rank is the final determinant of all other parameters, such officers lose, not only in terms of professional advancement, but also in terms of remuneration and continued employment. "The ultimate disappointment for officers is the knowledge that if they do not rise to the top of the military profession, it may be necessary or desirable to leave the service somewhere along the line, frequently just as they are nearing the peak of their capabilities, and seek another career even less satisfactory in terms of professional pride or ability. Thus, men who are reasonably successful in their military careers are often forced into frustrating civilian careers because, in the service, "reasonable success" may provide neither advancement nor security. And they are painfully aware that "in the final analysis" as one officer has pointed out, "successful lawyers, doctors, engineers, or architects do not turn to the sale of real estate, insurance, or securities in later life". The professional attraction of a military career is thus diminished and military service becomes, in fact, "a pseudo-profession in which only the most

⁴⁴Quoted by Maj. Robert E. Sloane, "The Recognition of Ability", *Military Review*, Aug. 73, p. 28.

extra-ordinarily successful have earned a lifelong livelihood." Realization of these problems may stifle a career even before it begins."⁴⁵

As indicated in the report of the German Commission referred to earlier, and in the career policies of several countries, there is a considerable body of progressive opinion opposed to the practice of linking all aspects of an officer's career with promotion in rank. In the armed forces, particularly, where failure to secure promotion is related primarily to organisational limitations (pyramidal structure) it appears unfair that the punitive effect of supersession should extend to areas of remuneration and continued employment.

The deleterious effects of an exclusive focus on promotion in career policies have also been noted by organisational psychologists. "The mobility-centred executive needs the approval which only promotion can provide. A promotion shows that his superiors approve of him, raises him in the eyes of his associates, and increases his own self-respect. It proves to him that he is a good man. Because he doesn't have such faith in himself or in his ability to judge his own worth, he needs that proof again and again. As promotion and approval are so crucially important to him, anxiety is a basic fact of life for nearly every mobility-centred executive. His psychological security depends upon his superiors' opinions and decisions, and these can change at any time. The man who is approved by his superiors today may be phased out tomorrow and may not even know why it happened."⁴⁶ Where promotion has such crucial significance to an officer, he may have a serious attack of failure anxiety on being passed over. "The incidence of psychosomatic disease is significantly higher among members of the passed-over generation, as well as the premature death rate due to heart attacks and suicides. For many, stress without success has become unbearable during this period of high mobility."⁴⁷

The factors mentioned above lead to two important conclusions:

- (a) There is a requirement to reduce considerably the dependence of pay, and age of superannuation, on rank.
- (b) Promotion decisions, and especially those involving supersession, must be taken after the most careful consideration of an officer's record, who himself must be given adequate warning and preparation for such an eventuality. "The need to know where we stand is as basic as the need for food and drink. To frustrate this need will almost always cause anxiety, particularly in other directed people."⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Defence Military Manpower, op. cit., p. 82.

⁴⁶ Alan H. Schoonmaker, op. cit., p. 107.

⁴⁷ Eugene E. Jennings, *The Mobile Manager*, p. 3.

⁴⁸ Alan H. Schoonmaker, op. cit., p. 108.

The relationship of rank with pay and retirement age will be discussed later, but the existing promotion policies in the three services will be briefly surveyed here. The basic common feature of the promotion process in all the three services is their reliance on the officers' ACRs. These ACRs are considered by promotion boards which periodically assemble at the service headquarters. In actual functioning, however, there is considerable difference between the three services, both in the processing of reports as well as the composition and functioning of the promotion boards. The army promotion system consists of three independent processes: (a) an internal grading system; (b) a computer grading system; and (c) a promotion board grading system.

The internal grading system works out the fitness of an officer for promotion which is not conveyed to the promotion board. However, the computer gradings of the officer's fitness for promotion (fit, unfit, or check) are provided to the promotion board only after the promotion board has awarded its own gradings.

The army promotion board invariably has a few officers of the requisite rank drawn from field formations. This gives a balanced, open and representative character to the board. In the other two services, on the other hand, the membership of the promotion board is restricted to the PSOs and the C's-in-C only. The navy applies an index error factor to the reports in order to rectify any rater bias. By and large, the precise promotion policy is not made known to all officers in any of the services. There is, thus, an aura of secrecy surrounding these policies which does not help to enhance confidence in the system among the officers.

Placement Policies

In a large and complex organisation consisting of a large number of specialists in various fields, the question of proper and equitable job-assignment assumes special importance. The problem of job-assignment has to be considered at two levels: at the level of a class, branch or group of specialists; and at the level of the individual. The integration of the various groups of specialists to obtain the best overall performance is one of the major problems of modern organisations.

At the collective (branch or arm) level the problems of placement, command and control tend to get clouded by prejudice and vested interests. The trend, however, is towards a diminution in exclusiveness and many positions previously reserved for a particular class of officers are now open to others as well. Despite some rare retrograde movements, when branch interests succeed in getting the upper hand, this movement towards a greater

sharing of assignments among the different branches or 'arms' is well established among the services.

According to Lt.-Gen. Von Baudissin, "The concept of the 'career officer' covers people responsible for a large number of very varied functions, and for the most part, they have little in common with their predecessors in earlier times. The man who can still be most readily compared with this 'archetype' is the specialist in tactics within a simple weapons system—but if one were to model the image of the armed forces on him, it would be like modelling the image of the railways on the engine driver."⁴⁹ The military profession according to Maj.-Gen. Gard, "cannot escape the requirement to attain high levels of capacity in analytical, technical and management skills not considered, until recently, to be primary military responsibilities . . . the previously accepted tenet that an effective tactical commander inherently possesses the necessary initiative to cope successfully with the full range of assignments is obviously outdated."⁵⁰ Ensuring equitable and worthwhile career prospects to individuals belonging to various specialities has already been defined as one of the important objects of career management policies. This can only be achieved if the broadest possible basis of job-assignment is ensured between various groups of specialists.

At the individual level, job-assignment must take into consideration the officer's background, training and experience. A point that needs special emphasis, however, is that this background, training and experience are largely what the service has provided to him in the course of his career; and, of course, what he has done with the opportunities provided to him. An intelligently planned and progressive rotation of assignments can ensure that an officer is fit, at the appropriate stage of his career, to fill a variety of roles. Frequently, in cases where there has been a failure to plan or implement a proper programme of assignment and training, personnel planners discover that an officer has limited 'employability'. The concept of 'employability', considerably in evidence in one or two of the services, generally comes to the fore when there has been a failure of planning. The concept is trite in one sense, and insidious in another. It is trite when it suggests that an officer is best employed in assignments where his qualifications and experience are relevant; it is insidious when it transfers the responsibility for defective career planning to the officer himself and then proceeds to penalise him. A greater misuse of the concept of 'employability' occurs when it is used, not in the context of individual officers, but of whole classes of officers. In this case it

⁴⁹Lt.-Gen. Wolf Graf Von Baudissin, *Officer, Education and the Officer's Career*, I.S.S. Adelphi, Paper No. 103.

⁵⁰Lt. Gen. Robert G. Gard, Jr., *The Future of the Military Profession*, I.S.S. Adelphi, Paper No. 103.

disguises, not failure of planning, but vested interest. In a properly planned and integrated programme of assignments and progressive training it would be ensured that every officer has a sufficiently wide spectrum of experience to fit into a large number of roles, especially at the middle and senior staff levels.

The RAF is considering the introduction of a new type of form, the 'personal objective report' designated F 1369P.⁵¹ This is intended to help the officer to make known to the personnel staff his career and personal objectives so that his assignments and training can be suitably planned, keeping in view the broader service requirements. A similar experiment could usefully be undertaken in India also.

Pay/Rank Relationship

It has already been suggested that there is a case for lessening the dependence of pay on rank. Since the findings of the Third Pay Commission have only recently been finalised, the subject is of no more than academic interest. As an illustration a pay scale of Rs. 600-50-2400 could be made applicable to all officers as the basic time-scale pay. In addition, rank pay as shown below would yield emoluments of roughly the same order as at present:

		<i>Pay of Rank</i>
(a)	General	Rs. 1,000
(b)	Lt. Gen.	Rs. 700
(c)	Maj. Gen.	Rs. 400
(d)	Brig.	Rs. 200
(e)	Col.	Rs. 100
(f)	Lt. Col.	Rs. 50
(g)	Maj. and below	nil

A noteworthy point in connection with the pay of armed forces personnel is the special recognition given in other countries to the need to keep service pay under constant review. In the USA, the Uniformed Services Pay Act of 1965 requires the President to conduct at least once in four years "a complete review of the principles and concepts of military compensation for members of the uniformed services".⁵² In the UK, the Armed Forces Pay Review Body annually reviews the salaries of service personnel, and also carries out a detailed study of the various factors which have a bearing on service pay and facilities. Regarding its future plans, the report of the Review-

⁵¹H.M.S.O., *Air Secretary's Bulletin No. 5*, Spring 1973.

⁵²*Defence Military Manpower*, op. cit., p. 78.

Body states, "We intend to keep service pay and charges under continuing review in order to make progress towards the objectives which we have described. We have set ourselves certain specific tasks which we intend to complete before we report again next year...."⁵³ The process of review and implementation in India presents a somewhat different picture.

RETIREMENT POLICIES

Early retirement has been the chief distinguishing feature of the military career, especially after the end of World War II. The necessity of restoring a balanced age-rank structure, and alleviating stagnation in promotion, led to the adoption of early-retirement policies in the post-war period. The declared aim of these policies, however, has generally been the maintenance of a youthful and vigorous fighting force. As observed by Biderman, "The impetus for this provision was to relieve stagnation in the promotion system. The principle that was applied in accepting applications for retirement under the old voluntary systems was the contributions which retirements could make to the age-rank structure of the service, rather than a view of those past fifty as superannuated warriors. Promotion opportunities and conceptions of ideal age-rank structure have provided the actual rationale for all subsequent modifications of the military retirement systems, although the need for youthful vigour of the combatant increasingly is given higher status in its rhetorical justification."⁵⁴ Biderman's criticism is borne out by facts; the average age of the 32 top US army commanders in World War II was 60. Gen. Che Hsi-Lien, at 61, is the youngest of the top generals in the Chinese PLA.* Studies show that retirement ages of the top four ranks in a service have only marginal effects on the age-structure at junior levels.

Owing to a number of emerging factors, the question of early retirement has begun to receive the critical attention of armed forces in several countries. These factors are given below:

- (a) The rising costs of retirement pays. In the USA, the retired pay for 1973 amounted to 4.8 billion dollars and is expected to reach 17.3 billion dollars by the end of the century. The figure for India, at Rs. 76 crores is not inconsiderable and is bound to escalate sharply over the next few years.
- (b) The marked increase in longevity and, therefore, the active life-span of the general population.

⁵³H.M.S.O., *Review Body on Armed Forces Pay, Third Report*.

⁵⁴Albert D. Biderman, "The Retired Military", in Roger W. Little (ed.), *Handbook of Military Institutions*, *op. cit.*, p. 124.
*in 1974.

- (c) The sharp increase in technical and managerial functions in the military establishment, leading to a closer analogy with civil career-patterns. "Only some 13 per cent of officers can be defined directly as potential combatants; all other officers have to perform functions which are related only indirectly to the possible combat mission of the armed forces."⁵⁵
- (d) The necessity of a "second career" after retirement. Several factors have combined to make this an increasingly important consideration. First, the broad base of officer-recruitment implies that an extremely small minority of officers now have private means with which to supplement their pensions. Secondly, with inflation as a permanent fact of economic life, the retired pay, howsoever attractive, gradually diminishes in real terms to no more than a meagre allowance. Thirdly, with the increase in life-expectancy referred to earlier, the requirement to find an active occupation after retirement becomes stronger.

In the context of the factors mentioned above, there has been more and more a searching criticism of early retirement policies, from professional soldiers as well as military and financial planners. The Third Report of the Review Body on Armed Forces Pay in the UK states, "Long service is particularly important, as it enables the services to reap the maximum benefit from the expensive training they give; it is self-evident that trained servicemen are more cost-effective than a series of replacements for whom the time spent in training must be deducted from the period of effective service." The Director of the Bureau of the Budget and Chairman of the Civil Service Commission in his report to the US President in 1966, has expressed a similar viewpoint, "...the rapidly increasing retired rolls and associated increases in expenditures for retired pay have given rise to questions whether the system, with its emphasis on retirement of personnel at relatively young ages, is unduly wasteful in terms of trained manpower and retired pay costs."

The professional soldier's viewpoint is well illustrated by the observations of a US army officer: "The dictionary definition of a career as a single life time occupation is as valid today as it was before World War II. The young officer in the army, like his young contemporary in General Motors, is well aware of the pyramidal grade structure of the hierarchy he has joined, and by the time he has his feet on the ground he is well aware of the mathematical odds against his chances of reaching the top of the pyramid. It is the career itself that attracts him, rather than the faint chance of becoming the president of GM or chief of staff of the army. There the comparison ends. In a civilian hierarchy a man can expect to be retained as long as he can perform the work

⁵⁵Lt. Gen. Wolf. Graf Von Baudissin, *op. cit.*, p. 290.

he was hired to do. He may or may not be promoted rapidly, and at some point up the ladder his rise will stop, but for that reason alone he will neither be fired nor forced to retire."⁵⁶

As if the hardship imposed by early retirement was not enough, all the three services in India have a provision for a 'tenure' system in the senior ranks, in addition to a rank-dependent superannuation scheme. As an example, an officer promoted to the rank of substantive Air Commodore at the age of 45 would have to reckon his retirement age as follows:

- (a) Forty-nine years, if he is not promoted to the next substantive rank before that, and is also not granted another tenure.
- (b) Fifty-two years, if he is granted extension of tenure till the age of superannuation in present rank, and does not get promoted to the next substantive rank.
- (c) Fifty-five years, if he is promoted to the next substantive rank by or after 51 and does not get promoted to Air Marshal before 55. If he is promoted to the substantive rank of Air Vice Marshall before 51, the same sort of calculation as outlined above would have to be made to get the various possible alternative courses of events.

It is quite obvious from the above that even the few outstanding officers who succeed in attaining Air ranks (or equivalent) are kept in a state of uncertainty and insecurity right to the end of their careers. The proposition that "the decisive consideration in designing an attractive professional career is the prospect at the end of it,"⁵⁷ is certainly very true. The early age of retirement in the services, and the great uncertainty with which it is fraught, make an officer's declining years in the service full of anxiety, insecurity and frustration. In the face of this kind of uncertainty prevailing towards the end of his career, the officer is generally in no position to make firm plans regarding his 'second career' sufficiently in advance. In fact, his performance even in his present career suffers an inevitable decline. The 1960 Defence White Paper referred to earlier had, for these reasons, modified officers' careers to provide for retirement by the late thirties or retention, irrespective of rank, till 55. The merits of this 'two-stage' retirement policy are plain; it enables the early retirees to start a second career at a young enough age and assures the rest—the senior career officers—of a definite tenure of employment, so that they can perform their duties without being plagued by anxiety and insecurity—and plan their retirement well in advance.

⁵⁶Brig. Gen. Lynn D. Smith, "Up or Out: The Cost in Dollars and Defence", *Army*, Dec. 73, p. 16.

⁵⁷Lt.-Col. William L. Hauser, *op. cit.*

In the context of the retirement policies of the services, the institution of 'second career' or rehabilitation programmes assumes considerable importance. In the 'sixties', most major nations had to develop elaborate special programmes to absorb, in civil careers large numbers of men whose experience was limited to the military field. The solutions visualised in some countries have already been indicated: France and Germany favour a two-phase public service concept, with the civilian phase forming the second phase; the UK Defence White Paper recommended measures to promote the second career of military retirees in commerce and industry; in the USA, the Government is the largest employer of retired military personnel. According to Biderman, who has done very extensive work in this field, "Government employment presents particularly attractive opportunities for applying skills and experience developed in the service. The Department of Defence is by far the largest employer of retired military personnel—over sixty per cent of the retirees in the competitive federal service work for defence agencies (US Civil Service Commission, 1966). But it has been suggested that there is a more fundamental appeal of Government service to the military profession even where direct translation of skill to civil service role does not apply. Janowitz (1960) has contended that a public service orientation is an important basis for the choice of a military career, that military professionals tend to be recruited in the United States from subcultures with strong traditions encouraging the choice of public service occupations, and that the military career experience reinforces these motivations."⁵⁸ These observations appear to have some applicability to the officer class in the Indian armed forces also.

The primary avenue open to the early retiree in India is, therefore, employment in the Government and in the public sector. By suitable mid-career lateral deputation to selected civil or public sector posts, an officer's eventual absorption after retirement can be facilitated. According to the recommendations of the Administrative Reforms Commission (ARC Report on Personnel Administration: Recommendation 5), "After eight and within twelve years of service in his functional area every class I officer (All India and Central) should be eligible to move to a post outside his functional area at the headquarters. There should be a selection from among those who desire to make this move. The selection should be based on a written test, an interview and an assessment of previous record conducted by the UPSC." Such a scheme, with suitable modifications, could usefully be extended to the armed forces officers as well.

In the context of the air force, where a large number of aircrew have to be retired annually, a particularly cost-effective and socially useful scheme for the rehabilitation of retired personnel seems possible. Basically, the shedding of such an expensively trained and highly skilled body of men without further

⁵⁸Albert D. Biderman, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

utilisation represents a national waste of some magnitude. The average aircrew officer who retires in his late forties (owing to the limited number of vacancies available in staff and higher command appointments) is a seasoned and experienced flyer with at least seven to ten years' useful professional life ahead of him. The establishment of an independent second domestic airline, manned primarily by retired air force personnel, would not only prevent this national waste and provide a fulfilling second career to retired personnel, but would also provide some competition to our single domestic airline—a step that would be greatly in the public interest. In addition, manned as it would be primarily by air force reservists, this reserve airline would provide a fully operational and readily deployable transport force during any hostilities. In fact, by a judicious choice of aircraft an extremely cost-effective solution, ensuring revenue-earning during peace and substantial military airlift capability during war, can be provided. In his article entitled 'Rationalizing Military and Commercial Air Transport Fleets for Optimum Productivity' (International Defence Review, Feb 74), L.W. Ford has clearly brought out the advantages of such a system.

Perhaps the most significant contribution towards the promotion of second careers for early retirees can be in the shape of relevant training programmes during the officers' career. Especially for officers in combat arms, and with no professional skills relevant to civil applications, the acquisition, while in service, of academic qualifications, up to at least graduate level should be mandatory. In the USA, promising officers earmarked for instructional duties at the service academies are sent to such prestigious universities as Harvard, Oxford, Stanford, Columbia and Princeton. Twenty-eight per cent of the officers teaching at the US Air Force Academy have doctorates, the figure for West Point being eleven per cent.⁵⁹ In India, such educational programmes as there are (and these are mostly confined to professional training) rely almost exclusively on service institutions. There is a good case for greater integration with the civil academic institutions in India. According to Lt.-Gen Von Baudissin, "The general educational system of the country in question naturally also plays a decisive part, and specialist military training must be seen as part of this; to wish it to be autonomous would be uneconomic and inefficient, and seems to be a particular form of militarism."⁶⁰ In this context the setting up of institutions of managerial training within the services appears to be a non-optimum solution, unless these institutions are integrated more closely with the academic world. Management training is especially useful for potential retirees. Prof. T.A.A. Latif has estimated the annual requirement for managers in India as 40,000 per year.⁶¹ Clearly,

⁵⁹ Laurence I. Radway, "Recent Trends at American Service Academies", *Public Opinion and Military Establishment*, pp. 18-19.

⁶⁰ Lt. Gen. Wolf Graf Von Baudissin, *op. cit.*

⁶¹ Prof. T.A.A. Latif, "Managerial Manpower", *Economic Times*, 21 June, 74.

a well-conceived national plan for the training and post-retirement placement of service retirees could fulfil a vital need in an important sector.

CONCLUSION

In the brief survey attempted here, the salient features and outstanding problems of personnel management in the armed forces have been discussed. Personnel management is a subject of great importance for any organisation; in the armed forces it becomes a matter of vital national concern. Our national security, in the ultimate analysis, depends upon the inspiration and satisfaction our fighting men derive from the profession of arms. Here the quality of leadership is of crucial importance; and only a dedicated, disciplined and professionally competent officer corps can provide this leadership. This dedication, discipline and professional excellence cannot be easily or cheaply obtained. The young man of quality who joins the armed forces and, having joined, decides to stay on, wants not only adequate monetary compensation, but also the challenge of interesting and responsible assignments in the course of a life long career. Where the military career becomes, for the large majority of officers, a 'pseudo-profession' with the prospect of dependence upon a low-grade second career after it, the armed forces can draw only from the second or third-best sections of youth. This could mean second-rate defence; and, as someone has said, "there is no prize for runners-up in war."



"An activity to which far greater attention needs to be given is on-the-job training. To some extent departmental examinations serve the purpose. At higher levels it would be useful if once in a few years senior officials are made to rough it out at academic and technical institutions or even to work with their hands in fields and factories."

SMT. INDIRA GANDHI, Prime Minister,
while inaugurating the Conference
of the Chairmen of Public Service
Commissions—November 15, 1976.

DEVELOPMENT AND MANAGEMENT OF THE WATER RESOURCES OF INDIA*

P. N. Chary

NEXT to air, water is the most important item for the survival of life on earth. The well-being of the human race (linked closely with plant life and animal kingdom) in a region largely depends upon the endowment of water resources in the region and how well the available resources are managed. Most of our planning era was pre-occupied with building up of more and more irrigation potential, undertaking huge engineering works. Very little attention was paid to properly assessing the total water resource of the country, much less was tried towards its rational allocation to various competing uses.

In the pre-independence period, the Royal Commission on Agriculture, the series of Famine Commissions, the First Irrigation Commission, the Grow More Food Campaign and, after independence, the whole planning machinery—all gave high priority to increased irrigation facilities. Very little was mentioned of the qualitative improvement in the already existing irrigation facilities. The rationale behind such an approach appears to be that irrigation was viewed as a protective and ‘supplemental’ effort: it was not adequately appreciated as a productive input in agriculture.

Considerable awareness has grown since the early fifties at various levels in India—among planners, administrators, and scientists—regarding the judicious use of water resources, which has resulted in the formulation of coordinated river basin plans, river boards, soil conservation programmes, flood control schemes, etc. But they have been mere *ad hoc* measures, most of them caught up in the maze of inter-regional and inter-departmental rivalries. They have not been very helpful in paving the way for evolving a national policy for development of our water resources, dovetailed to our national objectives of diffused and balanced economic growth. Water management, in all its relevant aspects, taken in an integrated form, is a recent approach in India.

Land is an important link in the hydrological cycle, which controls the endowment of water resources in a region in the form of subsoil water and

* Awarded the First Prize in the IIPA Essay Competition for the year 1976.

surface water. Land in its proper condition helps maintaining a balance in the eco-system. Hence a sound policy of land and soil use forms the corner stone of a sound water use policy.

The magnitude of the long standing problem of neglect and mismanagement of these two most important resources—land and water—is too evident from a few symptoms; out of 328 million hectares of our geographical area, the estimated area affected by water erosion is 90 million hectares and by wind erosion, 50 million hectares. An extent of 20 million hectares of good agricultural land is subjected to seasonal floods and 12 million hectares are affected by water logging and salinity. Although no official estimates are available, it is reported that sea erosion also has reached dangerous proportions.¹ It means more than half of our geographical area is in urgent need of protective and corrective treatment. Every year, more than 6,000 million tonnes of fertile top soil is displaced by erosion and lodged in river beds and irrigation projects, making fertile agricultural land sterile and irrigation projects lose their irrigable capacity. Most of our rivers are changing course and over flowing their banks causing severe floods, the yearly flood damage is put at Rs. 300 crores. Our inland navigational water courses are also silting rapidly and pushing up the maintenance bill, the sedimentation problem has become a threat to our water courses. We are paying this heavy price for the gross misuse of land and water resources and if we continue to neglect these problems, the posterity will have to pay a still higher price. It is as though we are too concerned about our need of the soil, but not even aware of the needs of the soil. Added to all this, water pollution due to industrialisation and urbanisation (it is one of the aspects of environmental pollution) is taking place at a menacing rate.

By the end of 1975, 48 million hectares were reported to have gained irrigation facilities from all sources—major, medium and minor surface and ground water schemes. Reckoning at a very conservative rate of Rs. 2,000 per hectare, the total present value of investment from public and private sources that would have gone into the building of these irrigation facilities comes to Rs. 96,000 million. But it is sad to note that the irrigation potential built up at such an enormous cost is not fully utilised, and that not even a small fraction of it is properly utilised. The overall utilisation of major and medium irrigation schemes was reported to be around 81 per cent. The State-wise utilisation figures range from 40 per cent in M.P. to 100 per cent in Haryana and Kerala.² Even the performance of the minor irrigation schemes

¹Vohra, B.B. *Land and Water Management Problems in India*, Training Division, Department of Personnel and Administrative Reforms, Cabinet Secretariat, Government of India, New Delhi, pp. 26-34.

²Ibid., p. 86.

appears to be no better than the major and medium schemes.³ Moreover, these utilisation figures are most misleading inasmuch as they do not reflect any qualitative aspects of utilisation. A number of studies have revealed that only 30-40 per cent of the water delivered from the reservoirs is used as irrigation on the farm and only less than 50 per cent of the irrigation water is used by plants. Thus the overall efficiency of utilisation comes to around 25 per cent. Our methods of irrigation seldom conform to the modern technology of "irriculture" (irrigated agriculture), nor are our water works in a position to meet the exacting demands of the new crop varieties. The values of 'delta' and 'duty' are specific to the specific characteristics of soil, weather and plant.⁴ Our irrigation works need to be restructured to make sufficient room for flexibility in the 'duty' control to cater to the optimum needs of the above parameters, and our emphasis needs a shift from 'protective irrigation' to 'productive irrigation'. The success of this largely depends upon a comprehensive water use planning; it should be so meticulous that it covers all aspects, right from assessment of the resource stock needs, development, allocation to different uses, transportation and up to ultimate consumption, with the simultaneous development of all the associated infrastructures.

LAND—AN IMPORTANT LINK IN THE HYDROLOGICAL CYCLE

Fresh water formation on the land surface takes place mainly in two ways—rain and snow.⁵ Precipitation forms the starting point of the hydrological cycle; a part of the precipitation evaporates, some of it sinks into the ground to form ground water storage and the remaining goes as surface runoff into streams and rivers and ultimately joins the sea. A portion of the ground water gets stored up in the top layer of the soil according to the 'water holding capacity' of the soil, and facilitates the growth of vegetation.⁶ The remaining water percolates to deeper layers of the earth. Evaporation, taking place on land and sea, forms into clouds and precipitates again on the earth in the form of rain and snow; thus the hydrological cycle continues.

The two components of the hydrological cycle—the ground water and the surface water—are complements of each other; both together constitute

³All India Review of Minor Irrigation Works Based on Statewise Field Studies Committee on Plan Projects (Planning Commission), Irrigation Team, New Delhi, June 1966.

⁴Delta—is the volume of water a crop requires during its life period. Duty—is the area of a crop commanded by one cusec flow of water during the season.

⁵Apart from rain and snow, micro sources of water in the form of mist, dew and fog formation also help survival of plant life and animal life to some extent.

⁶Water holding capacity of soil—the moisture percentage on dry weight basis, of a soil after rapid drainage has taken place following an application of water, provided there is no water table within capillary reach of the root zone.

the water wealth of a region.⁷ The relative magnitudes of these two components depend upon the physical characteristics of the land surface—slope of the land, vegetative cover, and the absorptive power of the soil. Lesser the slope, denser the vegetative cover and higher the absorptive power of the soil, smaller will be the run-off component and consequently larger will be the ground water component. The vegetative cover offers resistance to the water flow, on the one hand, and regulates the evaporative losses, on the other, thus facilitating a greater absorption of water into the soil. Moreover, it protects the top soil (to build one inch of top-soil, nature takes anywhere between 500 to 1000 years) from erosion and maintains the tilth of the soil. The soil in good tilth supports more vegetation, which, in turn, facilitates better cloud formation and better precipitation. The vegetative cover also acts as a cleansing agent of the atmosphere and helps maintain balance in the ecological system.

If the vegetative cover on the land surface becomes sparse, the surface water flow receives less resistance and it flows with high speed, with the result that the runoff component increases and less water sinks into the soil.⁸ Moreover with the high speed of the water flow, the top soil gets dislodged and is carried away with the water flow, only to find its new place in river beds in the form of sedimentation, causing the rivers change their course, over flow the banks and result in devastating floods.⁹ It gets deposited in tanks and irrigation reservoirs reducing their capacities, it leads to siltation of inland water courses and inflates their maintenance bill.¹⁰ Sivadas Banerjee highlights the gravity of this situation as follows:

“The many rivers in the northern districts like Jalpaiguri, Cooch Bihar and parts of Darjeeling bring down huge quantities of boulders, pebbles and silt from the upper reaches in the Himalayan ranges, often far beyond the State borders and deposit all this on the river

⁷The total water wealth of a region depends upon the total precipitation on land surface which in turn depends upon the prevalent meteorological and atmospheric conditions as well as the physical condition of the land surface.

⁸It was observed in sub-montagne regions and in places where land gradation is high and denuded of vegetation the ground water table receded considerably low and the natural springs dried up.

⁹Kosi, Gandak, Bhagmati and Brahmaputra rivers change their courses very frequently and take heavy toll of men and material in Bihar and Assam. Rivers of Chambal were once plains with fertile soil.

¹⁰The present rate of siltation in our irrigation projects is around four times the rate anticipated at the time of designing the projects—hence their life is reduced to one-fourth—viz., Bhakra dam in Punjab, and Nizam sagar dam in Andhra Pradesh. Most of our dams if silted have no alternative sites—Bhagirathi river bed is already higher than the surrounding areas due to sedimentation with the result it remains dry most part of the year and spreads like ocean in the monsoon. The very existence of Calcutta port is threatened because of sedimentation in Hoogly.

beds in the plains. Incredible as this may sound, the result is that most of the river beds in this part of the country are by now higher than the surrounding area. The rate of sedimentation is as high as more than a foot a year—a 13 feet high bridge across one of the rivers was literally submerged under the accumulating debris in less than 20 years.”¹¹

The land surface denuded of its top soil losing its tilth becomes sterile in due course and supports no vegetation. Thus the eco-system losing one of its balancing elements (vegetative cover) gets disturbed and cloud formation will be greatly hampered and rainfall too erratic. Thus the hydrological cycle gets disturbed ultimately, and arid conditions dominate over the area.¹²

In arid regions, due to less moisture in the soil and high prevailing temperatures, the “humus” in the soil gets destroyed quickly leaving the top soil loose. The high temperatures generate strong wind currents which blow unhampered over the loose soil, without many trees to resist, and take away the top soil with them leading to a serious problem of wind erosion. Thus the presence of heavy suspended dust and sand in the atmosphere over the arid regions obstructs even the moisture laden clouds from raining over the region. These conditions prevail over a number of years and convert the region into a desert.¹³ Thus it becomes amply clear that the land surface in good physical condition (covered with good vegetation) helps not merely in conserving the water resources of a region but in the very formation of water resources. Our water resources planning should be preceded by land use planning, improving the physical conditions of land surface.

LIMITED RESOURCES OF LAND AND WATER TO SERVE MULTIPLE USES

We have examined in the preceding section how the success of water resource planning depends upon a proper land use pattern. Every country within its territorial limits has a very limited stock of these resources.

Ever since man learnt the techniques of farming, the major use of land has remained to be agriculture. For carrying on farming operations and for animal products, man depends mostly on livestock; rearing of livestock came to be necessary and thus grass lands came to be the second use of land. For the continuous supply of fuel and timber, forests were used and hence maintenance

¹¹Sivadas Banerjee, “Decaying Rivers of West Bengal—Serious Consequences”, *Times of India*, 6th May 1976.

¹²Rajasthan desert and drought prone areas in Rajasthan, Gujarat, Haryana, Punjab and other peninsular regions stand testimony to the situation.

¹³Studies revealed that during monsoon season clouds laden with heavy moisture pass over the Rajasthan desert without raining. The reason was attributed to the presence of heavy suspended sand and dust in the atmosphere.

of perennial forests came to be the third major use.¹⁴ Moreover maximum possible perennial forest cover is essential for the well being of the land surface. The planning of land use purports to the optimum allocation of land resource under the three major heads—agriculture, grasslands and forest lands—such that enough of agricultural products, livestock and livestock products, fuel, timber and other forest products are available to support a population besides maintaining the land surface in good health.

Agriculture seems to be the villain of the piece. The rising population-created increasing demand for agricultural products and pressure on land increased, with the result that a tendency developed towards over allocation of land to agriculture at the cost of grasslands and forest lands. Moreover, over-grazing of grasslands and over-fellings of trees in the forests became the order of the day, and vast tracts of land surface faced denudation of all vegetation. Ultimately it resulted in the unbalanced eco-system accompanied by the maladies described in the preceding section. No doubt, agriculture should receive first priority in the allocation of land resources, but we cannot divert land from the other two uses beyond a certain limit; otherwise it is perilous to agriculture itself and consequently to human existence. The planning of land use should carefully consider the locational specificity of the different uses of land, depending upon the soil characteristics, the topographical and meteorological conditions.¹⁵

Land utilisation pattern in our country is far from balanced; out of 328 million hectares of geographical area, the cultivable area accounts for around 49 per cent, grasslands, permanent pastures and meadows together account for about 9 per cent, forests and perennial tree crops together account for nearly 21 per cent, uncultivable barren lands and land under non-agricultural uses account for about 15 per cent and the rest is unreported.¹⁶

¹⁴Other uses like surface water storage, accommodating sprawling cities, vast industrial complexes, recreational grounds, roads and highways, etc., of the ever-increasing population though minor also gaining considerable significance.

¹⁵Land with high gradation, mountain slopes, hilly regions and river banks to be earmarked for dense forest coverage, and the low rainfall regions for grass lands, whereas the fertile plains with good rainfall to be allotted for agriculture.

¹⁶Official statistics—figures indicate that forest coverage gained atleast 26 m. ha. during 1950-51 to 1970-71, may be due to improved enumeration and afforestation programmes, nevertheless the present position is not comfortable at all. While all India overall forest coverage is around 20 per cent the barest minimum, Gujarat, Rajasthan, Haryana and Punjab are in precarious conditions with forest coverage of 8.8 per cent, 3.4 per cent, 2.1 per cent and 1.6 per cent respectively. It is not mere coincidence that in these states rainfall is too uncertain and erratic—about 16 per cent of country's area inhabited by 10 per cent of population is chronically drought prone, they offer a pitiable panorama of vast lands denuded of all vegetation.

The grasslands, forests and permanent tree crops together, supposed to form the permanent vegetative cover, make hardly 30 per cent of the geographical area. Moreover these figures cannot be anywhere near to reality in as much as vast enumerated grasslands are already denuded due to overgrazing and encroachment by agriculture. Forests are without trees due to over felling and forest lands passing under illegal plough. Forest cover in our country has reached the barest minimum and further shrinkage in its coverage might spell disaster to agriculture and hence to human subsistence. The provision for grasslands is too meagre; let alone a vigorous animal husbandry, even to support our livestock population of around 500 million at subsistence level.

In the beginning of this section, it was mentioned that land and water resources in any region are limited and that water too has multiple uses like land. The major uses of water can be listed as agriculture, power generation, urban and rural water supply, industrial use and livestock use in the decreasing order of magnitude of their consumption.¹⁷ The development of water resources should proceed keeping these competing uses in view, and the quantitative allocation of water should be made fixing meaningful priorities for different uses—present and future. Before planning for any resource use, a reasonably accurate assessment of its stock position is essential. The assessment of water resources is an extremely difficult and time consuming task. This could be one of the reasons why our planners bypassed this step before proceeding with the exploitation of our water resources. The result was lopsided development. Water resources depend mainly on the surface precipitation, land topography, soil types, prevalent meteorological factors and the type of vegetation covering the area. These factors vary, some times very largely, not only in extent but also over time and from region to region. But given time and effort some meaningful estimates are and should be possible. The sum total of the exploitable portions of the surface water component and the ground water component constitutes our resource potential. While planning for development and use, our cardinal principle is supposed to be the conjunctive utilisation of both these components; even in the ground water component of hydrological cycle we have two components—stock and flow. The stock component is the underground water storage built up over a long period and it remains constant under stable recharge conditions whereas the flow component is the recharge potential of the soil which is replenishable and this depends on the surface precipitation and physical conditions of the soil. Our ground-water utilisation is limited to the fullest exploitation of this flow component, we cannot dip into the stock component beyond certain limit. Overdraft of

¹⁷These are the direct uses. Indirect uses are: We need surface storage of water for pisciculture and recreational needs. We have to maintain some constant flow in our rivers for navigational needs, conservation of aquatic life in rivers, recreational needs and abatement of industrial and urban effluence.

groundwater lowers the groundwater table to an extent that it becomes unfavourable to the survival of vegetation, and disturbs the hydrological cycle.

Since in our country it is rainfall distribution that mainly accounts for the water resource formation, any water resource development plan should take into account the regional variation and temporal variation in the rainfall distribution.¹⁸ The most rational planning should be to consider the sub-basin of a river as a planning unit rather than a State or region, restricted by political boundaries, and carry out a coordinated and integrated development of ground and surface water resources.

ENDOWMENT OF WATER RESOURCES IN INDIA

As already mentioned, the formation of water resources depends mainly on rainfall and snowfall; in India snowfall is confined to a very narrow Himalayan belt in the northern most region. Although the exact contribution of snow to our water resource is still to be worked out, a substantial portion of the summer flow in the northern rivers is due to the melting of glaciers. Nevertheless, rainfall remains the major contributor to our water wealth. Due to considerable regional and temporal variation of rainfall in our country, it becomes extremely difficult to arrive at exact figures of the water wealth in quantitative terms.¹⁹ Hence the assessment needs to be made at different probability levels, which requires an elaborate time series data on a number of variables. Regarding surface water resources three estimates are available which differ very largely between themselves.²⁰ However, the CWPC estimates, taken as an improvement over the previous ones, give a figure of 1,550 million acre feet. The geologists' assessment of available groundwater (stock component) is placed at 270 m.a.f.²⁰

The total annual rainfall received in the country is estimated to be equivalent to 3,000 m.a.f., one third of which is supposed to be lost by evaporation. The ground seepage and surface run-off are placed at 650 m.a.f. and 1,350 m.a.f. respectively. The portion of ground seepage that remains at

¹⁸Annual rainfall in India varies from 10 cm. in Jaisalmer to 1070 cm. in Cherrapunji. Moreover out of every six years, 2 years turn out to be of good rainfall, 2 years moderate rainfall and 2 years of drought.

¹⁹The estimates of first irrigation commission (1903) stood at 144.32 million hectare metre (1158.89 million acre feet), Dr. Khosla's estimates (1949) stood at 167.23 m. ha. m. (1342.86 m.a.f.) and CPWC estimates (1960) are placed at 188.19 m.ha.m. (1550 m.a.f.)

²⁰Rao, K.L. *India's Water Wealth*—(its assessment uses and projections), 1975, New Delhi, The Orient Longman Ltd., p. 103.

These are preliminary estimates, unless comprehensive surveys and provings are completed nothing could be concluded. Moreover the quality of water at different places and usability levels are not yet known.

the top layer of the soil is placed at 350 m.a.f. The remaining 300 m.a.f. is supposed to form the annual groundwater recharge (flow component of groundwater), of which it is surmised that only 200 m.a.f. could be economically tapped. From the run-off component at the existing level of technology only 540 m.a.f. could be economically utilised without a large scale inter-basin transfer of water.²¹

As already mentioned, before planning the development of water resources it is essential to consider the regional and time distribution of rainfall. The inter-regional differences in the endowment of water resources in our country are due to the large spatial and temporal variation in the rainfall and the prevailing diverse ecological conditions.²² North of the tropic of cancer, the quantum of river flow and underground water accounts for two-thirds of the total water resources of whole country. Since the waters of the coastal medium and minor rivers cannot be fully harnessed, water available to the rest of the country will be only a quarter of the total water resources, to serve nearly half of the country's cultivated area.²³ To the west of 78° longitude, the water resource endowment is far less than the requirement, thus the regional imbalance is evidently acute. Nearly 85 per cent

²¹Murthy, Y.K., "Water for Tomorrow", *Commerce Annual*, 1975, pp. 9-10.

²²On an average India receives 1187 m.m. of rainfall annually, over 75 per cent of it is confined to monsoon season—between June and September. Post monsoon—October and November and summer—March to May—account for around 10 and 11 per cent respectively. The remaining 4 per cent is received in winter between January and February. Although the total annual rainfall variability is around 8 per cent the variability in month-wise rainfall ranges from 6 to 59 per cent. In monsoon months the variability ranges from 12 to 22 per cent and in non-monsoon months it is too high. (See *Commerce Annual*, p. 28). See also Sen, S.R. "Strategy for Agricultural Development in the Seventies", National Food Congress, May 1970, for rainfall analysis.

Sen's analysis revealed the cyclicity of rainfall with 25 per cent deficiency from normal as once in $2\frac{1}{2}$ years for western Rajasthan, 3 years for Gujarat, east Rajasthan, western U.P., Tamil Nadu, Kashmir, Rayalseema and Telangana. In eastern U.P., south Mysore, and Vidharba, a 4 years cycle was observed, while for West Bengal, Madhya Pradesh, Coastal Andhra Pradesh, Central Maharashtra, Kerala, Bihar and Orissa it was of 5 years. The second Irrigation Commission (See the Report of Irrigation-Commission, 1972, Ministry of Irrigation and Power, Government of India, New Delhi, Vol. I, p. 34) has inferred that on the whole in Assam, West Bengal, and central parts of India the rainfall is more or less stable, and the most uncertain rainfall areas are Gujarat, Rajasthan, Haryana, and Punjab with the coefficient of variation over 40 per cent. The rainfall variability over Bengal, Bihar Plateau, and Assam is at 20 per cent. The total annual rainfall varies from 10 cm. in Jaisalmer to 1070 cm in Cherrapunji. West coast areas from Thana to Trivandram receive a rainfall of 250 to 312 cm, whereas the east cost of the peninsula receives an annual rainfall of 100 to 250 cm. As much as 35 per cent of the geographical area comes under low rainfall region (less than 750 mm.) and 56 million hectares of sown area are subject to highly variable rainfall. As many as 77 districts in our country come under low rainfall, 123 districts under medium rainfall (750-1150 mm) and 128 districts under high rainfall (more than 1150 mm.)

²³Rao, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

of India's river flow is in 14 major river basins accounting for nearly 83 per cent of the country's drainage area; 44 medium river basins, with 8 per cent drainage, collect a flow of 7 per cent of the total. A number of minor rivers, coastal and desert, account for 8 per cent of flow and 9 per cent of the drainage area. Western coastal rivers alone, numbering 500, account for 3 per cent of the basin area and 14 per cent of total surface water resources of the country.²⁴ The Ganga and the Brahmaputra basins account for about one-third each of country's river flow and the Godavari basin accounts for around 6 per cent of the flow.

As regards groundwater prospects, it is observed that out of 135 million hectares of net sown area, 44.5 per cent comes under consolidated formation, covering mostly the basins of the Godavari, Krishna, Pennar and Cauvery, promising a poor yield of 170 cu. m/ha. About 11 per cent area falls under semi-consolidated formation with an yield of 1,020 cu. m/ha. The most prospective area—the unconsolidated formation—making 44.5 per cent of the sown area can assure an yield of 3,434 cu.m/ha. The net total annual groundwater yield of the country comes to around 168 million acre feet, 70 per cent of which is accounted for by the Indus, Ganga and Brahmaputra basins. Only these three basins (north of the tropic of cancer) offer good scope for any large scale future groundwater development. Excepting parts of Bhatinda, Ferozepur, Amritsar and most of Haryana where groundwater is brackish, in other parts of the Indus basin, and in the Ganga and Brahmaputra basins, plentiful good quality groundwater is found near surface and in confined conditions. In Sabarmati, Brahmani and Mahanadi basins artesian aquifers, deeper aquifers with copious water, are located under sandstone and limestone formations. In Mahi, Tapi, and Subarnarekha basins, one possibility of small dia-tubewells and dug-bore wells has been established. A narrow band of artesian reservoir, extending from Himachal Pradesh to Bihar through Uttar Pradesh, has been discovered with good recharge potential. The artesian acquifers located in coastal Tamil Nadu are supposed to have a poor recharge potential.²⁵

DEVELOPMENT OF WATER RESOURCES

In the previous sections it was discussed how land and soil play a crucial role in the formation and conservation of water resources. The unhealthy symptoms manifested by land surface in India in the form of soil erosion, deep gullies and ravines, waterlogging, salinity, scanty forest cover, and imbalanced land utilisation pattern with their adverse effects on our water works, have been highlighted. The importance of land improvement measures as a pre-requisite for the rational water resource development is amply

²⁴Rao, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-53.

²⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 60-104.

clear. The logical outcome of the discussion is the need for an integrated development of land and water resources, which are the two aspects of the same system. Since a discussion on the integrated planning of the land and water resources is beyond the scope of this essay, it is worthwhile to dwell upon some important urgent corrective and preventive measures to be followed—without going into the technical details, operational difficulties, requirements of trained manpower, finance and time—to improve land surface. The details of the *modus operandi* will be dealt with in the last section.

Any land improvement programme which is part and parcel of the integrated development of land and water resources should be prepared and carried out basinwise, cutting across the number of contending States and departments in the basin. The protection of the catchment area should be done at any cost. In this regard our *first* measure to be enforced would be to stop overfelling of trees in forests, overgrazing of pastures, and diverting forest lands and pastures to agriculture. Felling of trees in forests should be matched with new plantation and rearing of trees. Conservation of grasslands should be effected by matching grazing lands with rearing pastures and reserved pastures. In the low rainfall areas, quick growing high yielding forage crops are to be popularised. The *second* measure would be the contour bunding and contour ploughing of lands with high slopes, and wherever possible, the land gradation should be reduced by levelling. The *third* measure would be the large scale afforestation of hilltops, mountain slopes, river banks, sea coasts and lands where the gradation is high. The fringe of the desert areas and arid regions should be planted with wind brakes to prevent the *leeward creeping of the desert*.²⁶ Reclamation of land seared with gullies and ravines by properly plugging the gullynoses, and afforestation of this upper reaches of ravines, are also very important. No barren land should be left bald of vegetation lest it should hasten soil erosion. Our ultimate aim should be to achieve a minimum of 30 per cent of land area with forest coverage. Even at the farm level a minimum number of trees, and, wherever possible, a minimum proportion of farm with a cover of perennial vegetation, should be popularised, if not made compulsory.²⁷ If the above three measures are followed up by a proper maintenance of rivers and their embankments, floods are almost controlled. The *fourth* measure would be of combating the problem of waterlogging by providing an extensive network of drainage system, and lining of canals, maintenance of canal outlets and providing field channels in command areas of irrigation projects. The *fifth* measure

²⁶A programme of plantation taken up at a modest scale in Rajasthan desert is very encouraging due to plantation of wind brakers and cultivation of quick growing grasses on the fringe of the desert did control the leeward creeping to some extent.

²⁷Every year we celebrate 'Vanamahotsava' like a ritual but not like a serious effort. We plant saplings in thousands and leave them to their fate, and we look at new ones every year hardly we care for the already planted ones.

would be reclamation of saline soils by applying proper soil amendments. The last but not least, a popular drive should be launched for educating the people on the importance of the above measures. Simultaneously, starting large scale reconnaissance surveys for diagnosing land and soil problems and evolving a widespread surveillance and monitoring system on land and soil conditions are very essential.

Then comes the optimum allocation of land for different uses. Assuming that a land improvement programme is implemented, within the framework of the above guidelines, atleast at a minimum required level, and assuming that the physical condition of the land surface is maintained at a minimum desired state, we proceed with the discussion of planning for the development of water resources. The Indian sub-continent resembles a huge watershed strewn with a number of river basins and sub-basins and its drainage area stretches far beyond our national boundaries. Water resource planning is essentially a problem of watershed management for the success of which we need the cooperation of our neighbouring countries also. A basin or a sub-basin (if it is big enough) could serve as a rational and viable planning unit. The nature of planning for water resource development is decided mainly by our national objectives. The main objective is, no doubt, economic development, but the essential feature of a welfare economy like ours is diffused and balanced growth. Hence our water resource planning should also aim at reducing the inter-regional economic disparities.²⁸

The whole edifice of water resource planning could be based on the principle of an integrated development of ground and surface waters and their conjunctive use with utmost efficiency. The integrated view of the problem reckons with the following aspects—irrigation, domestic use, livestock use, power generation, industrial use, flood control, navigation,²⁹ inland fisheries, preservation of aquatic life, recreational needs, conservance of river flow, abatement of urban and industrial effluents, control of water pollution and control of ground water levels. In essence it means, in addition to meeting the consumption needs in different sectors, we have to maintain a regulated flow in our rivers and surface water storage. Moreover, we have to guard against the overdraft of underground water lest the water table recede to uneconomical levels. Therefore the exploitation of water resources needs a system approach to maintain a balance in the hydrological cycle and its

²⁸Already economic levels of irrigated areas in terms of real incomes to farmers attained 2 to 3 times that of unirrigated areas. See, S.R. Sen, "Strategy for Agricultural Development in the Seventies", *National Food Congress*, 1970.

²⁹It is to be noted that water transport is much cheaper than rail or road, and as quick as rail transport. 1 hp. of power can pull 4,000 kgs. in water, *vis-a-vis* 500 kg. on rail, and 150 kg. on road. The average distance covered by freight in a day in water is 150 KM, against 150 KM on rail and 260 KM on road.

uses. The consumption needs are to be worked out, giving due weightages to the different sectors as per the composition of the national economy. The development plans are to consider the net availability of water, its quality, location, variation in climatic conditions, the nature of the soil, and the socio-economic conditions. It is worth recalling here that the whole of this planning exercise, right from the assessment of resources to their development, allocation and consumption ought to be carried out at every basin level separately and then coordinated at the national level. Further, at every basin level, the surplus or deficit position of the water resource should be worked out and the feasibility and extent of inter-basin transfer of water should be assessed. Dr. K.L. Rao's proposal for the Ganga-Cauvery link is a step in the right direction; it is not just a link but it is a stepping stone for the concept of a national water grid, linking all the rivers in the country in the long run, catering to the multiple objectives, by diversion of water from the surplus basins to the deficit basins. It is in the fitness of things to mention here of two thought provoking schemes. One is by Capt. Dastur for managing surface waters.³⁰ This envisages digging a huge canal in the southern slopes of the Himalayas and a "garland" canal, girdling the Vindhya ranges and the ghats in the Deccan peninsula and trapping the monsoon waters and waters from the melting glaciers. Capt. Dastur visualises it as a grand multi-purpose scheme of employment, flood control, power generation and irrigation, etc. The second scheme is by Revelle, *et al.* for the conjunctive utilisation of the river aquifer systems, which makes possible a major part of the monsoon flow (80 per cent of the annual flow) of the Ganga to be stored in the immediate vicinity of the river bed and utilised by regulated draft.³¹ Both

³⁰"Gigantic plan to make India the World Granary", *Indian Express*, Sept. 22, 1975. A Bombay firm of consulting engineers, Messrs. Dinshaw, J. Dastur submitted the proposal to Union Government. The salient features of the schemes are: Construction of a canal of 1000 ft wide, 50 ft deep and 2100 miles long at a uniform height of 3000 ft along the gorges on the Southern slopes of Himalaya to trap monsoon waters and waters from melting of glaciers, and another a "garland" canal through Vindhya, Western Ghats, Eastern Ghats of 5800 miles long, 1000 ft wide, and 50 ft deep and it is to be uniformly located at a height of 1500 ft to trap monsoon waters most of which normally flows back to sea unused. The cost estimate is around Rs. 14,000 crores to be carried out over a period of 15 years.

³¹Revelle, *et al.*, "Conjunctive Utilisation of River Aquifers System—Case study of Ganga Basin", *Commerce Annual* 1975, p. 133. A major part of monsoon flow of Ganga could be stored nearer to bed in the top 15 to 20 metres depth with well fields of six kilometres width on either side of the river, the area covered would be the order of four million hectares—"with an assumed well field capacity of 2.25 cu.m/sec./km. it is estimated that on the average the water table will be lowered by about 12 metres at the end of eight months of continuous pumping. This creates an ultimate water recharge potential of nine million hectare metres at the end of four years and the depth of water table at that time is expected to be about 25 metres below initial level. From the following years onwards the water table is expected to be stabilised at this level by pumping out a quantity equal to consumptive use plus surface drainage plus return infiltration to the groundwater table. The total volume of water to be pumped in this scheme is about 10.5 m.ha.m. requiring the total well capacity of 5,000 cu.m./second".

the schemes look very attractive. Dastur's scheme is too gigantic, involving huge sums and time, but if it is economically feasible, it has an immense potential for power. Revelle's scheme is relatively modest but needs enormous power. It is possible only under a favourable power supply position. Both the schemes, however, deserve serious consideration for establishing their economic feasibility and operational viability.

Ours is an agriculture based economy. Hence the first priority would go to agriculture in the allocation of water resources, followed by domestic use.³² Projections for water needs in 2,000 AD are available under four major heads, agriculture, power, municipal and rural water supply, and industries.³³ The total estimated water requirement is 896 million acre feet, of which the net anticipated consumption is around 666 m.a.f. The remaining 230 m.a.f. is available for reuse. As much as 77 per cent of the water is allocated for irrigation and one per cent for livestock. The allocations for the other three heads, power, domestic use and industries, are 13 per cent, 6 per cent and 3 per cent respectively. Although these allocations take into account our needs for food and other agricultural products and livestock population, along with the needs of future programmes of power generation, industrialisation, and drinking water, there is ample scope for revision of these relative weightages. Under the head irrigation—the major use of water—the estimates appear to be based on the present water use efficiency. There is much scope for improving this efficiency to at least double the present level through proper water management and cultural practices, right from the project stage to the farm level. We will take up this aspect in the next section.

So far we have dwelt upon outlining an overall planning framework for the integrated development of water resources and their allocation to different uses. The subsequent discussion will be focused mainly on the development of irrigation. Since irrigation accounts for the major chunk of our water resources, careful planning of irrigation goes a long way in conserving our water resources.

DEVELOPMENT OF IRRIGATION

Irrigation in India dates back to very ancient times. The Cauvery delta canal system which converted the Tanjore district into the rice bowl of southern India stands as a testimony to the engineering skill of our forefathers. But large scale exploitation of rivers started only in the latter half of the nineteenth century, with the construction of the upper Ganga canal (1854) and the Agra

³²Out of 5.46 lakh villages of India, 1,16,000 villages are still without any drinking water facilities.

³³Rao, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

canal (1873) in UP; the K-C canal (1870) in Andhra, the Sone canal (1875) in Bihar; the Upper Bari Doab (1879) in Punjab; and the Godavari delta canal system (1890) and others. Thanks to the recurrence of severe famines,³⁴ the urgency of exploitation of the water wealth of our rivers to assuage the endemic famine conditions was brought home to the Government, and this resulted in the appointment of a number of commissions—the Royal Commission on Agriculture, the Irrigation Commission, the Famine Commissions—and a number of follow-up measures were taken for the development of irrigation.³⁵ But all these measures were merely *ad hoc* in nature, and aimed at only building up some irrigation potential. An integrated approach of construction and rational usage was lacking at all levels. Increased irrigation was easily taken as improved irrigation and the result was the lopsided development. And much of the primitive and inefficient methods of irrigation practised in those days has remained till today.³⁶

Between 1910 and 1950 the irrigation area moved up from 14.5 million hectares to 19.4 million hectares and the per cent of sown area irrigated moved up from 17.9 to 19.1.³⁷ By the end of 1974 the gross irrigated area was reported to have reached 43.3 million hectares, which makes 26.8 per cent of the gross area sown. About 38 per cent of the irrigated area was from ground water sources and 44 per cent from canals and the remaining 18 per cent from tanks and other sources. On completion of all the on-going schemes (ground water and surface water) the irrigation potential is expected to go up to 54 million hectares, or 33.4 per cent of gross cultivated area. Even the total live storage in all the basins (162,226 m.cu.m.), major, medium and minor is not likely to exceed 22 per cent of the utilisable water resource of our river basins. The existing utilisation of groundwater is estimated at 45,000 million cubic metres through 18,530 deep tubewells, 750,000 shallow tube wells and 6.3 million dugwells, making the utilisation around 21 per cent of the total utilisable groundwater in the country. The anticipated annual growth of deep tubewells is placed at 1,500, shallow tube wells, 170,000 and

³⁴ Between 1838 and 1943 atleast 8 severe famines were reported to have occurred taking a heavy toll of human and cattle population in lakhs.

³⁵ Rao, *op. cit.*,

Through major, medium irrigation projects completed in the pre-plan period the irrigation potential created was 8804.4 thousand hectares at a cost of Rs. 1,459.24 million. Under projects completed during plan period the potential created was 5984.86 thousand hectares at a cost of Rs. 8023.85 million. From on going projects the potential expected is around 15,689.88 thousand hectares at an estimated cost of Rs. 33,584.09 million.

³⁶ Rao, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

India has the largest irrigated area in the world—more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ times that of USA, $4\frac{1}{2}$ times that of USSR, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ times that of China, still we import foodgrains from USA.

³⁷ The figures pertain to Indian Union (See, Report of the Irrigation Commission 1972 p. 70).

dugwells, 170,000³⁸ and the groundwater utilisation in the coming years is expected to increase at the rate of 19,650 m.cu.m. per year.³⁹

Irrigation development is the major aspect of total water resource development and, as such, its planning should proceed basinwise. A rational development of irrigation has to plan to use the surface water in conjunction with groundwater, with due consideration to the quantum of rainfall and its distribution over time and space in the basin, on which the extent of storage and location of the schemes largely depend. Besides rainfall, the soil characteristics and a number of meteorological factors play a crucial role in the water requirement of crops. The combined effect of soil and meteorological factors in an agro-climatic complex makes the water-availability periods⁴⁰ what they are. For macro level planning of development of irrigation potential, the normal water-availability periods⁴¹ and the dates of their beginning as well as termination are of great help. They indicate broadly to what extent the water needs of crops are met by rainfall and the soil moisture storage, and to what extent and in what periods the crops suffer from moisture stress. Irrigation schedule in right quantities is supposed to synchronise with these periods of moisture deficiency and hence the designs of our irrigation works are supposed to be in tune with the needs of the water-availability periods of the basin. Groundwater and surface water irrigation schemes, with suitable capacities, could be properly located and the irrigation schedule from the two sources adjusted accordingly to make the most of the conjunctive utilisation of both. Net irrigation needs of the basin, minus net available irrigation from groundwater, plus the unavoidable losses due to storage,

³⁸See K.L. Rao, pp. 58-119 and Report of the Irrigation Commission, 1972, Vol. I, p. 395.

³⁹Reckoned at the draft rate of 1 cusec for deep tube wells, 0.1 cusec for shallow tube-well and 0.03 cusec for dug-well working 300 days per year.

⁴⁰Water availability periods : The periods in which different levels of moisture available to crops from rainfall and residual soil moisture storage. If these periods are arrived at on the basis of normal rainfall they are known as Normal Water-availability periods.

⁴¹See, Raman, C.R.V., and Srinivasamurthy, B., "Water Availability Periods for Crop Planning", Indian Meteorological Department, pre-published. See Report No. 173, p. 3.

Humid period (H') = (R + W) > Eo when the moisture supply is more than the crops needs.

"Moist" period (M') = $\frac{1}{2}$ Eo < (R + W) \leqslant Eo where the moisture supply is less than or equal to the crops needs.

"Moderately-dry" period (MD') = $\frac{1}{4}$ Eo < (R + W) \leqslant $\frac{1}{2}$ Eo where the moisture supply falls short of crops' needs.

"Dry" period (D') = $\frac{1}{8}$ Eo < (R + W) \leqslant $\frac{1}{4}$ Eo. This is considered to be the non-growing state of crop, if the duration is more than 3 weeks it is detrimental to survival of the crop. (H' + M' + MD') the total number of days spanning these periods are supposed to be favourable for Agricultural operations. Where R = normal rainfall, W = soil moisture storage before rainfall Eo = Potential evapotranspiration of the area—it is the loss of soil moisture in the form of evapotranspiration from an extensive vegetative cover under conditions of unlimited water supply. It is the upper limit of the evapotranspiration.

evaporation, conveyance and other special needs of the soil could be taken as the required live storage of the surface water schemes.

On examination of the basinwise water availability periods, it emerges that the Brahmaputra basin, which is situated in the high rainfall region, is very well placed with respect to moisture conditions; almost throughout entire year humid conditions prevail.⁴² Agricultural operations could be carried out 365 days in a year, more than one crop could be raised comfortably even without much irrigation. The net sown area of the basin forms just 2.5 per cent of the country's total whereas its contribution to the country's surface water resources is around 31 per cent. Less than 2.5 per cent of its flow is utilisable within the basin, hence the problem in this basin is the disposal of excess water and not of irrigation development. The live storage, completed and planned accounts for less than 0.1 per cent of the basin flow or one per cent of its utilisable water; the ground water condition also is very favourable in the basin. The percentage of net sown area irrigated is around 20; even then the cropping intensity is not more than 120. Canal irrigation accounts for around 43 per cent and groundwater irrigation for only 17 per cent of the total irrigated area. Canal irrigation is neither so useful nor is it desirable in this case, since this basin is the seat of recurrent floods every year.

⁴²Raman C.R.V., *op. cit.*, p 35.

In Brahmaputra basin: H' duration around 300 days, $(H' + M')$ duration around 350 days
 $(H' + M' + MD')$ duration in more than 350 days.

Ganga basin : H' duration varies from 250 days in the east in West Bengal to 125 days in the west in Agra. North to south it varies from 325 days in Mussoorie, Darjeeling to 125 days Agra, Kanpur, Aligarh, etc. $(H' + M')$ duration varies from 250 to 200 days in east west, 325 to 250 days North-south direction similarly $(H' + M' + MD')$ duration varies between 325 and 250 days.

Indus basin : Except in J&K and Himachal Pradesh where H' period is more than 215 days in most parts of the basin it is below 150 days, more over as we move from east to west the duration reduces to zero. $(H' + M')$ period for major portion of the basin varies between 250 to 50 days East-west and $(H' + M' + MD')$ varies between 250 to 100 days.

Sabarmati basins : H' period varies between 100-150 days, and $H' + M'$ period varies between 200-250 days, and $(H' + M' + MD')$ varies between 200 and 300 days.

Narmada & Tapi basin : H' duration varies from 200 to 150 days in East-West direction whereas $(H' + M')$ varies from 250 to 200 days, and $(H' + M' + MD')$ varies from 300 to 200 days.

Subarnarekha, Brahmani and Mahanadi basins : H' duration is around 200 days, whereas $(H' + M')$ is around 250 days and $(H' + M' + MD')$ around 250 to 300 days.

Godavari, Krishna & Pennar basins : In these basin H' duration varies 150 to Zero days from east coast to interior and to 200 days towards west coast. $(H' + M')$ varies in similar pattern but from 200 to 100 days and then to 25 days. $(H' + M' + MD')$ duration varies from 250 to 200 days East-west and North-south.

Cauvery basin: H' period reduces from 100 to 50 days along east coast—interior and then increases to 200 days towards west coast.

$(H' + M')$ period increases from 200 to 300 days along NE—SW duration but reduces to 100 days towards SE direction.

$(H' + M' + MD')$ period varies from 250 to 300 days.

Urgent measures are to be taken to use more and more of groundwater and fight water logging conditions (which are very acute) and divert most of the surface water to other basins to assuage floods.⁴³

The Ganga basin is also situated in a high rainfall region. The northern and eastern portions receive high rainfall and the southern fringe of the basin forms one of the most stable rainfall regions. Except for the western parts, the overall water availability position is very favourable for crop growth in the major portion of the year. Though the need for irrigation is not so acute, it is very helpful in multiple cropping and increasing productivity. The basin accounts for nearly one-third of the country's net sown area, and about 30 per cent of the country's surface water resources. Its share in the country's irrigated area is more than 46 per cent and 35 per cent of the NSA has access to irrigation. Evidently the development of irrigation in this basin is much ahead of all basins, except the Indus basin. Nevertheless, the total storage, planned and existing, in the basin makes just 17 per cent of its total utilisable surface water. Moreover, it has the vast potential of groundwater and river aquifers systems for exploitation. Though groundwater accounts for about 46 per cent of the irrigated area in the basin, much more scope is still left for further development of groundwater irrigation. In view of there being vast flood-prone areas and water logging areas in this basin, and a high groundwater recharge potential, it would be worthwhile to fully exploit the groundwater potential and river aquifer systems and divert the excess monsoon flow to other deficit basins.⁴⁴ These measures certainly have a salutary effect on the flood and water logging conditions in the basin besides improving the quality of irrigation. Building up of irrigation potential further, based on surface waters, could be dispensed with, especially in the eastern region of the basin.

In the Mahanadi, Brahmani and Subarnarekha basins, stable rainfall conditions prevail although they receive not very high rainfall, in these basins, and the water availability periods obtained are favourable for agricultural operations in a major part of the year. They together account for less than 6 per cent of the country's net sown area, and proportionately their contribution to the total surface water wealth is also less than 6 per cent, but their irrigated area together forms less than 5 per cent of the country's irrigated area. The total storage of the three basins together comes to just 10 per cent of the total utilisable surface waters of the basins. Humid conditions prevail over just one-third of the 365 days and hence irrigation becomes a

⁴³The Revelle's scheme, outlined in the preceding section deserves a fair trial.

⁴⁴It has been a common phenomenon almost every year, the excess monsoon flow accumulates near Patna where Ganga takes a sharp turn in the southern direction and inundates the Bihar and Bengal plains. On the basis of this observation Dr. K.L. Rao's proposal for Ganga-Cauvery link near Patna was planned to divert excess water to south. This scheme also deserves serious consideration.

necessity for increasing the cropping intensity in the basins; 15 to 21 per cent of the net sown area has access to irrigation. In the Mahanadi basin, groundwater accounts for less than 4 per cent of the irrigated area, and in the Subarnarekha and Brahmani basins, it accounts for 8 per cent and 9.7 per cent respectively. One of the reasons for the poor development of groundwater source could be that the recharge potential itself is very poor. Hence surface irrigation is essential in these basins, the remaining 90 per cent of the utilisable waters could be exploited fully for surface irrigation.

In the Indus basin, water availability periods are of very short duration; hence the moisture position is not very satisfactory. There is an acute necessity of irrigation in this basin without which more than one crop cannot be raised. This basin occupies a place of pride as far as the percentage of net sown area irrigated is concerned—67 per cent, which is the highest of all the basins in the country. However, it shares 13.5 per cent of the country's net irrigated area, and it contributes just 2.5 per cent to the country's surface waters. It appears that the entire flow in this basin could be utilised, of which only 34 per cent so far is stored. The groundwater recharge is not very good in this basin, and in most parts brackish water is struck. Despite this, groundwater is fairly well developed, which accounts for 38 per cent of the total irrigated area in the basin. Water logging problem attains serious magnitude in the canal irrigation areas and hence groundwater needs to be pumped out to lower the water table. There still remains enough scope for exploitation of groundwater.

In the Sabarmati and Mahi basins similar conditions prevail as regards the water availability periods. Moisture availability is far from satisfactory. However, it suffices for the first crop but second crop cannot be grown without irrigation. The present storage in the Sabarmati basin is 33 per cent of its annual flow whereas in the Mahi basin the storage is 56 per cent. In these basins, 12 per cent and 22 per cent of the net sown area is accessible for irrigation, respectively. Groundwater contribution to irrigation is as high as 66 per cent in the Sabarmati basin and 51 per cent in Mahi. Since the groundwater recharge potential is very poor, the exploitation levels are tending towards overdraft. The water table is receding fast and hence urgent measures are needed for further utilisation of the surface water, and even diversion from other basins is desirable for toning up the groundwater recharge potential. Transfer of water from the Narmada basin, linking these two basins and taking water up to the Kutch desert, is a sound proposition, and it needs urgent implementation in the national interest.

In the Narmada and Tapti basins, humid conditions prevail for 150 to 200 days the overall moisture availability position is not bad, crops can survive for a fairly long time without suffering from serious moisture stress.

However, irrigation is essential for rabi crops. Irrigation development in these basins is very poor *vis-a-vis* other basins. In the Narmada basin, it is 5 per cent and in the Tapti basin it is 9 per cent of net sown area. A major portion of irrigation is from groundwater sources, in Narmada it is 74 per cent and in Tapti 52 per cent; canal irrigation accounts for 4 per cent and 46 per cent respectively in these basins. In the utilisation of basin flow, Tapti is much ahead of Narmada, with 45 per cent and 6 per cent of the flow being stored in the basins, respectively. The large surface water potential of the Narmada is being wasted; it seems it is locked up in the political wrangles and inter-State rivalry. Though some artisan aquifers are also located in the alluvial tracts of these basins, the recharge potential is very poor. So, further prospects for groundwater are not bright. The only solution is in the fuller utilisation of the basin flow, especially of the Narmada.

In the Godavari, Krishna and Pennar basins, the conditions of water availability periods are very peculiar. Humid days decrease from 150 to zero days, as we move from east coast to interior peninsula and increase to 200 days as we move from the interior to the west coast. The interior peninsula and the areas immediately below the western ghats form the rain shadow regions of the peninsula, and they receive scanty rainfall; these are among the most chronically drought affected places. Excepting the coastal areas, the overall moisture availability is very poor in these basins and hence the irrigation needs are very acute. All the three basins are underlain mostly by hard rock-formations and promise poor potential of groundwater. Only some shallow open wells are possible. The fuller utilisation of the basin's flow is a 'must' for vigorous agriculture. The Godavari is the third largest basin in terms of its annual flow and has just 15 per cent of its flow stored in the basin, contributing 49 per cent to its total irrigated area. Groundwater accounts for around 27 per cent and even then, on the whole, just 12 per cent of its net sown area has access to irrigation; its large water potential still remains untapped. The Krishna basin has a storage of 44 per cent of its flow in the basin contributing 62 per cent towards its total irrigated area. Groundwater accounts for 23 per cent of the irrigated area and, on the whole, it comes to 17 per cent of its net sown area irrigated. The Pennar basin utilised 61 per cent of its flow for storage but still it could contribute only around 20 per cent to its irrigated area; 51 per cent of irrigation is from groundwater sources. The overall percentage of net sown area irrigated in this basin comes to around 20 per cent.

When all the proposed schemes are carried out, not much potential will be left in the latter two basins out of their utilisable waters. Moreover, in the Pennar, shortage of water might be faced. But in the Godavari, still enough water will be left for diversion to other basins. This diversion should take place as a first step towards the Ganga-Cauvery link.

In the Cauvery basin the humid period reduces from 100 to 50 days as we move from the east coast to the interior and increases to 200 days when moving towards the west from the interior. Crops do suffer from moisture stress most part of the year, especially in the interior peninsula. Hence, there is a strong case in its favour for more irrigational facilities. Around 61 per cent of Cauvery irrigation is by canals, for which 26 per cent of the basin flow is stored. Groundwater contribution is to the extent of 18 per cent of the irrigated area. This basin has better irrigation facilities than any other basin of the peninsula, with 31 per cent of its net sown area under irrigation. Irrigation percentagewise, it stands next only to the Indus basin. A major part of the basin is on hard rock formation; only in the delta areas is any appreciable quantity of ground water located. But the main source for its irrigation development in the years to come will be its surface water. With the completion of the proposed schemes, the basin will be facing shortage of water for further development of irrigation; hence the diversion from other basins will become necessary. In this regard, the Ganga-Cauvery link is most desirable. It is not going to be just the linking of the Ganga and Cauveri rivers, the link will be with all the rivers of the peninsula and other rivers of the north, and it bears far-reaching consequences on the total economy and water transport of the Indian sub-continent.

On the western coast of the peninsula, between Trivandrum and Thana, very high rainfall is received (250-300 cm), and humid conditions prevail for about 200 days in a year. Throughout the year, the water position is very favourable for crops. As many as 600 streams and rivers drain the narrow strip with the huge water potential of around 230 thousand million cu.m. Less than 10 per cent of it is exploited so far but most of it is going as waste to the sea. The Dastur plan, outlined in the preceding section, could be seriously considered for utilising these waters at least on a limited scale, which could be trapped and conveyed through tunnels towards the east of the western ghats to irrigate the rain shadow regions of the peninsula.

A cursory look at our river basins reveals a picture of most uneven development of irrigation, without much consideration to the basin needs. The water availability periods have not been looked into nor the integrated development of ground and surface waters given much importance. However, we have not hit the mark of exploiting even a quarter of the utilisable surface waters, even a large groundwater potential still remains to be tapped. The irrigation potential built up till now is at a tremendous cost. It is to be seen that the existing potential is fully utilised with utmost efficiency. In the next section we try to examine the management of these water resources.

WATER MANAGEMENT

In the previous sections we have examined how land and soil resources

and water resources form the inter-dependent elements of the eco-system. Hence sound management of land and soil may be taken to be implicit in the term water-management. It could be viewed from two angles, macro and micro. The macro aspect of water-management deals with resource assessment and its allocation to different sectors as per the perspective needs of the sectors, modulation of floods, improvement of navigation, fixing of optimum surface storage capacities, keeping ground and surface water use in balance, tapping of river aquifer systems, and maintenance of a balance in the hydrologic cycle and an overall balance in the entire eco-system. After having the water resources allocated to the different sectors, the micro-aspects of water-management come into play to see that an optimum use is made of the potential developed. As we have already seen in the earlier sections, irrigation shares the major chunk of our water resources. A sound management of our irrigation amounts to a sound management of 70 per cent of our water resources. In the subsequent discussion we shall confine ourselves to the management of irrigation only.

Water management (irrigation water) is defined as "the integrated process of intake, conveyance, regulation, measurement, distribution, application and use of irrigation water to farms and removal of excess water from farms, with proper amounts at the right times, for the purpose of securing maximum crop production and water economy."⁴⁵ It is distressing to note that irrigation works built up at enormous costs are grossly mismanaged. The net loss the country sustained as in 1967-68 on account of irrigation works is Rs. 577.10 million.⁴⁶ It is the same story regarding groundwater sources of irrigation—U.P. alone spends around Rs. 195 million annually to run 19,000 State tube wells, whereas the revenue proceeds are barely Rs. 90 million.⁴⁷ For the first time in 1969-70, 15 years after the opening of the Bhakra main canal, it became remunerative, yielding a net return of 4.25 per cent. This situation is partly due to under pricing of irrigation water, and partly due to under utilisation of the potential. Long gestation periods of the projects have also added to the non-remunerative periods. Sometimes, as in the case of the Sarada canal in U.P., due to the wrong alignment of outlets, large command areas have remained inaccessible to irrigation. Under river valley projects, till the end of 1968-69, as much as 40 lakh acres potential remained unutilised.⁴⁸ Often head works, canal networks, field channels and appurtenant structures did not synchronise and left large irrigation potential

⁴⁵ Republic of Philippines—National Irrigation Administration 1971, Annual Report 1970-71. Quezon City Philippines, p. 42.

⁴⁶ The Report of Irrigation Commission, 1972, Vol. I, p. 62.

⁴⁷ Times of India, July 9, 1976, Current Topics.

⁴⁸ Vohra, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

unutilised.⁴⁹ Apart from this, aycut development, under huge projects, is a stupendous task, land levelling is a very costly affair which the ryots most often cannot cope up with. Despite this, the job was entrusted to agro-industries' corporations under the Nagarjunasagar, Thungabhadra and Kosi projects. There was a hue and cry among farmers for the exorbitant levelling costs charged, and scarcity of services and other irregularities. These problems led farmers in many cases in making their own outlets from distributaries, and field channels of their own, on uneven lands and in many wasteful ways, which resulted in a number of leakages in the canals and starved the farmers at the fag end of the canals. Mostly these canal leakages in many places led to water logging conditions. Under Nagarjunasagar aycut some places manifested water logging conditions within two years after the release of waters.

By the end of 1968-69 the utilisation of potential under major and medium irrigation projects was reported to be 81 per cent.⁵⁰ The 'potential', as well as the "utilisation" of irrigation (the terms seem to be very vague) are not based on the water needs of the crops. The 'delta' values of crops arrived at in one set of agro-climatic and soil conditions are applied to all the projects without much caring for the corrections. There is a great need for reappraisal of the potential of the irrigation projects. Moreover, the area irrigated, without reference to the volume of water applied, or the number of irrigations given, is a very unrealistic indicator of utilisation of the potential. The irrigation efficiency in India is one of the lowest in the world. A number of studies carried out in the Indo-Gangetic plain and elsewhere have revealed that more than 45 per cent of the water delivered from the reservoir is lost before reaching the farms, and out of the balance, just half is used by crops, the overall water use efficiency working out at less than 25 per cent.⁵¹ Even if we could save half the water loss occurring in transit, between project-head

⁴⁹This is what was observed by joint working group of the Ministries of Food and Agriculture and Irrigation and Power. Joint team of FAO, UNDP and GOI experts led by Sir Joseph Hutchinson inspected Chambal project 10 years after its completion and revealed that the canal construction was limited to main canals and major distributaries. The minor field channels and others were left to the farmers to construct. Not even the investigation or designs were existing for anything below major distributaries.

World Bank's observations on Mahi-Kadana in Gujarat, shows that, major works were completed in 1959. As on 1969, a lined canal and a distribution system to serve 1,43,000 hectares was complete, but actual irrigation was only 40,000 ha. This was wholly due to lack of water-courses and field channels (See Vohra, p. 75).

⁵⁰Vora, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

⁵¹Kennedy's results (1881) on Bari Doab Canal in Punjab—Quote from Negamwala, J.P. (1972) *Economics & Problems Lining Water Courses & Field Channels* (unpublished report)—See also Malhotra, S.P. (1970) *The Untold Story of Water Courses in Hissar Bhakra Canal Circle*, Booklet II, *The Report of Irrigation Commission*, 1972, M, and the studies by Sivappan, R.K. et al., *Economising the Use of Water by Advanced Irrigation Practices*. Proceedings of the Second World Congress on Water Resources, Vol. I, December 1975, p. 225.

and the farm-head, by proper lining of the canals, the potential would be doubled, and good productive lands would be saved from becoming unproductive due to water logging. It is thus clear from the above discussion that water management up to the farm level is possible only when the head works, canals, distributaries, minors and field channels and terminal water courses are simultaneously developed and properly lined to check wastage. Development of a proper cropping pattern suited to the agro-climatic and soil complex of the area on which the land levelling and alignment of canal outlets with proper regulatory system depends is also very important.⁵² Furthermore the ayacut development should go hand in hand with all other main works.

Coming to the irrigation efficiency at the farm level, it is to be borne in mind that before applying water the irrigability characteristics of the soil are to be established and, if need be, proper drainage facilities are to be provided.⁵³ Soil characteristics and land features mainly decide the methods of irrigation like surface irrigation, sprinkler irrigation or sub-surface irrigation. We have surface irrigation most commonly followed in our country. Suitability of soil to surface irrigation depends upon the soil properties like the water holding capacity of the soil, minimum permeability to water in the root zone, potential for groundwater rise after irrigation, maximum soluble salt content in root-zone and the maximum exchangeable sodium in root-zone.⁵⁴ After having established the irrigability of soil we are faced with the question, how much irrigation is to be given and how much water a crop needs during its growth period? Soil is the reservoir that holds the water needed for plant growth, the amount of water between the water holding capacity of the soil within the root zone and the permanent wilting point is available for plant consumptive use (evapo-transpiration).⁵⁵ The

⁵²World Bank while agreeing to the loan request for Mahi-Kadana project in Gujarat opined that location of canal outlets should be determined jointly by the Irrigation Department, Department of Agriculture and the farmers.

⁵³In Chambal project command, soil surveys revealed the possibility of water logging and salinity, but irrigation authorities ignored it and dispersed with drainage system. Consequently water logging and salinization assumed formidable size.

⁵⁴See Gautam, O.P. and Dastane, N.G., "Agronomic Practices and Water Use Pattern for Higher Crop Yields", *Agriculture Year Book*, 1970, ICAR, New Delhi. The soil is rated excellent for surface irrigation with water holding capacity—more than 175 m.m./1m. minimum permeability 15-25 m.m./hour; groundwater rise 3 M depth from soil surface; maximum soluble salts less than 0.2 per cent; maximum exchangeable sodium less than 5 per cent. If the above properties in the same order assume values less than 25 (less than 5 or greater than 125); 1M; greater than 0.5, greater than 15—the soil is rated poor, good and fair soils fall in between these limits.

⁵⁵See (6) for water holding capacity of soil. The available water holding capacity of soil is equal to water holding capacity minus the wilting point. Wilting point is the level of soil moisture in rootzone at which plant can no more withdraw its consumption needs and the plant withers away.

plant consumptive use is primarily determined by a number of meteorological factors like air-temperature humidity, sunshine, wind velocity, advection, crop canopy, and stage of plant growth. The consumptive needs are low in the initial stages of plant growth and attain maximum in the middle, then decline to minimum at maturity. But the rainfall distribution in quanta and time often fails to synchronize with the consumptive needs. Therefore, modern thinking is that irrigation is meant for climate and soil but not for the crop. The net irrigation water requirement of a crop, during its growth period, is equal to the crop consumptive use minus the sum-total of the residual available soil moisture in the beginning of the period, the effective rainfall, the ground water supply through capillary action and the moisture supply from fog, mist and dew during the period.⁵⁶ To this we have to add the unavoidable percolation losses and other soil requirements like leaching, etc., and take it as the gross irrigation water requirement. Now, the crucial problem is how to split up this total irrigation water and schedule the irrigation to meet the differential consumptive needs of the crop at different stages of its growth. For almost all crops, except rice, only the active root profile needs to be wetted. But the actual frequency and the depth of water at each irrigation and the time of irrigation are governed by the specific characteristics of the climate-soil-water-plant environmental continuum. For accurate scheduling of irrigation, the establishment of firm functional relations between the requirement of irrigation water and the bio-climatic complex, by experiments, is essential. Some studies have revealed the importance of the actual evapotranspiration as a guide to irrigation. It bears a definite ratio to the pan evaporation value. Both are similar physical processes with the difference that the farmer absorbed 70-90 per cent of solar radiation and the latter absorbed 90-95 per cent.⁵⁷ The sunken screen evaporimeter based on the above relation could be used as an irrigation scheduling instrument.⁵⁸ Measuring the evaporation values from the instrument, the evapotranspiration could be known and that indicates the measure of soil moisture depletion. To this value, if we add the unavoidable water losses due to deep percolation, it gives the actual irrigation required. This experimentation is to be done under various situations, of soil, climate, and crop characteristics. Ready reckoner tables are to be compiled with irrigation depth required against evaporation values. This ready reckoner serves as a farmer's guide in scheduling irrigation.

⁵⁶The effective rainfall is that portion of rainfall which is stored in the crop rootzone in the soil and is available for crop consumptive use. The rest of it is lost by deep percolation and run-off—The capillary ground water is available only in high water table conditions—In some places, the contribution of moisture due to fog, mist and dew is considerable.

⁵⁷Pruitt, W.O., "Evapotranspiration—A Guide to Irrigation", California, Turkstar Culture, 14: 4, 1964, pp. 27-32. See also Mellroy, I.C. and Angus, D.E. "Grass, Water and Soil Evaporation at Aspendal", Agric. Met. 1:3, 1964, pp. 201-224.

⁵⁸Sharma, R.G., "Irrigation Indicator for Efficient Water Management", proceedings of the Second World Congress on Water Resources, Vol. I, Energy & Food.

This instrument is so simple and cheap, it could be installed at all farm levels.

Frequency of irrigation is decided mostly by the soil and root characteristics of the crop. The heavy clay soils need less frequent copious irrigation, whereas light soils, saline soils, and sodic soils need more frequent light irrigations. Similarly shallow rooted crops need more frequent lift irrigations, and deep-rooted crops can adjust with less number of heavy irrigations. However, the actual scheduling of irrigation could be based on the availability of irrigation water. Under conditions of ample water, an optimum soil moisture attempt is desirable, whereas the critical stage approach⁵⁹ is more suitable for limited water conditions. For that matter, even the cropping pattern and the sequence of cropping should go according to the water availability. If shortage of water is anticipated for the second crop, a short duration shallow rooted crop is more desirable as the first crop, followed by a deep rooted crop in the second season, because a deep rooted crop can draw its supplies from storage of water that could have percolated to deeper layers of the soil in the first season. All that the foregoing discussion purports to show is the achievement of utmost economy in water use. We have to work towards achieving the minimum value of specific water consumption, i.e., the minimum water consumption per unit of yield. This is possible by supplying water to the regions with higher bio-climatic indices in priority, selecting more valuable crops with minimum specific consumption of water, improved plant breeding of the irrigated crops, use of improved methods of irrigation and minimizing the water losses. Surprisingly all our agricultural programmes such as the package programme, IADP, IAAP, and HYP seem to be conspicuous by their silence on the need for efficient water management. Rice occupies about one third of the irrigated area in the country but over 45 per cent of the water resources is diverted to it. It should be an eye opener that India uses on an average, over 1,500 gallons of water to produce one pound of rice *vis-a-vis* Japan using 600 gallons. In fact 300 to 400 gallons are enough to produce one pound of rice. Rice, on an average, receives 2,000 mm of water of which 1,500 mm are lost by percolation, in the land submergence practice. Evidence for and against is available regarding the necessity of continuous submergence in case of rice, but a reasonably strong case is established against the submergence of more than 50 mm whereas the common practice is to submerge 100 to 150 mm.⁶⁰

⁵⁹The critical stage of a crop is that at which if it suffers from moisture stress yield will be reduced considerably, it may even be fatal to crop, *viz.* Mexican Wheat—Crown root initiation (tillering) is very critical, if it suffers moisture stress it loses its turgidity, next grain filling, at this stage if it suffers moisture stress grain formation won't be proper. Rice—(TNI)—Tillering & grainfilling stages are very critical.

⁶⁰Dastane, N.G., "The New Concepts in Irrigation—Necessary Changes for New Strategy", *Economic and Political Weekly*, March 29, 1969.

Some micro studies have revealed that the irrigation practices—the frequency, the timing, the levels of application etc.—are more an outcome of the individual perception, intuitive understanding, and trial and error procedure on the part of the farmer rather than a systematic knowledge of what is required.⁶¹ To reduce percolation losses to the minimum, wherever necessary suitable cultural practices are to be resorted to like, puddling with proper implements, compaction, application of clay, tank silt, and bentonite. Puddling with power tiller and tractor with cage wheel have proved to be very effective in controlling losses.⁶²

MODUS OPERANDI

The foregoing sections should give a strong case in favour of a unified approach towards the development and management of land, soil and water resources. The integrated development of these basic resources is possible only under a unified, well-knit, organisation and statutory framework. More often, the constitutional limitations on the Centre-State rights on these resources have proved to be a serious bottleneck in evolving a rational policy. Moreover, the assertion of rights and interests of the contending States has led to avoidable legal and political wrangles. Cauvery water dispute, Narmada, Krishna and Godavari inter-State river disputes, etc., have left most of their potential unexploited. As much as 20 million hectare irrigation potential is supposed to be locked up in legal wrangles, which works out, at a very conservative estimate, of a loss of more than Rs. 4,000 crores of agricultural output per year.

A national policy for the development and management of land and water resources will be impractical without a strong Central Government armed with strong political will and backed by sound constitutional provisions. The first step in this regard will be to declare land and water as national assets, the overall ownership and responsibility of their development and conservation vested with the Centre. By virtue of the supreme authority vested in it, the Central Government could delegate powers to States or local bodies or its subordinate governing bodies to carry out developmental plans based on technical feasibility, optimum benefit, and overall national goals, but not on local petty political considerations.

The next step could be the reorganisation of the concerned ministry. The transfer of the irrigation portfolio to the Ministry of Food and Agriculture

⁶¹C. Gopinath, Chary, P.N., Patel, N.T., *Analysis of Water Use Efficiency in Agriculture*, Indian Institute of Management, Ahmedabad.

⁶²Varma Devan, V.K., Pradhan S.N., Manna, G.B., "Methods to Reduce Percolation Losses in the Rice Fields", Proc. Second World Congress on Water Resources, Vol. I, Energy and Food.

with effect from October 1974 was a sound step. Under the aegis of the Ministry of Agriculture and Irrigation, a National Land and Water Use Commission (NLWC), the chief custodian of all land in the country, will be looking after the development and conservation of all land and water resources. The NLWC will be coordinating the functions of the other important wings of the Ministry like the National Commission on Agriculture, the Central Water and Power Commission, the minor Irrigation Division,⁶³ the Central Ground Water Board, the Flood Control Wing, the Soil Survey and Conservation Wing, the Irrigation Water Management Wing, Extension Services Wing and the Economic Studies and Evaluation Wing. Besides these, on its board, the representatives from the Industries Department Mining Department, Town and Country Planning Organisation, and all other organisations whose functions are directly or indirectly connected with the development, use and conservation of land and soil and water resources shall be represented. Its main function is to cut across all departmental, and regional barriers and enlist the cooperation of all the concerned organisations in the development of the two basic resources.

The third step will be the formation of River Basin Authorities (RBA), to function under the direct control the NLWC. But their operations are limited to their respective basins, on all aspects of basin development, including the infrastructural development. The assessment, development, exploitation and efficient use of surface water, and ground water resources, command area development and water-shed and catchment area development, land and soil conservation and use—all these aspects are covered by RBAs. If the basin happens to be multi-State, it could entrust the actual operational responsibility to the concerned States in their respective territories under its supervision, or carry out on its own, depending upon whether the scheme is Central or State sponsored.

NLWC remains as apex body for all aspects of development and use of all land soil and water resources. Its extension services wing builds up a pool of core-trained manpower by training them abroad or within the country, and this core manpower will be fanned to different RBAs for looking after the training of manpower, at basin level and State level. Some of the basins have their catchment areas stretching beyond our national boundaries (Gandak, Gogra, Baghnati, etc.); for the effective development of these basins, the neighbouring countries are to be consulted. All these matters will be looked after by the NLWC.

In each State, a State level Land and Water Use Authority (SLWA) is needed to carry out the actual work on the development, conservation,

⁶³At present Minor Irrigation is the State subject

and use of land, soil and water resources. The composition of the SLWAs remains similar to the NLWC and RBA in all aspects, except that they are an actual operational wing, not an advisory one, working on the blue prints supplied by RBA. Moreover, SLWAs are empowered to enforce all the laws and Acts regarding the regulation of land, soil and water resources in their territories, besides fixation of betterment levies on the beneficiaries, and arranging institutional finances for the beneficiaries.

In formulating basin schemes, the whole basin could be taken as a production unit. The productivity criterion could be the cardinal principle in the development programmes, the gestation periods, fixing of cost-benefit ratios, and sharing of the costs between government (or development agencies) and the beneficiaries be such that the schemes leave a reasonable surplus over the working expenses and the sum-at-charge.⁶⁴ In this context it is worth mentioning at least in the case of the large basin schemes for irrigation and land development that it is better to enlist more and more public involvement. Anyway we are to follow commercially profitable lines of development. We could very well offer shares to public and reduce Government burden for providing funds. One major stumbling block in this direction is invariably that the farmers are hardly in a position to pay for heavy expenses the schemes entail. The plausible answer for this could be the arrangement of institutional finances from LIC, AFC, ARC, commercial banks, L.D. banks, World Bank and other international organisations. If we could reduce the long gestation periods, and make the schemes commercially viable, a good amount of private capital will come into it. All schemes, however, should function under the direct supervision of Government authority.



⁶⁴The capital costs plus arrear of interests accumulated during construction and non-remunerative periods.

BOOK REVIEWS

Cumulative Index to Indian Journal of Public Administration, Vol. I-XX (1955-74) Ed. T.N. CHATVRVEDI, New Delhi, Indian Institute of Public Administration, 1976, pp. 556, Rs. 50.

Scholars and researchers in public administration in India will be grateful to the editor and his associates for their imaginative insight and painstaking effort in bringing out a very timely and comprehensive index to the *Indian Journal of Public Administration* (IJPA). During the last twenty years of its existence, the IJPA has not only acquired an international reputation as an authoritative and standard periodical dealing with contemporary issues of public administration and allied disciplines in this part of the world, but has in particular become a repository of literature on specific problems relating to the Indian administrative system. The absence of a cumulative index especially designed and systematically classified to serve the purposes of discerning students had been keenly felt for long. The publication of this volume seems to have covered this gap.

The twenty volumes of the IJPA, spread over to 13,931 pages and comprise 834 articles, contributed by 582 authors (containing 3,393 citations) and 667 book reviews and notes. The *Index* to these and a host of other information, available in the Journal, have been divided into seven

sections: (1) the *Author Index*—listing alphabetically the persons responsible for the articles, research notes, comments and correspondence; (2) the *Title Index*—listing alphabetically the titles of the articles; (3) the *Index to Digest of Reports*—listing the reports of Indian as well as foreign Governments and other organisations, giving references to the digests; (4) the *Subject Index*—listing articles and digests of reports under appropriate subject headings, alphabetically arranged; (5) the *Book Reviews and Book Notes Index*—listing the book reviews appearing in the Journal under the names of the authors of the books; (6) the *Reviewer Index*—giving references to the authors of the book reviews followed by bibliographic details of the books reviewed; and (7) the *Citation Index*—providing an index to the various works and books—articles, government publications etc., cited by the authors in their contributions. The classification of the sections and the subject headings are competently done and should prove to be extremely useful for scholars to locate the kind of material they may be searching for.

Apart from its utility as an indispensable tool of research for students

of public administration and allied subjects, the *Cumulative Index* provides some interesting insights, which reflect certain emerging trends on the state of the discipline of public administration in India. For example, the two top individual contributors of articles in the Journal happen to be civil servants, which is indicative of the bias from which the Journal suffered in the early years of its publication. Happily the trend seems to have been balanced in the past few years. However, in another area, viz., reviews of books, the top individual contributors are mostly academics, supporting the popular belief that civil servants, being deeply immersed in their daily routine, hardly find time to keep up with their readings—a trend, if true, needs to be corrected for a more mature and fuller development of the public services in India. Similarly in the subject index, public administration reorganisation stands as the predominant area of attention by scholars and practitioners followed by personnel administration and civil service, government business enterprises, panchayati raj and district administration, giving an indication of some of the neglected fields in public administration which need greater attention.

The largest space in the volume is, however, occupied by the citation index, which some might argue to be an exercise not worth the time and the energy spent. That would, however, be an extremely cynical view for the *Index* does provide a useful guide to a large number of important publications, which have in the last

twenty years been read and quoted in various studies in the discipline and have thus formed an important nucleus for the study of the subject in the country and this should be helpful to any one starting to build a library in public administration. Incidentally the *Index* provides some very interesting sidelights also, e.g., one can see that Paul Appleby's writings and the ARC reports have been the most cited works in the twenty volumes. Similarly, one could also find instances of authors, whose works have been cited only by themselves, in their own writings.

The only minor shortcoming in the volume (if there is one) is the absence of the subject classification index from the table of contents. The various subject headings in the *Subject Index*, if provided, would have been further helpful to the researcher in locating his material at one place instead of turning a number of pages of the *Index* to search for his desired subject. This could perhaps be added in the new edition of the *Index* or in its supplements. All the same, the authorities of the Institute and the editor of the Journal deserve to be congratulated for undertaking such a fruitful venture which would bring lasting benefit to all those concerned with the study and research in public administration and allied subjects. One only hopes that the initiative taken by the Institute does not end here, but that it will keep its efforts going by revising the *Index* periodically, say, after every five years or so.

—R.B. JAIN

Urbanization and Macro-Social Change by HARSHAD R. TRIVEDI,
Allahabad, Chugh Publications, 1975, pp. xii+182 Rs. 45.

The book attempts to review the theories of urbanisation and macro social change and relate the one to the other with a view to formulate the concept of semi-urban pockets, abbreviated as SUP. In the process, a new dimension, or rather, a third dimension, is indicated. The "semi" dimension between rural-urban poles is the third dimension. Social sciences often make use of bipolar dimensions such as concrete-abstract, material-spiritual, exogenous-endogenous, traditional-modern, macro-micro, ideal-actual, structural-functional, manifest-latent, natural-rational, etc. But social reality seldom approximates to these north-south pole contrarieties. Social reality often tends to be in the grey shades of continuum or splintered discontinuities or islands or pockets between the two contraries. The concept of SUP seeks to bring out the grey element like the synthesis in the thesis-anti-thesis formula. The SUP concept seems to present an aspect that approximates to the reality in the emerging urban phenomenon which does not so far seem to have been satisfactorily explained by sociologists. The SUP may fall under the category of the middle range theories in sociology. The urban phenomenon is, according to the author, both the cause and effect of social change. He seeks to bring out the inter-relationship between speed and mobility in the urban gravitation.

The book contains a novel feature in the appendix entitled 'Review

Comments by a Scholar and the Author's Clarifications'. In all, there are nine of them. The comments of the reviewer in the appendix reflect the scepticism of any intelligent reader about the claims of the author in regard to the contributions of the SUP concept. The clarifications contain a brief reiteration of much that is stated in the text. The comments and the clarifications clearly demonstrate the author's courage and readiness to expose himself to intelligent criticism by the peer group. This is a welcome sign.

The book contains, besides a foreword by Shri T.N. Chaturvedi, editor of the IIPA Journal, and preface by the author, 152 pages of text divided into seven chapters, an appendix of ten pages and a bibliography of twenty pages.

To the author the concept of SUP is a meta-concept like culture, industrialisation, urbanisation, sanskritisation, westernisation etc. (p. 8). Like any concept, it takes time for the SUP to take root and to become familiar to the scholars and students and to become useful to policy makers, planners and programmers of urbanisation and social change. For this process to receive acceleration, those who find it useful are also to read the author's contributions made in 1966, 1967 and 1971, (listed in the bibliography) because the concept was developed in this book from out of the author's earlier writings. However, according to the

author, "Suffice it to say here that the term semi-urban-pocket refers to the partial growth of urban characteristics in a community, leading to superficiality, transiency and anonymity in the economic and social relationships of the people—within a social area in a city or in small and medium size towns. In general, it refers to the emergence of pockets of communities of various types, and comprising the people of a growing middle class, on account of social, economic and political changes in the society" (p. 9).

With a view to keep his concept of SUP in perspective, the author reviews a number of theories ranging from *gemeinschaft-gesellschaft* to "a general theory of society" by Weaver and White (1972) wherein they introduce the 'etic' and 'emic' models rooted in holistic approach to a society or its sub-units (p. 149). The author has attempted to relate a wide range of concepts and theories in sociology in general and urban sociology in particular to his own concept of SUP. But it makes a tough reading and requires patient exercise of mind, back and forth, to understand the relevance and relationship.

There are a large number of theories and concepts of other writers compared and contrasted with the concept of SUP by the author. They are briefly mentioned in phrases but are not explained so as to become understandable for a general reader. References to the author's works yearwise and to the briefest mention of the key phrases in the concept,

which incidentally have become fashionable in academic writings, do not enable a general (*i.e.*, a non-specialist) reader to understand the subject matter without taking pains to go to the referred sources and read them so as to follow the theories and concepts. How many readers could afford to refer to these sources? Previously the tradition was to give a brief explanation of a concept or a theory in the body of the text besides references to the author and the book in the footnotes. For the concept of SUP to become useful and popular, the author should, if he considers it necessary, elaborate the relevant theories in the future editions and explain more fully the special contribution of the SUP concept as against the others.

By way of illustration we may refer to Charles of Stokes' 'A Theory of Slums' in *Slums and Urbanisation* edited by A.R. Desai and S. Devdas Pillai (1970). In that essay, Stokes refers horizontally to slums of 'hope' and slums of 'despair' and vertically, to 'escalator' and "non-escalator classes". It appears to Trivedi that the slums of 'hope' comprising the 'escalator' class of the people living there, match satisfactorily with the concept of SUP, with the difference that in the former classification, attention is not given to the combination of various forces and elements that give rise to such reality. But very few could understand the link between SUP and Stokes' phrases (p. 67). Fortunately, Stokes' article is in an Indian book but several theories referred to in the

text are inaccessible to the bulk of readers as they are in foreign journals or books and these have not been made meaningful for the interested reader.

Very few lay readers can understand the specialists' language. This book might have been intended for a few members of the peer group. But if the author wants his book to be ready by a wider public, he must use simpler language. Unless the author is of the view that a concept merits scientific status only when it is expressed in obscure or newly coined phrases, he has to elaborate and explain the theories in plain words giving concrete illustrations from real life context. The author has a wealth of theoretical knowledge and a number of empirical studies to his credit but, probably, the fear of the growing size of the book might have prevented him from giving such illustrations. The author has to weigh and balance size and simplicity.

The book breaks a new ground in urban sociology and enables a better understanding of the urbanisation process in the developed and developing countries through the concept of SUP. Sociologists, town planners, policy makers and administrators might benefit from reading the book. They could indeed formulate policies and programmes of urban development and urban renewal in the light of the socio-cultural attachments of the people who live in the cities. The 'urbanity' of the 'city' population is as much a function of geo-physical planning as an evaluation of the

values and needs of the 'communities' of people that come to live in towns.

There appears to be a justifiable pride in the author about his concept of SUP as a meta concept that could meet current dissatisfaction with the inadequate sociological theories and with the inabilities to contain 'urbanisation' through physical and social development plans. But the speed and mobility generated by technology and egalitarian ideologies are releasing such new forces among individuals and groups in human settlement processes that no single concept could offer explanations to the rapid changes. Much less do our diagnostic and prescriptive exercises offer feasible methods of control of the so-called 'deviators' or 'deteriorations'. No comprehensive or composite theory could arise out of extreme specialised disciplines in social or 'behavioural sciences'. The 'relativistic' phenomenon of urbanisation does not seem to lend itself to be grasped by fragmented social behavioural sciences. The capacity of social sciences to offer evaluation of valuations is in question and we have to await a new 'philosophy' to understand social phenomenon in the transitional third world or the post-industrial society. In that context, the book under review makes a useful contribution towards understanding the 'RURBAN' phenomenon through the tentative theory of 'SUP'.

The publishers should have taken greater care in avoiding printing errors.

—V. JAGANNADHAM

The Bureaucratisation of the World by HENRY JACOBY, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1973, pp. 241, \$ 12.75.

The Germans' interest in bureaucracy is not new nor scanty, dating as it does to a period when others spoke practically nothing on it. Not only has German scholarship addressed itself to a study of bureaucracy but it has brought to bear upon it the same encyclopaedic mind which is so characteristic of Germany. If one has any doubt about these contentions, he is well advised to read Henry Jacoby's *The Bureaucratisation of the World*. It is a penetrating study of the emergence and consolidation of bureaucracy all over the world and in nearly all spheres of life and work. Mainly following the historical method of research, the work is of profound and wide scholarship which would continue to be read with interest and profit for quite some time to come, indeed, much longer after works on this subject, superficially based upon newer approaches, have ceased to be luminous.

By bureaucracy the author means the direction and control of affairs by the central agencies of governments. An ever-expanding government is admittedly a universally observed mark of modern times. While particular ideologies may explain the assumption of particular administrative functions, expanding administration owes itself to supra-ideological factors such as technology.

When people demand more and more in the form of new services, enlarged services or services of

superior quality, they are in effect patronising bureaucracy and in the process they become growingly dependent on the latter. The resultant dependence induces alienation from the outside world no less than isolation and impotence of the individual. The more this happens, the greater is the pressure for more lengthened hierarchies. The process continues unabated, for these two opposites serve only to intensify each other. Even socialism has directly contributed to the growth of bureaucracy.

The cumulative result of all the forces has been an all-encompassing machinery—a development which is the theme of Jacoby's superb treatise.

Although the history of any great civilisation begins with the formation of a bureaucracy, which supports men's whole existence and undertakes an integrative role, it was first in the industrial society in Europe that bureaucracy could find a congenial atmosphere for its growth and development.

Feudalism which prevailed in Europe for long periods effectively prevented the formation of bureaucracy, as, under it, the king did not have an administrative system worth the name. But wars and development of an economy based on commodities and therefore around towns began releasing forces which ultimately destroyed feudalism. Curious as it may sound, it was the wars which

effectively paved the way for the formation of inclusive hierarchies in the society. Wars needed resources which necessitated taxation which, in its turn, required the services of functionaries to collect them. In brief, an administrative hierarchy with deep penetrations in the realm was born in response to the demands of recurring bloody confrontations and clashes during this period. What is more, the gains of the king were the losses of the feudal lords. To be brief, in the presentation of this development, it was in the seventeenth century that the state acquired, for the first time, its bureaucratic structures. Along with the rise of the army came the machinery for financial administration. The first bureaucrat was a fiscal officer. But the net had been cast very wide indeed. A just tax system required exact statistics, and a desire for statistics led to the creation of new, additional hierarchies and the process of consolidation and expansion of bureaucracy continued.

The mercantilism further strengthened its hands. To be sure, capitalism did come into conflict with bureaucracy, for it wanted freedom of action but at the same time it needed the support of a central power in the furtherance of its own interests. As Alexis de Tocqueville commented: "There is always a multitude of men engaged in difficult or novel undertakings, which they follow by themselves without shackling themselves to their fellows. Such persons will admit, as a general principle, that the public authority ought not to interfere in private concerns, but by an

exception to that rule, each of them craves its assistance in the particular concern on which he is engaged and seeks to draw upon the influence of the government for his own benefit.... If a large number of men applies this particular exception to a great variety of different purposes, the sphere of the central power extends itself imperceptibly in all directions."

Bureaucracy has invaded the economy and in this field it has nearly completely supplanted 'intuitive acting'. A corporation, which is the private counterpart of public bureaucracy, is no longer manned by restless, dynamic individuals who risked their shirts, but by professionals doing 'management job'. The accent today is on group action rather than on individual action. This is an internal development within private administration and is in addition to the ever expanding intervention in its affairs by public bureaucracy.

Nor has politics remained immune to the bureaucratisation process. The original release of power generated by united human beings began to be replaced, to an ever larger extent, by machinery, resulting from the party's drive to become part of the state. The establishment thus acquired became an end in itself, in the process subordinating every thing else. The more a party grew, the less it was able to encourage the enthusiasm of each membership. It should not look surprising, for, with increasing organisation, democracy diminishes and bureaucracy is in the ascendancy. What is more, this trend does not seek to make a distinction between

proletarian organisations and the bourgeois ones. Even labour unions, which originally were the creations of the workers, have undergone a profound change over a period of time, manned as they are now by salaried personnel. "The unions have become part of a changed world, in which bureaucracy has developed not only out of the laws inherent in mass organisations, but where member's interests must also be extensively represented by inter-bureaucratic negotiations. Such interests can no longer be looked after merely in a business or within a specific industry's frame of reference, since they have, to a large extent, become subject to state control. Decisive negotiations must be undertaken with governmental departments. Even direct wage agreements are no longer negotiated with obstinate businessmen but with bureaucrats hired by employers' groups. The real problem of wages is generally only one of the subjects of such negotia-

tions. When the American Steel Workers' Union (formerly known as the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee) arrived at its first wage settlement, the printed text hardly amounted to a page; in 1965 the agreement ran to 142 printed pages. After settlement was reached, a further month was needed for unanimous agreement on the exact wording, and it took another three months to make corrections and minor changes."

The book under review is an embodiment of inter-disciplinary scholarship centred in history. The analytical and integrative abilities of the author are superb. One has only to read *The Bureaucratization of the World* to discover that the world has been conquered, not by this 'ism' or that 'ism', but by the supra-'ism' of bureaucracy.

—SHIRIRAM MAHESHWARI

Administration of Policy and Programmes for Backward Classes in India
by S.N. DUBEY and RATNA MURDIAN, Bombay, Somaiya Publications,
1976, pp. ix + 279, Rs. 45.

Shri S.N. Dubey and Ratna Murdian have compiled in this book thirteen articles written by them within the last few years, some of which have been published in professional and academic journals. Although the book has not been divided into sections, broadly chapters 1 to 8 "deal with the social and welfare policies towards weaker sections with emphasis on the policies and programmes for the scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and denoti-

fied and nomadic tribes". In the next group of articles presented in chapters 9 to 11, three field studies of backward classes housing and hostels have been put together. One of the remaining two chapters deals with "conceptualisation of social welfare organisations and management processes appropriate for the effective management of social welfare organisations". The other makes an attempt "to explore the application of M.B.O. (Management by Objectives)

strategy in the management of social welfare organisations".

A compilation of articles written from time to time in different contexts has some natural limitations. Therefore, one need not seek for a comprehensive and logically structured presentation of the problem suggested by the title. The level at which different sections address the reader are also widely different. The authors take us to a high level of abstraction in giving the 'prescriptive analysis of management processes in social welfare organisations'. Similarly, while dealing with 'deprivation, welfarism and predominant adaptive responses of the backward classes in India', at places a highly theoretical frame, which is generally of the western context, is presented. At the other extreme, we find ordinary evaluation studies of programmes which do not even have a high priority in the developmental strategy of these groups.

In the chapter on 'Deprivation, Welfarism...', the authors have given an explanation of the militant attitude of the 'dalit' youth, particularly in Maharashtra, a phenomenon witnessed with considerable concern during the period when the article was written. The two possible models for social mobility, *viz.*, individual mobility strategy and collective mobility strategy, have been well presented. According to the authors, "the backward classes have come to realise that group mobility through sanskritization and other forms of reform carried out among the lower castes, more often

than not, results only in positional changes and not structural changes."

The conflict within the communities about the two paths is also brought out with reference to the divided opinion amongst the members of these communities. The authors feel that an 'increasing number of backward class persons have come to believe that they themselves cannot do anything to improve their conditions'. They also feel that the future of harijans, girijans and shudras in India, as far as they can see, is bleak. The current social welfare programmes, though important, are possibly irrelevant and, at the very least, inadequate! But at the same place, they also refer to the experience in Punjab and have quoted with approval: "My guess is that in two more generations urban Punjab will not have a harijan problem. To be sure, there will be poor harijans, but they will merge into the poor of all castes." The general statement and particular situation quoted have not been reconciled. If the Punjab experience is the fore-runner of things to come, which is strongly supported by experience elsewhere, then their future cannot be bleak.

There is another aspect of the discussion which needs reconciliation. The authors have discussed at a theoretical plane the economic deprivation of the S.C./S.T. arising from the social disabilities and confrontation within the village community. In fact, they have gone to the extent of drawing heavily on the experience of the 'blacks' in America to analyse Indian situation although

the two are qualitatively different. The dividing line in India is not sharp. There is a large 'grey' area. There are strong enlightened groups in all sections which do not approve it or even do not consider it as an essential part of the system. But when the authors come to concrete action programmes, they suggest that "it seems that only economic conditions, instead of membership to a caste or tribe, should form the basis for providing special benefits and protection. As far as social disabilities like untouchability are concerned, we do not need any more legislation to deal with them. What we really need is a strong will and commitment to implement the provisions of social legislations enacted during the last two decades." Thus the authors, after building up a full case of group alignment on the basis of social origins, have come up with a completely contradictory suggestion. In this economic condition oriented programme, the S.C./S.T. may again find themselves last in the que.

The analysis of 'Management Processes...' is quite interesting. But it is not applied in detail to any specific situation in our country. In a highly theoretical discussion, references are made to social welfare organisations of all descriptions ranging from small psychiatric clinics to the social welfare departments of the State Governments. In this analysis, the inter-dependence of the social welfare departments with other departments has been accepted but its full logic has not been worked out. In a welfare state, the role of the

social welfare department is determined with reference to the total social philosophy of the state where all other departments are also assigned specific tasks. In fact, there are only a few organisations like steel mills, atomic energy establishments or defence services which do not have any element of social welfare. The other departments are so interlinked in their functions and processes that the social welfare department's role cannot be understood unless it is clearly articulated in the context of the role and functions of all the other departments. The chapter on 'Management by Objective...' has some useful suggestions which can be adopted by administrators.

The authors are, however, on a weaker wicket when they deal with the specific policies and programmes in relation to the backward classes. They have included in the term 'backward classes' scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, denotified tribes, nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes and other 'backward classes'. They have traced the genesis of the classification of 'other backward classes' but have not gone beyond that. The authors, therefore, have concerned themselves only with the first three groups.

While dealing with the problem of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, although a distinction has been made between the two groups, yet, many a time, the two are mixed up while analysing specific situations. For example, while discussing the problem of land, it is stated that

"though a large number of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes in the country derive their livelihood by working on the land, they are most disadvantaged in respect of land. The incidence of landlessness is more pronounced in these groups than in the general population; and more cultivators amongst them own uneconomic and small holdings than those in the general population". This statement is true for scheduled castes but is not true for scheduled tribes. In fact, the number of landless persons amongst the scheduled tribes in the country is much less than for the general population. Similarly, the average holding of scheduled tribes in the country is much higher than the average holding of others. It is possible that the authors may be having in view some specific isolated example of a small region on which they may have generalised. Even the table given on page 156 brings out the fact that a very small proportion of the tribals owns less than one acre of land.

It is not clear as to when the chapter on 'Welfare of Scheduled Tribes' was written, nor is it clear as to when the authors gave a final shape to this compilation. The foreword was written in August 1975 and the book has been published in February 1976. With reference to these two dates, the description of tribal welfare programmes is completely out of date. The authors are describing the position as it obtained towards the latter half of the Fourth Plan. The decision to discontinue tribal development blocks was taken

in 1973. They were allowed to continue from April 1974 to March 1975 only as a transitional phase between the change over from the TD block pattern to the integrated tribal development project pattern. The TD blocks have come to an end from April 1975. The description in the chapter, therefore, has no relevance to the present situation. A completely new strategy for tribal development has been put on the ground in the meantime.

While dealing with the administrative set-up for scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, scavengers, etc., the authors have heavily relied on published reports. The chapters, therefore, tend to be a compilation of information rather than an attempt to bring into the focus the Central processes of administration. A more life like treatment would have been possible if there was a greater touch with the real administrative situations of at least one or two States. This would have helped the authors to bring the compiled information into a logical and systematic frame.

On the whole, the book is a reasonable effort in one of the areas which has not claimed due attention of the academic world even though it occupies a central position in our present day state policy. The academic world is also guilty of the same attitude towards these groups as has been put at the door of the political system by the authors, who according to them, "though vocally standing for the poor, often displayed a lack of will to undertake the necessary

measures to help the rural poor". Our academic world also is more attuned to the needs of small elite groups and is used more to the Western conceptual frames rather

than digging deep in the soil and understanding indigenous processes. The book, in this context, is a welcome contribution.

—B.D. SHARMA

Dimensions of Social Work in India by DR. K.D. GANGRADE, New Delhi, Marwah Publications, 1976, pp. 188, Rs. 40.

Matter put on the jacket of a book is usually considered to be a eulogy of a publication by the publisher. It is rarely that such a eulogy stands rational scrutiny. In the present case, however, it is justified to a great extent. This itself could be a tribute to the quality of the material that the book contains and to the author, Dr. Gangrade.

The book consists of one article and 10 cases or case studies. It is not understood why these are called chapters. If one is to grade the material, it may be said that the cases that describe the assistance given by social workers to persons or groups of persons in difficulties, constitute the best material in the book. The article on U.C.D. is a study of a different kind. U.C.D. in Delhi was after all an interesting pioneering experiment taken up with the assistance of the Ford Foundation. This experiment is critically described here. The reading of these ten articles can guide an intelligent worker or an organiser to learn enough to improve his contribution as a professional social worker.

Results of application and practice of social work principles and skills by professional social workers in the

context of the Indian society are recorded here. While appreciating these articles, one is inclined to hope that more professional workers would come forward with similar material, based on their experiences, to minimise the paucity of local teaching material, in relation to social intervention. This might help establish this relatively young profession better. Social intervention would increasingly be a common phenomenon these days of rapid social change that we see around. The case study 'Conflicting Value Systems and Social Work' is an excellent illustration of a competent intervention.

In most of the cases, at the end, there are two sections: 'Analysis' and 'Conclusions', which further provide valuable aid to the understanding of the cases. These would be useful both to the teacher as well as the learner. This approach could have been followed uniformly.

'Adult Suffrage and Social Change', 'Social Mobility in India: A Study of Depressed Class', 'Building Harijan Community' are very interesting pieces in the Indian context.

The titles of the articles seem to have caused some difficulty. In some

titles awareness of social work methods dominates such as in 'Family Centred Approach and Social Work', while the objective of the programme dominates in 'The Bridge is Built'. When integrated social work methods guide the choice of titles, difficulties are bound to come up and this has happened here.

There is no desire to list up the few limitations that one comes across with in the book, but it is not proper to leave untouched the loose use of the term social worker made by the author. Many a time, the case worker seems to be the author himself and then the use of the term social worker is permissible because one knows that he belongs to the professional fraternity. Should, however, one believe that all workers in the U.C.D., in the Family Planning Programme and in the C.D. are professional social workers? The use of the expression 'family planning workers' made in one place is appropriate.

The author seems to be trapped in

sociology and social work. The first article 'Western Social Work and the Indian World', is an illustration in point. The methods of social work, as methods, need no adaptation but for their successful use the practitioners need an adequate knowledge of the social and cultural values and conditions prevailing in a society or for that matter in any society in which social work is practised. What Friedlander says is correct. The concepts, principles and methods of social work are the same everywhere. The political, economic and sociological development of specific objectives and values in a given society constitute other factors. Instead of adapting the social work philosophy, principles and methods, professionals in India could do well to know better the political, economic and sociological context and values prevailing in the Indian society. Difficulties in the practice of social work in India might then diminish as is seen in some of the case studies in the book under review.

—V.M. KULKARNI

Political Economy of Brain Drain by K.N. KABRA, New Delhi, Arnold-Heinemann, 1976, pp. 190, Rs. 35.

I participated in an international seminar on 'The Transfer of Technology' held in Belgrade in September, 1975 and a prominent group of scholars discussed issues regarding the politics of 'transfer' of technology. In this discussion, the role of multi-national corporations and the problems of 'brain drain' were analysed in depth. The problem of 'brain drain' has been discussed in a

pedestrian manner by many commentators. Moreover, it is mixed up with national overtones. Brain drain has very little to do with subjective failings of individuals migrating to the capitalist countries from the third world. The third world countries are structurally integrated with the economics of the imperialist countries. And this structural linkage between the third world and the advanced

capitalist countries has its consequences. The most important result of this relationship is exploitation by the former of the resources of the latter; and human talent is also part of the exploited resources. Trained manpower is a resource for economic development. Every society makes huge investment in training its citizens. The USA is the most important beneficiary of this trade in human intellect. The issue is: How can such an open exploitation of raw materials and human resources continue in an age which claims to be advancing towards egalitarianism ?

Dr. Kabra has done a very good

Financial Institutions of India by VADILAL DAGLI, Bombay, Vora & Co., 1976, pp. 338, Rs. 40.

Since independence, the growth of financial institutions in this country has been spectacular. There were hardly any bank branches in rural areas in 1947 but today about 36 per cent of the total bank branches is in rural areas. With the rapid industrialisation of the country, and specialised development programmes for backward areas, the role of financial institutions has become more crucial. The editor who is not only the editor of "Commerce" weekly but has published a series of volumes on vital aspects of the national economy, deserves our congratulations in bringing out this book on *Financial Institutions of India* which have a vital role to play in the speedy development of the country. The book incorporates twenty-one articles written by different

job in writing such a book and focusing attention on a very significant issue. The moral of this study is that the grip of imperialist countries over the third world is very strong and effective. I wish Dr. Kabra had collected more data to prove his theoretical formulations. But the lesson from Dr. Kabra's study is very clear. Those who shout on 'brain drain' should involve themselves in a struggle against imperialism and strengthen those forces which stand for the structural delinking of economies of the third world from the imperialist bandage. Only that would resolve the problem of brain drain.

—C.P. BHAMBHRI

writers who have a special knowledge of the subject, besides the introduction written by Shri Dagli himself. Shri Narottam Shah deals with the 'Financial Institutions in the Indian Economy'. 'Rural Credit' has been written by Shri B. Venkatappiah, former Member of the Planning Commission and presently Chairman, Rural Electrification Corporation. The apex financial institution of the country, the 'Reserve Bank of India', has been discussed in depth with a great insight by an eminent civil servant Shri T.N. Chaturvedi. Shri H.M. Patel deals with 'Banks After Nationalization'. The Deputy Governor of Reserve Bank of India, Shri V.V. Chari, deals with 'Performance and Problems of State Financial Corporations'. 'Regional Imbalances

and Financial Institutions in India' has been written by Shri Kedarnath Prasad. Similarly, various other institutions/aspects have been discussed by eminent persons.

In fact, there is hardly any book which covers the growth and functioning of all the financial institutions in

the country in such depth as this. The book will be of use to all those interested in the study and working of these institutions. This is the latest book available in the market. Keeping in view the quality and coverage, the price of the book is reasonable.

—S.N. SWAROOP

The Archaeology and Monumental Remains of Delhi by CARR STEPHEN, New Delhi, Ashish Publishing House, 1975, pp. vi + 284, Rs. 65.

This is a reprint of the book originally published in 1876. The author had collected the material for the book when he was posted as the Judge, Small Cause Court, Delhi.

The book is a mine of information. It contains not only all the relevant facts about the archaeological remains and monuments of Delhi, but it also gives all the anecdotes connected with them. As an instance, we may take the iron pillar of Mehrauli. Many stories are current in the area about this pillar. These are all given. We also have the exact dimensions of the pillar, the chemical composition of its metal, a reproduction of the inscription on the pillar, and the

translations of the inscription by both Prinsep and Bhau Daji.

Similar details are given not only about the two Asoka pillars, but also about all the monuments of the sultans and the mughals. One interesting point is that the controversy whether the Qutb Minar is of Hindu or Muslim origin was being carried on even in 1876; and even stalwarts like General Cunningham had joined the fray.

For lovers of the history, romance and monuments of Delhi, the book is an excellent buy.

—ASHIM KUMAR ROY

Technological Change and Distribution of Gains in Indian Agriculture by C.H. HANUMANTHA RAO, Institute of Economic Growth, Macmillan Company of India, 1975, pp. xiv + 249, Rs. 55.

This study was undertaken as a part of the research programme of the Institute of Economic Growth. The book contains an analysis of the economics of technological change and the emerging pattern of income distribution in Indian agriculture in

the recent period. As agriculture is a very vital sector of our economy, the speed and pattern of its development are of crucial importance for achieving the objective of growth with social justice. In this book, an attempt has been made to analyse the

process of agricultural growth and income distribution for a clearer understanding of the underlying factors so as to draw lessons for the future. This has been done succinctly.

The book has been divided into three parts with 16 chapters and seven appendices. Part I deals with the magnitude, pattern and efficiency of technological changes as well as the factors responsible for such changes. An analysis of costs and returns—private as well as social—associated with the use of modern inputs has also been made. This part also examines the contribution of capital, knowledge, etc., to increase output and discusses one of the vital questions of relative economics of mechanisation and traditional methods and the factors affecting farm mechanisation and use of biological-chemical techniques. Part II discusses the distribution of gains from technological changes. It covers regional distribution of gains, impact of technological change on farm employment, changes in factor shares, farm-size and distribution of gains, tenancy and distribution of gains and distribution of gains in real terms. Part III examines the socio-political factors and agricultural policies (e.g., land reforms, credit, taxation and price policies) and also

summarises the experience regarding technological change, agricultural growth and distribution of gains, and discusses the future trends.

Among other things, the study brings out that the technological changes have led to a widening of the income disparities between different regions; small and large farmers; and land owners, tenants and agricultural labourers. However, in absolute terms, the gains from technological change have been shared by all sections. According to the author, both for generating employment and improving income distribution during the next 2 to 3 decades, the reason lies in the public investment in irrigation and the exploitation of groundwater. The question of 'trade-off' between growth and improved distribution has also been discussed.

The book contains useful data and a very lucid, penetrating and thought-provoking analysis of the various crucial issues involved. It shows great insight into the problems of agricultural growth. The book will be of immense value to planners, administrators, teachers, and students of agricultural development/administration.

—M.L. SUDAN

Lord Minto and Indian Nationalism by PARDAMAN SINGH, Allahabad, Chugh Publications, 1976, pp. xx + 247, Rs. 45.

The period of the viceroyalty of Lord Minto (1905-10) was an important one in modern Indian history. The nationalist movement started in India in right earnest with the parti-

tion of Bengal (16th October, 1905), a month before Lord Minto was appointed the viceroy. The moderates who dominated in the Indian National Congress began to lose their hold and

the extremists started their attempts to gain ascendancy in the Congress. The extremists demanded *Swaraj* as their birthright.

In October 1906, the Aga Khan led a deputation of muslims to the viceroy in Simla. The main demand of the deputationists was a separate electorate for the muslims. This was granted in the Minto-Morley reforms of 1909. The demand for a separate electorate naturally led, a few decades later, to a demand for the partition of the country.

Lord Minto could have annulled the partition of Bengal which he had realised was a wrong step. He would thus have strengthened the moderates within the Congress. He could have, by discouraging a few conservative

muslim leaders, stopped the fissiparous movement at least for the time being. Why did he not do so? Was it only shortsightedness, or was it the *Zeitgeist* which made him act as he did? Perhaps these questions cannot be answered and Shri Pardaman Singh has not made any such attempt. He has given a straightforward account of the political events of the period, and supported his statements with a large number of quotations from contemporary documents.

The book is well written and should be useful to students. It could be read with interest by others also who want to familiarise themselves with an important period of the national movement and political history of India.

—ASHIM KUMAR ROY

The Interview in Staff Appraisal by W.E. BEVERIDGE, London, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1975, pp. 132, £ 2.75.

The fast growing modern technology had put a premium on man's capacities and inclinations. Man is being forced by technological development into a more demanding role; he no longer finds all his energies used up by maintaining a system or running a complex of machines. His energies are released to identify problem areas, to select new goals, to devise and initiate change. Today, the technological revolution has led to a revolution in human behaviour. The quality of the human skills available to an organisation will depend on its power to survive, its direction, its value to society. This means that the human resources need to be selected and

cultivated as never before. It is with their cultivation, their development, that *appraisal* is concerned.

The book deals with some of the pertinent issues and problems in staff appraisal. Starting the discussion with 'Problems of Appraisal', 'Our Perception of Other People' and 'Appraising Work Performance', the book covers areas like 'Planning and Appraisal Interview', 'The Skills of the Appraisal Interview', 'Appraisal Forms' and 'Training for Appraisal'. The book deals in depth on the crucial relationship between the appraiser and the appraisee and between them both and the organisation.

Comprehensive references have been incorporated at the end of the book which may be found of use to the readers. It is an excellent guide for personnel and training managers and others responsible for the introduction of the appraisal system in their organisation, with the detailed analysis of the problems involved in initiating and operating an effective appraisal

procedure, and offers constructive help based on a wide range of relevant behavioural research on the practical experience of the author. The book will be found useful to all those concerned with personnel policies both in civil services and public undertakings.

—S.N. SWAROOP



"Administrative reforms thus should be construed as a continuing exercise by you all to ensure at least two minimal objectives. Firstly, it must ensure that administration and its personnel are in no way administratively hampered while implementing programmes and State policies directed for planned development. Secondly, administrative reforms should also ensure that the common man goes back as a satisfied individual whenever he has to pass through the corridors of Government and its departments. In fact, I will urge you to appreciate that both these objectives are, to a large extent, inter-dependent. If we are able to achieve development goals in time with efficiency, the fruits of development will reach the people as planned. On the other hand, if the common man feels unhappy and even angry during his dealings with the Government, because of your procedures, rules, and even attitudes, we have alienated him, i.e., the person for whom all development is largely being planned and implemented. It is unthinkable, therefore, as far as I can see, that today administration can afford to alienate the common man signifying the large masses of the people of this country."

Inaugural address by SHRI OM MEHTA,
Minister of State, Ministry of Home
Affairs, at the Conference of State
Secretaries, Department of Personnel
and Administrative Reforms—Decem-
ber, 9, 1976.